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A

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

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EMINENT SCOTSMEN.



Biographical Dictionary

OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH

NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME III.



KINNE COLLEGE DUNDEE

Black & Co.

GLASGOW EDINBURGH AND LONDON

A
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

ORIGINALLY EDITED BY ROBERT CHAMBERS.

NEW EDITION,
REVISED THROUGHOUT AND CONTINUED

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,
EDITOR OF THE "COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

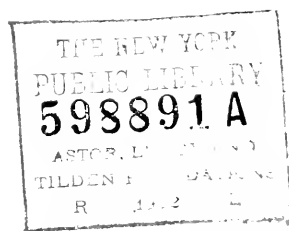
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LIST OF THE ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. III.

	PAINTER.	ENGRAVER.	PAGE.
SINCLAIR, SIR JOHN, BART., of Ulbster, <i>Frontispiece</i> , . . .	Raeburn, .	Holl, .	—
UNIVERSITY AND KING'S COLLEGE, OLD ABERDEEN, } <i>Engraved Title</i> , }	Bough, .	Richardson, .	—
MACKENZIE, SIR GEORGE, LORD-ADVOCATE,	Kneller, .	Rogers, .	50
MACKENZIE, HENRY, author of "The Man of Feeling," . .	Gordon, .	Freeman, .	54
MACKINTOSH, SIR JAMES, Historian and Statesman, . . .	Lawrence, .	Freeman, .	58
MACNEIL, HECTOR, Poet,	William, .	Rogers, .	69
MONCREIFF, SIR JAMES WELLWOOD, BART., of Tullibole, .	Raeburn, .	Holl, .	154
MONTGOMERY, JAMES, author of "The World before the Flood,"	Illidge, .	Roberts, .	161
MOORE, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN, K.B.,	Lawrence, .	Freeman, .	166
MUNRO, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS, BART., K.C.B., . .	Shee, .	Knight, .	175
NAPIER, JOHN, of Merchiston, Inventor of Logarithms,		Knight, .	199
RAEBURN, SIR HENRY, R.A.,	Raeburn, .	Freeman, .	260
RAMSAY, ALLAN, author of "The Gentle Shepherd," . . .	Aikman, .	Howison, .	262
SCOTT, SIR WALTER, BART.,	Gordon, .	Robinson, .	328
STEWART, MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID, of Garth,	Gordon, .	Shaw, .	397
STEWART, DUGALD, F.R.S.L.&E.,	Raeburn, .	Freeman, .	398
STRANGE, SIR ROBERT, Engraver,	Greuse, .	Freeman, .	414
STUART, JAMES, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland,		Knight, .	420
TANNAHILL, ROBERT, Poet,	Blair, .	Freeman, .	430
THOMSON, REV. ANDREW, D.D., Theologian and Controversialist, .	Watson, .	Holl, .	440
THOMSON, THOMAS, M.D., F.R.S.L.&E., &c., Chemist, . . .	Robinson, .	Holl, .	452
WATT, JAMES, LL.D., F.R.S.L.&E., &c.,	Beechy, .	Holl, .	495
WELSH, REV. DAVID, D.D., Professor of Church History, . .	Harvey, .	Roberts, .	515
WILKIE, SIR DAVID, R.A.,	Geddes, .	Holl, .	519

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

M.

MACADAM, JOHN LOUDON. Since the days of the Appian and Flaminian highways, it has been unusual to convert a great public road into a memorial of its founder by investing it with his name. Cities have been linked together, impassable highways penetrated, and kingdoms themselves converted into thoroughfares, while few have thought of inquiring by whom these facilities were planned, or constructed, or even kept in repair. Was it that, after these matchless road-makers, the Romans, had passed away, they left no successors worth commemorating? This, and the fact that even our best highways were the work not of individuals but communities, not of years but centuries, will explain the universal ignorance. Thus Europe went on for two thousand years, until a startling change occurred. Roads were now *macadamized*, because a new way of constructing them had been adopted; and that new way had been discovered by John Loudon Macadam.

This distinguished father of modern highways was born in the town of Ayr. The precise date of his birth we are unable to assign, but it appears to have been in the year 1756. He was the second son of James Macadam, Esq., of Waterhead, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. This family, originally descended from the Macgregors, while the clan was still powerful and unproscribed, held the rank of Scottish barons at Waterhead previous to the accession of James VI. to the English throne; and the name passed into that of Macadam, in compliment to the first baron, whose name was Adam Macgregor. The last of these barons was James Macadam, father of the subject of this memoir, whose ill luck or profuse expenditure occasioned the family estate to pass by purchase into the possession of a younger branch of the original family. The maternal descent of John Loudon Macadam was still more distinguished, as his mother, Miss Cochrane of Waterside, on the banks of the Ayr, was related to the illustrious house of Dundonald. His earliest education was received at the school of Maybole, at that time taught by Mr. Doick; and even already it appears that the planning and construction of roads had attracted his attention. This he evinced by showing to his wondering school companions the model of a section of the Girvan road, extending from Maybole to Kirkoswald, which he had executed during his half-holidays.

In consequence of the impoverished circumstances of his father, and being a younger son, John found that he must begin betimes to shift for himself. He therefore left Scotland for New York, where he had

an uncle, Dr. William Macadam, by whom he was kindly received and adopted as a son. He had only reached the age of fifteen when he was thus thrown upon the world; but he appears to have had his full share of that spirit which carries his countrymen successfully onward. He passed his apprenticeship in a mercantile establishment, and soon after this was finished, he commenced business on his own account, as an agent for the sale of prizes, in which he continued till the close of the revolutionary war, and realized a considerable fortune, besides that which he obtained by his marriage with Miss Nichol, a young lady of great beauty. But the success of the Americans in their war of independence was fatal to his own party, which was that of the royalists; and he experienced, with his brethren in political opinion, the *vac victis* of an unsuccessful cause, in the loss of a considerable part of his property. Still, however, on his return to Scotland he had enough to purchase the estate of Sauchrie in Ayrshire. Here he resided for thirteen years, and held the offices of magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of the county. From Sauchrie he removed to Falmouth in 1798, in consequence of being appointed agent for victualling the navy in the western ports of Great Britain. He afterwards changed his place of residence to Bristol, where he resided many years; and subsequently to Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire.

During these changes of scene and occupation, Mr. Macadam never appears to have lost sight of his early predilections in road-making. It formed the principal subject of his study while acting as one of the trustees upon certain roads in Ayrshire, and afterwards when he had removed to England. It was certainly a bold experiment he proposed in a mode of constructing roads, by which the practice that had prevailed for thousands of years was to be abandoned in favour of a new theory. But it was the proposal of an eminently practical, sagacious, and scientific mind, that had revolved the subject in all its bearings during the period of an ordinary lifetime, and whose days were still to be continued to carry it into execution. A full opportunity for the commencement of his plan occurred in 1815, when he was appointed surveyor-general of the Bristol roads; and after the first trials were made, the result was so satisfactory that the new mode of road-making came into general adoption over the whole kingdom. After the excellence of his method had been sufficiently tested for highways, the fitness of its adoption for streets came next in question; and upon

this subject Mr. Macadam was examined by a committee of the House of Commons in 1823. He then so clearly demonstrated the propriety and advantage of converting the ruble causeway of the principal streets of cities into a smooth pavement, like the country roads he had already constructed, that the change was adopted in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and our principal towns.

An immense quantity of public labour was thus brought under the superintendence of Mr. Macadam, by which he might have accumulated profits to an indefinite amount, while his character as a public benefactor would have remained untouched. But superior to every selfish consideration, he confined his services to superintendence, and nothing more—for he thought that an engineer should never act as a contractor, because, where the offices are combined, the public was too often the loser that one man might be enriched. It would have been well also if this conscientious generosity had been reciprocated by our government towards such an upright, faithful, and useful servant. But this, we are sorry to add, was not the case. After having advanced many thousands of pounds from his own resources to expedite the works in which he was engaged for the public benefit, he received in compensation from government only £10,000, in two instalments—a most inadequate return for his services, independently of his outlays. He thus might be said to have been rewarded with less than nothing. The honour of knighthood, indeed, was offered to him; but this, on account of his growing infirmities, he declined in favour of his son, the late Sir James Macadam, who prosecuted his father's profession, with the superintendence of the roads around London.

During the latter part of his life Mr. Macadam resided chiefly in the British metropolis, where he was greatly esteemed by the literary and scientific society with which he was surrounded, on account of his conversational powers and varied accomplishments. He finally returned to Scotland, and died at Moffat, on the 26th of November, 1836, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was twice married. By his first wife he had three sons and three daughters, of whom two sons and two daughters survived. His second wife was Miss De Lancey, a lady of American extraction, and sister-in-law of Cooper the novelist, by whom he had no children.

M'CHEYNE, REV. ROBERT MURRAY. This young divine, whose brief life and labours produced such a wide and lasting impression, was born in Edinburgh, on the 21st of May, 1813. At the age of eight he entered the high-school of his native city, where he continued a pupil for six years, during the course of which he was distinguished among his class-fellows not only by his proficiency in the usual studies of the class, but his amiable, enthusiastic disposition and engaging manners. From the high-school he passed to the university of Edinburgh, and there, besides gaining prizes in the several classes, he distinguished himself by his proficiency in the study of modern languages and his taste in drawing, music, and poetry. On finishing the usual course of a university education, it is probable that his direction in life would still have remained to be decided, but for one of those solemnizing events which sometimes at such a crisis has confirmed the current and directed the course of those who have become eminent in the church. This was the death of his eldest brother, David, eight or nine years older than himself. In the same year (1831) he entered the divinity hall, which at this time enjoyed Dr. Chalmers for

its professor in theology, and Dr. Welsh for the chair of church history. Under such teachers it would have been difficult for a pupil of even ordinary capacity to remain inert and unaccomplished; in the case of Robert M'Cheyne there was an ardour that not only carried him onward in the studies over which they presided, but into that life of Christian activity and practical usefulness which they were so desirous to combine with the intellectual acquirements of young students in training for the ministry. Many of our living clergymen can still remember how both in Glasgow and Edinburgh Dr. Chalmers converted the divinity halls into evangelistic seminaries of Sabbath-school teachers and religious instructors of the poor; and with what hearty good-will they themselves, while students, enlisted in the good work, and plunged boldly into those recesses of ignorance and crime which, but for his exhortations, they would have never thought of entering; and how they thereby acquired that knowledge and aptitude for their future duties, which the mere lectures of the class-room could never have imparted.

After having finished the usual course appointed for students in divinity, and exhibited an amount of talent and acquirements that might have opened for him an entrance into the fairest fields of literary ambition, Mr. M'Cheyne was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Annan, on the 1st of July, 1835. The sphere of action to which he turned at the outset was both humble and laborious, being an assistantship of the joint-parishes of Larbert and Dunipace, having a population of 6000 souls, most of whom were colliers and workmen of the Carron Ironworks—a population sufficiently repulsive in station and manners, as well as in general moral character. His situation and his feelings are well described in his poem on *Mungo Park finding a Tuft of Green Grass in the African Desert*—a poem, by the way, which John Wilson, our prince of critics, has stamped with his honoured approval:—

"No mighty rock upreared its head
To bless the wanderer with its shade,
In all the weary plain;
No palm-trees with refreshing green
To gladden the dazzled eye were seen,
But one wide sandy main.

"Dauntless and daring was the mind
That left all home-born joys behind
These deserts to explore—
To trace the mighty Niger's course,
And find it bubbling from its source
In wilds untrod before."

"And ah! shall we less daring show,
Who nobler ends and motives know
Than ever heroes dream—
Who seek to lead the savage mind
The precious Fountain-head to find,
Whence flows salvation's stream?"

Thus he felt, and in this spirit he laboured during the ten months of his assistantship, not confining himself to the duties of the pulpit, careful and anxious though his preparations in that department were, but visiting in every house, and endeavouring to make himself acquainted with the character, spiritual condition, and wants of every individual. A happy proof of his diligence and discriminating character in this the most important part of clerical duty, is contained in a letter which he afterwards wrote to his successor, recommending to his attention the persons in whom he felt most solicitude. "Take more heed to the saints," he writes, "than ever I did. Speak a word in season to S. M. S. H. will drink in simple truth, but tell him to be humble-minded. Cause L. H. to learn in silence; speak not of religion to her, but speak to her case always. Teach A. M. to look simply at Jesus. J. A. warn and

teach. Get worldliness from the B.'s if you can. Mrs. G. awake, or keep awake. Speak faithfully to the B.'s. Tell me of M. C., if she is really a believer, and grows? A. K. has the light visited her? M. T. I have had some doubts of. M. G. lies sore upon my conscience; I did no good to that woman; she always managed to speak of things *about the truth*. Speak boldly. What matter in eternity the slight awkwardness of time?" In these *notanda* what a beautiful practical illustration we have of that chapter in the work of Herbert on clerical duties, which he has entitled *The Parson Visiting!*

While Mr. M'Cheyne was thus occupied in the united parishes of Dunipace and Larbert, he was only in training for the full work of the ministry, which he was now about to enter. This event occurred in November, 1836, when, after having been invited by the managers and congregation of the new church, St. Peter's, Dundee, to become a candidate for that charge, he preached on trial two several Sundays before them, and was accepted as their minister. The duties into which he now entered were of the most arduous description. His parish of St. Peter's, detached from that of St. John's as a *quoad sacra* parish, contained a population of 4000 souls; and the church itself, built in connection with the Church Extension Scheme, contained a congregation of 1100 hearers. His health, lately subject to severe trials, was in very indifferent condition, while the religious apathy of the town-folks of Dundee was such as to strike him at first with anxiety. Here he commenced the same ministerial labours to which he had been accustomed as a preacher, but with a sense of still deeper responsibility—not only preaching faithfully on the Sabbath after careful preparation and prayer, but visiting from house to house during the week-days, and often extending these evangelistic visits of examination and instruction, not only over the families of his own parish, but those of Dundee at large. Such superabundant labour was perhaps an error—but an error upon the safe side. In addition to these tasks he superintended the labours of his elders over the several districts into which his parish was divided, held weekly evening classes for the young of his congregation, and trained the more advanced of their number for becoming Christian communicants. He also held prayer-meetings on the Thursday evenings. These manifestations of earnest, tender, indefatigable solicitude for the spiritual interests of the community among which he was placed, could not but be felt and appreciated, and the multitudes that repaired to his ministrations on the Sabbath soon became permanent members of his flock, arrested as they were by the unction of his preaching, so correspondent to his whole character and actions; by the distinct arrangement of his ideas, and the clear as well as eloquent language in which they were expressed—even by the tones of his expressive voice, and unstudied yet graceful and appropriate action of his limbs, that had excelled in dancing and gymnastics before he became a student in theology. In the pulpit itself such natural and personal advantages are no trivialities—and but for them, perhaps, even Whitfield himself, that prince of pulpit orators, would have lived and died an undistinguished Methodist preacher. As the fame of his popularity and usefulness extended over the country at large, other parishes wished to have Mr. M'Cheyne for their minister; but tempting though such offers were, on account of higher emolument and lighter labour, he respectfully declined them. His motives for this were well explained in his remarks on an application of this kind from the parish of Skirling. Writing to his father,

he says:—"I am set down among nearly 4000 people; 1100 people have taken seats in my church. I bring my message, such as it is, within the reach of that great company every Sabbath-day. I dare not leave this people. I dare not leave 3000 or 4000 for 300 people. Had this been offered me before, I would have seen it a direct intimation from God, and would heartily have embraced it. How I should have delighted to feed so precious a little flock—to watch over every family—to know every heart—to 'allure to brighter worlds, and lead the way!' But God has not so ordered it. He has set me down among the noisy mechanics and political weavers of this godless town. He will make the money sufficient. He that paid his taxes from a fish's mouth will supply all my need."

From Scotland to Palestine, from Dundee to Jerusalem, is a strange transition—but this Mr. M'Cheyne was now called to undergo. The incessant action of mind and body during his ministerial course upon a constitution naturally delicate, had, towards the close of 1838, completely impaired his strength, and occasioned such a violent palpitation of the heart, that he was imperatively ordered by his medical advisers to discontinue his public labours, and seek a cure in change of place and occupation. He reluctantly complied, and passed over to Edinburgh, where he had not been long domiciled, when a proposal was made to him to join a deputation about to be sent by the Church of Scotland into the East, for the purpose of making personal inquiries into the condition of the Jews. Nothing could have been more opportune than such an offer. It gratified the longing for missionary enterprise that had stirred up his spirit from an early period, but hitherto without scope; it promised to restore that health of which he was now in quest without dreary useless inaction as its price; and it would lead him through those hallowed scenes and localities, the memory of which is so dear to every Christian heart, and which it recognizes to the very end as its native birthplace and home. As one of the four ministers who composed the mission, he commenced that interesting journey, of which a full account has been given to the public in the *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839*. After a six months' tour, in which every day brought a change of scene and incident, he returned home in November, 1839, renewed in health, and impatient to resume his wonted duties. It was time that he should return, for one of these mysterious religious epochs, called a "revival," had occurred within his own parish, as well as the town of Dundee at large. It was similar to the event which, under the same title, had occurred nearly a century earlier at Cambuslang. On departing upon his mission to the East the assistant whom Mr. M'Cheyne left in his place had preached in Kilsyth, and there such a revival of religious feeling had occurred as seemed to recall the days of Pentecost. From Kilsyth the impulse reached Dundee, where its original agent was now stationed, and afterwards went with an electric sympathy through other parishes of Scotland. This religious popular movement so peculiar to Scotland, and yet so alien to the national character—as if that were the fittest place where such a doubtful impulse could be best tried and tested—was in full operation among his people when Mr. M'Cheyne returned, and in its working he recognized the finger of God. On this account he threw himself without hesitation into it, and was now more employed than ever in speaking comfort to the afflicted, and giving instruction to the doubtful and inquiring. The immediate fruits of this revival also were such as to fill him with

the most triumphant hope, notwithstanding the frequent instances that occurred among the seemingly converted, not only of wavering inconsistency, but even of positive downfall. As is well known, this great national religious stirring among the people preceded the Disruption, for which it served in some measure to prepare the way; and in these events, by which the Church of Scotland was finally rent in twain, Mr. M'Cheyne could not do otherwise than feel a deep vital interest. That principle of spiritual independence for which his brethren were contending, he had cherished and advocated from the beginning, and now that it was in peril, he prepared himself to sacrifice all for its sake. He therefore attended the solemn clerical meeting held in Edinburgh on the 11th of August, 1841, and subscribed the engagement by which the commission of the General Assembly bound itself to vindicate the liberties of the church by proceeding against the recusant ministers of the presbytery of Strathbogie, notwithstanding the state protection within which they had entrenched themselves. In the following year he was one of a clerical deputation that visited the north of England, for the purpose of preaching in chapels or in the open air, and instructing all who repaired to them in the great common principles of religion without reference to sect or party.

On returning to his charge at Dundee, Mr. M'Cheyne resumed his duties, and pursued them with a diligence which neither frequent attacks of sickness, nor a gradually decaying constitution, seemed in any way to abate. But his days were numbered, and his anticipations of a short life were about to be realized. In the midst of his preparations for the disruption that soon took place, in the event of which he had expressed his resolution to go forth as a missionary to our convict colonies, he was attacked by fever, the violence of which soon left no doubt of what would be its termination. Delirium followed, and in a few days he breathed his last. So intensely was he beloved, not only by the members of his flock, but the inhabitants of Dundee in general, that his death, coming especially with such suddenness, was lamented as a public calamity. The event occurred on the 25th of March, 1843, in the thirtieth year of his age, and seventh of his short but most useful and honoured ministry.

It is difficult, in so brief a notice, and in a life marked by so few striking incidents and changes, to convey a distinct idea of the worth of Mr. M'Cheyne, or the important character and results of his public labours. As a minister he might be called the Whitfield of Scotland; and in that one word we endeavour to comprise, as well as to convey, an impression of his apostolic life, character, and labours. Many indeed are the thousands still living, not only in his native land, but in England and Ireland, who will recognize the justice of such a title.

M'CRIE, THOMAS, D.D.—This most able and eloquent writer, whose generous selection of the chief subject of his authorship, as well as the felicitous manner in which he discharged the task, will connect his memory with the illustrious name of John Knox, was born in the town of Dunse. He was the eldest of a family of four sons and three daughters, and was born in November, 1772. His father was a manufacturer and merchant of the above-mentioned town, and lived to witness the literary celebrity of his son, as his death did not occur till 1823. The subject of this memoir was peculiarly fortunate in his parentage, especially in having a mother whose deep-toned, devoted, feminine piety seems, at a very early period, to have directed the feelings and

moulded the religious character of her eldest son. As his parents belonged to that class of the Secession called Antiburghers, Thomas M'Crie was born and nursed in that community, at a time, too, when it still retained much of the primitive earnestness and simplicity of the old days of the covenant. On being sent to the parish school, he soon became not only an apt scholar, but distinguished for those habits of laborious application by which he was trained to his future work of historical and antiquarian research. This progress, however, was somewhat alarming to his cautious father, who saw no reason for impoverishing a whole family to make his first-born a finished scholar; and had his paternal purposes been carried out, perhaps the future biographer of Knox and Melville would have become nothing better than a thriving Berwickshire store-keeper, or, it may be, a prosperous mercantile adventurer in London. But kind relatives interposed, and the boy was allowed to follow his original bent. This he did so effectually, that before he had reached the age of fifteen he was himself able to become a teacher in two country schools successively, and thus to proceed in his studies without occasioning the apprehended incumbrance.

It was soon settled that aptitudes so decided, and acquirements which had already brought him into notice, should be devoted to the work of the ministry; and accordingly, at the age of sixteen, Thomas M'Crie left home to be enrolled as a student in the university of Edinburgh. His pious, affectionate mother accompanied him part of the way, and when the painful moment of farewell had arrived, she took him aside into a field upon Coldingham Moor, and there, kneeling down with him behind a rock, she solemnly commended him and his future career to that God who gave him, and to whose service she now willingly resigned him. In a year after she died; but the memory of that prayer abode with him, while its answer was attested in his future life and labours. His favourite studies at the university, as might be surmised, were those allied with ethics, philology, and history—all that is closely connected with the development of human character, and the most effectual modes of delineating its manifold and minute phases. It is no wonder, therefore, if among the professors who at this time were the ornaments of the college, Dugald Stewart was his favourite instructor. In this way his course went on from year to year, his studies being frequently alternated with the laborious work of the schoolmaster, but his mind exhibiting on every occasion a happy combination of student-like diligence with healthful elastic vigour. In September, 1795, he was licensed to be a preacher by the Associate presbytery of Kelso; and in this capacity his first public attempts were so acceptable, that in little more than a month after being licensed he received a call from the Associate congregation in the Potter Row, Edinburgh, to become their second minister. Thus early was he settled in the precise sphere, where not only his talents as a minister could be turned to best account, but the proper facilities afforded for that important literary career in which he was destined to become so eminent.

A short time after he had entered the work of the ministry, he married Miss Janet Dickson, daughter of a respectable farmer in Swinton, to whom he had long been attached, and found in her a suitable domestic friend and comforter, until death dissolved their union.

At the outset of his ministry Mr. M'Crie's sermons were distinguished by a careful attention to those requirements of eloquence and rules of oratory, in which he was so well fitted to excel. Indeed, the

more aged of his brethren seem to have been of opinion that he carried these to such an undue length, as to be in danger of recommending himself more highly than the great subject of which he was but the herald. He soon appears to have been of the same opinion himself, more especially after a missionary tour through the Orkney Islands, hitherto in a state of grievous spiritual destitution, but now eager to hear the word of life, in whatever form it was proclaimed; and there he saw, in the demeanour of his primitive audiences, the vast importance of the great doctrines of salvation, as compared with those mere human appliances by which it is adorned and recommended. This wholesome conviction brought him back, not however with a recoil into the opposite extreme, but into that happy medium where the true grandeur of the subject is allowed its full predominance, and where its expression is only valued by how much the speaker himself is absorbed and lost sight of in his all-important theme. This indeed is the secret of true pulpit eloquence; and to this eloquence Mr. M'Crie attained after his return from the Orkneys. The consequence was, that his acceptability as a preacher increased, his auditory became greatly more numerous, and a deeper spirit of earnestness was manifested in the general bearing and character of his congregation. Such were the fruits of that act of self-denial which talented aspiring young clergymen find so difficult to perform. The same spirit of disinterested devotedness to his work was also evinced by Mr. M'Crie in trials which some may reckon equally hard to be withstood. Though his flock was numerous, it was chiefly from the humbler classes, so that his income was a small one; and in 1798 the price of provisions rose so high that families of limited means were reduced to unwonted privations. In this state of things the congregation of Potter Row adopted the generous resolution of increasing the salary of their minister; but no sooner did he hear of it than he wrote to them a letter, earnestly dissuading them from the measure. "The allowance which you promised me," he said, "when I first came among you as your minister, and which has been always punctually paid, though not so liberal as what may be given to others of the same station in this place, has hitherto been sufficient. From any general knowledge I have of the state of your funds, it is as much as you can be supposed to give, especially considering the burdens under which you labour. The expense of living has indeed been increasing for some time past, but the incomes of trades-people have not increased in proportion; and as the most of you are of that description, I don't consider myself entitled to make any increasing demand upon you." This kind negation was gratefully received, and inserted in the minute-book of the congregation. Here, however, the disinterestedness of their pastor did not terminate. That period of famine, so universal throughout Britain, and still well remembered in Scotland under the title of "the dearth," had reached its height in 1800, so that the middle were now transformed into the lower classes, while the lower were little better than paupers. At this crisis the minister stepped forward with a generous proposal; it was that, in consequence of the prevalent poverty, the amount of his stipend should be reduced. The people, however, who were able to appreciate his motives, refused to consent, and thus ended a contest that was equally honourable to both.

After this the life of Mr. M'Crie was fated for some time to be embittered by ecclesiastical controversy. It is well known to our readers that the great subject of religious debate in Scotland has been, since the Reformation, not so much about Christian doc-

trine as about Christian polity. What is the duty of the state in aiding, upholding, and fortifying the spiritual government of the church? And what is the nature and amount of that deference which the church should render to the state in return, compatible with her spiritual independence—or rather, her allegiance to her great Head and Sovereign? The relationship between these powers was fully established in Scotland by the first and second Books of Discipline, and finally ratified by the Confession of Faith at Westminster. But toward the close of the last century the principles of the French revolution, so active in other countries, had also found their entrance into Scotland; and there they menaced not only the civil but also the ecclesiastical authority of the state. This was especially the case in that body called the Secession, to a part of which Mr. M'Crie belonged. The Seceders had caught that Gallican spirit so hostile to kings and rulers, and they now found out that all connection between church and state should cease. Each party was to shift for itself as it best could, without the aid or co-operation of the other; while kings and magistrates, instead of being bound by their office to be nursing fathers of the church, were engaged to nothing more, and could claim nothing higher, than what they might effect as mere members and private individuals. In this way the voluntary principle was recognized as the only earthly stay of the church's dependence, and the party who adopted it thenceforth became not seceders from the Establishment, but dissenters. It was thus that they closed and bolted the door against any future reunion with the parent church, let the latter become as reformed and as pure as it might. In this painful controversy Mr. M'Crie was deeply involved; and, superior to that restless spirit of modern innovation by which it was animated, he took the unpopular side of the question, and held fast by those original standards of the Secession which the majority were so eager to abandon. The result was that numbers and votes prevailed, so that he and three conscientious brethren of the church who held the same principles with himself were formally deposed in 1806. The dissentients, under the new name of the Constitutional Associate Presbytery, were thus dispossessed of their churches, but not of their congregations, who still adhered to them; and in the new places of worship to which they repaired they continued to exercise their ministry as before. In this way they formed a separate and distinct, though small and unnoticed, body until 1827, when they united themselves with another portion of protesters from the same synod, under the common title of Original Seceders.

During the progress of these events, which extended over a course of years, and with which Mr. M'Crie was so vitally connected, their whole bearing had a most momentous influence upon his future literary labours. They threw his mind back upon the original principles of the Scottish Reformation, and made them the chief subjects of his inquiry; they brought him into close contact with those illustrious characters by whom the Reformation was commenced; and they animated and strengthened that love of religious consistency, and hostility to ecclesiastical tyranny and oppression, that accorded so materially with his original character. In the following sentence from one of his letters in 1802 we can well recognize the man who set at nought the demolition of such things as cathedrals and monasteries, when they hindered the erection of a true church, and who was well fitted to become the biographer of him whose stern principle was, "Pull down the nests and the rooks will flee." "There is something," he thus writes, "in

the modern study of the fine arts, *belles-lettres*, and mere antiquities, that gives the mind a *littleness* which totally unfits it for being suitably affected with things truly great in characters eminent for love of religion, liberty, and true learning. To demolish a Gothic arch, break a pane of painted glass, or deface a picture, are with them acts of ferocious sacrilege, not to be atoned for, the perpetrators of which must be *ipso facto* excommunicated from all *civil* society, and reckoned henceforth among savages; while to preserve these magnificent trifles, for which they entertain a veneration little less idolatrous than their Popish or pagan predecessors, they would consign whole nations to ignorance or perdition." Sentiments thus inspired, and researches so conducted, were not allowed to lie idle; and accordingly, from 1802 to 1806, he was a contributor to the *Christian Magazine*, the pages of which he enriched with several valuable historical and biographical sketches. The titles of these sufficiently indicated the nature of his present studies, while their excellence gave promise of what might yet be accomplished. The chief of them were an "Account of the Concluding Part of the Life and the Death of that Illustrious Man John Knox, the Most Faithful Restorer of the Church of Scotland," being a translation from the work of Principal Smeton; a "Memoir of Mr. John Murray," minister of Leith and Dunfermline, in the beginning of the seventeenth century; a "Sketch of the Progress of the Reformation in Spain, with an Account of the Spanish Protestant Martyrs;" "The Suppression of the Reformation in Spain;" the "Life of Dr. Andrew Rivet," the French Protestant minister; the "Life of Patrick Hamilton;" the "Life of Francis Lambert, of Avignon;" and the "Life of Alexander Henderson." The journal in which they appeared was of but limited circulation, and its literary merits were little appreciated, so that these admirable articles were scarcely known beyond the small circle of subscribers to the *Christian Magazine*, most of whom were Seceders. But it was better, perhaps, that it should be so. These were only preliminary efforts, and preparations for great achievements, that are generally best conducted in silence, and which the gaze of the public will only interrupt or impede.

In this way the mind of the author had been imbued with the subject of the Reformation at large; and he had been thus led to study its developments, not only in Scotland, but in Spain, France, and Italy. But in which of these important departments was his first great attempt in historical authorship to be made? Happily, his mind was not out at sea upon this conclusive question, for by the close of 1803 his choice had been decided. It was that of a leal-hearted Scotsman and zealous Covenanter, and on the proposal that had been made to him of writing a separate work instead of unconnected articles, he thus replies:—"As you have suggested this, I shall use the freedom of mentioning to you a floating idea which has sometimes passed through my mind, without ever assuming the formality of a resolution or design; namely, a selection of lives of Scottish reformers, in some such order as to embrace the most important periods of the history of the Church of Scotland; in which a number of facts which are reckoned too minute and trivial for general history might be brought to bear upon and occasionally illustrate it. The order, for instance, might be (I write merely from the recollection of the moment) Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, John Knox, John Craig, Andrew Melvine, Patrick Simpson, Robert Bruce, &c." It is easy to see how this variety, comprising the chief personages of the first and second

great movements of the Scottish Reformation, would finally resolve themselves into Knox and Melville, to whom the others were merely subsidiary. With Knox, therefore, he commenced; and the task was not an easy one. Obscure authors had to be discovered, and long-forgotten books resuscitated; contending facts had to be weighed, and contradictory statements reconciled; while a mass of manuscripts, such as might have daunted the most zealous antiquary at a period when Scottish antiquarianism was still in infancy, had to be pored over and deciphered, in quest of facts that were already fading away with the ink in which they were embodied, but whose final extinction his patriotic zeal sufficed to prevent. And all this was to be accomplished, not by the snug fellow of a college, reposing in learned leisure in the deep shadow of Gothic halls which the sound of the world could not reach, with half-a-mile of library before and behind him; or a church dignitary, whose whole time could be devoted to the defence of that church in which he was a high-titled and richly-guerdoned stipendiary; but by one who had the weekly and daily toil of a Scottish Secession minister to interrupt him, as well as its very scanty emoluments to impede his efforts and limit his literary resources. And all this for what?—not to write the life of one whose memory was universally cherished, and whose record all would be eager to read. The whole literary world was now united against John Knox, whose very name was the signal for ridicule or execration. The man whose heart was so hard and pitiless that the tears of Mary fell on it as upon cold iron—who demolished stately architectures and fair churches from sheer hatred of whatever was grand or beautiful—who shared in, or at least who countenanced, the foulest assassinations of the period—and who had finally imposed upon the land a sour, shrivelled, and soul-stunting creed, under the name of a reformation, which, thanks to *Moderatism!* the country was now getting rid of—this was he whom M'Crie, under every disadvantage and at every hazard, was resolved to chronicle and to vindicate. Of all the thousands and myriads whom his *Life of Knox* has delighted, how few are able to take into account the difficulties under which the author laboured, and the high heroic devotedness in which the task was pursued to the close!

The materials for this important work, as may readily be surmised, had been long in accumulating: as for the *Life* itself, it appears to have been fairly commenced in 1807, and it was published in 1811. On its appearance the public for a while was silent: many were doubtless astonished that such a subject should have been chosen at all, while not a few must have wondered that it could be handled so well. A complete change was to be wrought upon public feeling, and the obloquy of two centuries to be recanted; but by what literary organ was such a palinode to be commenced? At length "the song began from Jove"—for the first key-note was sounded, and the chorus led, by no less a journal than the *Edinburgh Review*, now the great oracle of the world of criticism, while the article itself was written by no less a personage than Jeffrey, the hierophant and pontifex maximus of critics. After commencing his critique with an allusion to those distinguished benefactors whose merits the world has been tardy in acknowledging, the reviewer thus continues:—"Among the many who have suffered by this partiality of fortune, we scarcely know any one to whom harder measure has been dealt than the eminent person who is the subject of the work before us. In the reformed island of Great Britain no honours now wait on the memory of the greatest of the British

reformers; and, even among us zealous Presbyterians of the north, the name of Knox, to whom our Presbyterian church is indebted, not merely for its establishment, but its existence, is oftener remembered for reproach than for veneration; and his apostolical zeal and sanctity, his heroic courage, his learning, talents, and accomplishments, are all coldly forgotten; while a thousand tongues are still ready to pour out their censure or derision of his fierceness, his ambition, and his bigotry. Some part of this injustice we must probably be content to ascribe to the fatality to which we have already made reference; but some part, at least, seems to admit of a better explanation." After having stated these palliating circumstances, in which a portion of the general prejudice originated, the critic adds: "From these, or from other causes, however, it seems to be undeniable that the prevailing opinion about John Knox, even in this country, has come to be that he was a fierce and gloomy bigot, equally a foe to polite learning and innocent enjoyment; and that, not satisfied with exposing the abuses of the Romish superstitions, he laboured to substitute for the rational religion and regulated worship of enlightened men, the ardent and unrectified spirit of vulgar enthusiasm, dashed with dreams of spiritual and political independence, and all the impracticabilities of the earthly kingdom of the saints. How unfair and how marvellously incorrect these representations are, may be learned from the perusal of the book before us—a work which has afforded us more amusement and more instruction than anything we ever read upon the subject; and which, independent of its theological merits, we do not hesitate to pronounce by far the best piece of history which has appeared since the commencement of our critical career. It is extremely accurate, learned, and concise, and, at the same time, very full of spirit and animation, exhibiting, as it appears to us, a rare union of the patient research and sober judgment which characterize the more laborious class of historians, with the boldness of thinking and force of imagination which is sometimes substituted in their place. It affords us very great pleasure to bear this public testimony to the merits of a writer who has been hitherto unknown, we believe, to the literary world either of this or the neighbouring country; of whom, or of whose existence at least, though residing in the same city with ourselves, it never was our fortune to have heard till his volume was put into our hands; and who, in his first emergence from the humble obscurity in which he has pursued the studies and performed the duties of his profession, has presented the world with a work which may put so many of his contemporaries to the blush, for the big promises they have broken, and the vast opportunities they have neglected."

This was much, coming as it did from the *Edinburgh Review*, a work that hitherto had been by no means distinguished for its advocacy of Christian principles or love of evangelical piety; and nothing, therefore, was better fitted to arrest the attention of the world in behalf of the volume that had lately appeared. The subject thus discussed in the great northern journal for July, 1812, was taken up by its powerful southern rival, and in the *Quarterly Review* of July, 1813, appeared a critique, in which the reviewers, in their admiration of John Knox, seem to have allowed their well-known devotedness to Episcopacy and Toryism for the time to go to sleep. After expressing their admiration that the Scottish reformer should have found a better biographer than had yet fallen to the lot of even Calvin and Luther, they thus characterize the literary merits of the work:—"Compact and vigorous, often coarse, but

never affected, without tumour and without verbosity, we can scarcely forbear to wonder by what effort of taste or discrimination the style of Dr. M'Crie has been preserved so nearly unpolluted by the disgusting and circumlocutory nonsense of his contemporaries. Here is no puling about the 'interesting sufferer,' 'the patient saint,' 'the angelic preacher,'

Knox is plain Knox, in acting and in suffering always a hero; and his story is told as a hero would wish that it should be told—with simplicity, precision, and force." Still, however, the reviewers could not well get over the demolished monasteries, or the tears of Queen Mary; and in their wrath they administered the following rebuke to the biographer, which, however, he accepted as no small compliment—"But of the literal subversion of many noble buildings, which, perhaps unavoidably, took place in the course of this great revolution, Dr. M'Crie permits himself to speak with a savage and sarcastic triumph, which evinces how zealous and practical a helper he would himself have proved in the work of destruction had he been born in the sixteenth century. Less, we are persuaded, would then have been heard of Row or Willock, as auxiliaries of Knox, than of M'Crie."

"Like Knox himself, he has neither a tear nor a sigh for Mary; and we doubt not that, like him, he would have voted to bring the royal adulteress and murderer, for such they both esteem her, to the block." "Is not that great praise?" says M'Crie, with good humour, while quoting to a friend this portion of the criticism. The other journals followed the lead of their two Titans; and encouraged by the reception of the work, and the high importance it quickly attained, the author commenced a second edition, in which he judiciously availed himself not only of the advice, but in many cases of the harsh censures, of his numerous reviewers. The result was, that in 1813 he published a second edition of the *Life of John Knox*, so greatly amplified and improved as to be almost a new work; and this, in course of time, was translated and published in French, Dutch, and German. Previous to the appearance of the second edition, the author had been honoured with the degree of Doctor in Divinity by the university of Edinburgh, the first instance in which it had ever conferred the title upon a dissenting minister. *O si sic omnes!* This distinction, however, Dr. M'Crie had neither sought nor expected; it was frankly given upon the application of Mr. Blackwood, his publisher, and the chief difficulty lay in persuading the author to allow the initials to be appended to his name in the second edition of the work. His opinion was, that such distinctions were incompatible with the strictness of Presbyterian parity. A compromise, however, was effected. He could not prevent the world from terming him *Doctor*, or become deaf when he was thus hailed; but when he went to the church courts he there sought equality with his brethren, and nothing more, and would allow himself to be designated as nothing higher than the Rev. Mr. M'Crie. It would indeed have been passing strange if our northern seats of learning had failed to confer their highest honours upon him who had achieved a literary feat so difficult, and achieved it so well. For by one great effort he had rolled back the tide of obloquy under which the most honoured of our national names had been buried so long, and restored it to its proper eminence and lustre. He had enabled Scotsmen to avoid the shame which they and their fathers had felt when that name was mentioned in their hearing, and inspired them with an honest pride in the character of their reformer. He had even carried this success into England, and made John Knox as popular there as he was at first,

when he was the friend and assistant of Cranmer, the chaplain of Edward VI., and the solicited but recalcitrant object of an English mitre. But wider and wider still the circle of intelligence upon the character of the Scottish reformer had been expanded, until the pious and reflective of Europe at large were enabled to perceive, and obliged to confess, that the ruthless demolisher of goodly architecture, which every other country had spared, was neither an illiterate Goth nor a ferocious Vandal, but one of those illustrious few of whom history is so justly proud. All this was much, but it was not yet the utmost which Dr. M'Crie had effected. Knox had, as it were, been recalled to life, and sent once more upon his momentous mission. His presence was seen and his voice heard in every district in Scotland. A heedless generation, by whom he was despised or neglected, had been compelled yet again to hear the instructions which he had formerly uttered, and to bethink themselves how wofully these instructions had been forgot. In short, their attention had been irresistibly called to the subject of the Scottish Reformation, and the principles upon which their church had been founded, and to the inquiry as to whether these principles were still in operation or hastening to become a mere dead letter. And this inquiry was neither unnecessary nor in vain. A death-blow was struck at that Erastianism which had lately become so predominant in the Church of Scotland; and such was the spirit of research among the mouldering records of its long-neglected library, and the ardour with which they were published and diffused, that the former ignorance and indifference could be tolerated no longer. These effects went on from year to year, and their result we know. Scotland is now awake, and the creed which was almost filched from her relaxing hand is held with as tight a grasp as ever.

The next literary undertaking in which we find Dr. M'Crie employed was a conflict with an antagonist everyway worthy of his prowess. The "Great Unknown" was now in the ascendant, and as he wrote to amuse, he was sure of the sympathies of at least three-fourths of the community. Such he must have felt when he gave to the world the tale of *Old Mortality*, in which the Covenanters were held up to derision, while their sufferings were described as justly merited. All this was enough for the novel-reading public, that was too ignorant to know, and too idle to inquire, and accordingly the statements of Sir Walter Scott, embodied as they were in so attractive a form, were received as veritable history. Nothing was now more common in England, and it may be added in Scotland also, than to hear the martyr-spirit of the days of the covenant laughed at, and its choicest adherents represented as madmen, fanatics, and cut-throats. It was needful that the "Author of *Waverley*" should be met by a fitting antagonist, and this he soon found in the author of the *Life of John Knox*. No two such other men could have been culled from the crowded ranks of British literature—the one so completely the type of ancient feudalism and Episcopacy ingrafted on modern Toryism, and the other of the sturdy independence of the good old Whiggamores and the Presbyterian devotedness of Drumclog and the Grassmarket. Dr. M'Crie had also the greater right to step forward on this occasion, as the prince of novelists had intruded into a field too sacred for a mere holiday tale. An elaborate review of *Old Mortality* was therefore written and published in the first three numbers of the *Christian Instructor* for the year 1817. It could scarcely have been expected from one so competent to the task as Dr. M'Crie, that it

would have been otherwise than a complete historical refutation of the misstatements of the novel, and a successful vindication of the vilified Covenanters. But it was also something more than this in the eyes of Scott and his admirers; for it attacked him with a strength of wit and power of sarcasm that threatened to turn the laugh against himself, and foil him at his own chosen weapon. So at least he felt, and his complaints upon the subject, as well as his attempted defence in the *Quarterly Review*, bespoke a mind ill at ease about the issue of such a controversy. The result was that the novelist was generally condemned, and that his tale, notwithstanding the popularity which at first attended it, sank in popular estimation, and became one of the least valued of all his admired productions.

The success with which the *Life of Knox* was attended would have been sufficient to make most authors repeat the attempt; but besides this, the task of Dr. M'Crie had already been chosen, of which his first great effort had only been the commencement. The distinguished lights of the Scottish Reformation had long stood arrayed before his view as successively demanding their due commemoration; and after having completed the first and best in the series, the choice of the next was not a matter of difficulty. "If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters," he writes, "forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville." Upon this therefore he had been employed for years, and towards the close of 1819 the *Life of Andrew Melville* was published. Such was the toil which this work occasioned him, that he was wont to say it had cost him "a hundred times more labour than the *Life of Knox*." This will be apparent when we consider not only the immense quantity of facts which such a narrative involved, but the difficulty of finding them, as they were no longer the broad, distinct, and widely published statements which so largely enter into the history of our first reformers. And yet, though the life of Melville is to the full as well written as that of Knox, and exhibits still greater learning and research, it never attained the same popularity. The cause of this is to be found in the subject itself. After the national hero has crossed the scene, all who follow in his path, be their deeds and merits what they may, must possess an inferior interest. Besides this, Melville was not a reformer from Popery, the common enemy of the Protestant church, but from Episcopacy; and therefore, while the interest of the event was mainly confined to Presbyterian Scotland, it excited dislike in England, while it awoke scarcely any sympathy in the Continental reformed churches. But will the work continue to be thus rated beneath its value? We scarcely think so. The great question of centuries—the question of the rights of the church in reference to its connection with the state—promises to become more generally felt and more keenly agitated than ever; and in this important controversy the opinions and example of Andrew Melville are likely to assume their due weight. And where, in this case, will posterity be likely to find a record better written than that of Dr. M'Crie? It may be, that before the present century has closed, his *Life of Andrew Melville* will be more widely perused and deeply considered than the author himself could have anticipated.

Calamities and afflictions of various kinds were now at hand to try the temper and purify the patience of the hitherto successful author. The perils by

which the principle of church establishment was beset, and the prospect of further division among Christian communities, clouded his spirit with anxious forebodings—for his was not a temper to rest satisfied that all should be well in his own day. Domestic sorrow was soon added to his public anxieties; for his amiable partner in life, who for the last six years had been an invalid, was removed from him by death in June, 1821. Soon afterwards his own health began to fail, in consequence of his intense application to study; and even his eyesight was so impaired with the poring of years over dim and difficult manuscripts, as to threaten total blindness. Cessation from labour and the recreation of travel were judged necessary for his recovery; and accordingly, in the summer of 1822, he made a short tour of two months to the Continent, during which his studies were only changed, not suspended, and he returned home considerably invigorated in health and spirits. On his return a new and soul-inspiring subject quickly brought him into action; it was the cause of Greece, that land so trampled under foot and crushed into the dust by centuries of oppression, but now rising from the dead; the first to attempt the great historical problem as to whether a whole nation may be capable of a resurrection and a new life, after ages of death and burial. But something more than mere historic curiosity was aroused by the event. Sympathy was also kindled throughout our whole island for the sufferings of the Greeks in their new war of independence, so that British swords and British money were freely tendered in their behalf. And not the least or the latest in this good cause was the city of Edinburgh, now rejoicing in the title of "Modern Athens," and prompt, by its brotherly sympathy, to make that title good. Public meetings were called for the purpose of raising money for the relief of the inhabitants of Scio, and for the promotion of education in Greece, and on both occasions Dr. M'Crie was enlisted as the advocate of suffering Hellas. He was now to appear before the public in a new phase. Hitherto he had carefully avoided addressing such meetings, while his pulpit oratory was the stern unadorned didactic theology of the old school. But eloquent as was the historian of Knox in the closet, and amidst historic details, was he also capable of eloquence in the crowded popular assembly, with a subject so delicate as Greece for his theme? The answer was given in addresses so imbued with the spirit of ancient heroism and Marathonian liberty—so pervaded by the classical tone of Athenian poetry—and so wide in their range, from playful, refined, subtle wit, to the most vehement and subduing appeals of outraged indignant humanity—that the audiences were astonished and electrified. Under what strange bushel had Dr. M'Crie hid such eloquence so long? It was now evident that, had he so pleased, he might have been among the first of our orators. But hitherto he had been content to be known as a theologian and historian, while he magnanimously left it to others to shine upon the platform; and having now performed his allotted task, he retired, amidst the deep wonderment of his hearers, to the modest seclusion of his study, and the silent labours that awaited him there.

And these labours were not pursued remissly. Besides his studies for the pulpit, which he prosecuted with all the diligence of his early days, he continued his researches into the history of the period of the Reformation; and in 1825 he published his edited "*Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch and George Bryson*, written by themselves," narratives which he considered of high importance, as illustrative of the covenanting days of Scotland, and to which he ap-

pended biographical sketches and illustrative notes. In 1827 appeared his *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*, a work that had formed the subject of his earlier studies, but for many years had been laid aside. It was a most complex and laborious task, as he was obliged to trace the origin, progress, and decline of the Reformation through twenty-five of the Italian states, among which the great movement was divided. Such was the interest of this work, that it was translated into French, German, and Dutch, and inserted by the ecclesiastical tribunal of Rome in the *Index Expurgatorius*. In 1829 he published the *Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century*, a sequel to the *History of the Reformation in Italy* during the same period. As a proof of his indefatigable diligence and zeal in the study of history, it may be mentioned here, that in order to make himself fully acquainted with the two last subjects, he had mastered, in the decline of his days, the Spanish and Italian languages, that he might study the proper authorities from their original sources. While Dr. M'Crie was thus occupied, the bill introduced in 1829 for the emancipation of Roman Catholics from political restrictions, and their admission into places of authority and trust, was passed. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that one who had studied and written as he had done, was entirely opposed to the measure. He not only thought it unsafe to concede such privileges, in a Protestant country, to men doing homage to a foreign ecclesiastical power and a hostile creed, but he was also of opinion that by such concessions our country abandoned the solemn engagements to which it had pledged itself since the Reformation, and forfeited the privileges which it enjoyed as the head of European Protestantism. In the old covenanting spirit he carried the subject to the pulpit, where it had but too much right to enter, and in his lectures on the book of Ezra, where it could be appropriately introduced, he uttered his prophetic warnings. "We have been told from a high quarter," he said, "to avoid such subjects, unless we wish to rekindle the flames of Smithfield, now long forgotten. Long forgotten! Where forgotten? In heaven? No. In Britain? God forbid! They may be forgotten at St. Stephen's or Westminster Abbey, but they are not forgotten in Britain. And if ever such a day arrives, the hours of Britain's prosperity have been numbered." He drew up a petition against the measure, which was signed by 13,150 names, but this, like other petitions of the same kind, was ineffectual. The bill was passed, and silly, duped, disappointed Britain is now ready, like the Roman voter in favour of Coriolanus, to exclaim, "An it were to do again—but no matter!"

The career of Dr. M'Crie was now drawing to a termination. His literary labours, especially in the lives of Knox and Melville, combined with his extreme care that every idea which he gave forth to the public, and every sentence in which it was embodied, should be worthy of those important subjects in which he dealt—all this, connected with the daily and almost hourly avocations of his ministerial office, and the numerous calls that were made upon him, in consequence of his interference with the great public movements of the day, had reduced him to the debility and bodily ailments of "threescore and ten," while as yet he was ten years short of the mark. But his was a mind that had never rested, and that knew not how to rest. In 1827 he had enjoyed the satisfaction, after much labour and anxiety, of seeing a union effected between the church party to which he belonged and the body who had seceded from

the Burgher and Antiburgher Synods in 1820, under the name of Protesters; and in 1830 his anxieties were excited, and his pen employed, in endeavours to promote a union between his own party, now greatly increased, and the Associate Synod of Original Burghers. Many may smile at these divisions as unnecessary and unmeaning, and many may wonder that such a mind as that of Dr. M'Crie should have been so intent in reconciling them. But religious dissension is no triviality, and the bond of Christian unity is worth any sacrifice short of religious principle; and upon this subject, therefore, the conscientious spirit of Dr. M'Crie was as anxious as ever was statesman to combine jarring parties into one, for the accomplishment of some great national and common benefit. While thus employed, a heavy public bereavement visited him with all the weight of a personal affliction; this was the death of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, who, in the full strength and vigour of his days, suddenly fell down and expired upon the threshold of his home, which he was just about to enter. By this event, which occurred on the 9th of February, 1831, Dr. M'Crie was bereaved of a close affectionate intercourse which he had for years enjoyed with a most congenial heart and intellect, and saw himself fated to hold onward in his course, and continue the "good fight," uncheered by the voice that had so often revived his courage. After he had rallied from the unexpected blow, Dr. M'Crie was employed in what was called the "Marrow Controversy," which, notwithstanding the uncouth title it bore, had for its object the vindication of the important doctrine of justification by faith from the perversions of Arminianism. This was followed by the anti-patronage controversy in 1833, a subject which the Kirk of Scotland had never lost sight of since the time when patronage was first imposed upon it, and which was now fast ripening into such important results as neither friend nor enemy could anticipate. As might be expected Dr. M'Crie was no mere onlooker. He belonged to a body whose conscientious hope was a return to the church of their fathers, when it was loosed from its bonds and purified from its errors; but who saw no prospect of the realization of that hope until the right of pastoral election was conceded to the people. Upon this question Dr. M'Crie published what proved to be the last work he was to produce as an author, in the form of an anonymous pamphlet, entitled, *What ought the General Assembly to do at the Present Crisis?* His answer to the question was express and brief: "Without delay petition the legislature for the abolition of patronage." The outcry in Scotland against patronage became so loud—so deafening—that statesmen saw they must be up and doing, and a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to hold an inquest upon the alleged grievance. It was natural that the most distinguished of Scotland's ecclesiastical historians should be heard upon the subject, more especially as his testimony was likely to be unbiassed either by party feeling or self-interest; and accordingly, besides the many eminent ministers of the Established church who were summoned before the committee, Dr. M'Crie was called to give his statement upon the effects of ecclesiastical patronage. He repaired to London at this authoritative summons, although with reluctance, and underwent two long examinations before the committee, the one on the 2d, the other on the 7th of May, 1834. It was not thus, however, that the question was to be settled; and he returned from London, wondering what would be the result, but comforting himself with the conviction that an overruling wisdom predominated

over earthly counsels, and that all would be controlled for the best.

Amidst these public cares and a debility in health that was daily increasing, Dr. M'Crie now addressed himself in earnest to accomplish what, in all likelihood, would have proved the most laborious of his literary undertakings. It was nothing less than a *Life of Calvin*, to which his attention had been directed during his studies upon the progress of the Reformation on the Continent, and for which he had collected a considerable amount of materials. This, however, was not enough, for he felt that, to accomplish such a work in a satisfactory manner, it would be necessary to consult the ancient records of Geneva, a step which his ministerial duties prevented. His friends, aware of his wishes on the subject, had offered to send, at their own expense, a qualified person to Geneva to transcribe the required documents; but this kind offer, which was made in 1831, he declined. In 1833, however, his son John, a young man of high talent, who was studying for the church, had repaired with two pupils on a travelling excursion to Geneva, and to him the task was committed of making the necessary extracts upon the subject. The commission could not have been better bestowed. "John has been so laborious in his researches," said the affectionate father, "and sent me home so many materials, that I found myself shut up to make an attempt, if it were for no other reason than to show that I was not altogether insensible to his exertions." He felt more and more the growing lassitude that was stealing upon him, and thus wrote, eight months afterwards, about the materials that were pouring in upon him from Geneva: "I have neither time nor leisure to avail myself of them; and instead of rejoicing, as I used to do, at the sight of such treasures, I rather feel inclined to weep. Yet if I can make nothing of them, some other may." Thus he went on till the middle of the following year, his attention to Calvin being in the meantime divided by the great ecclesiastical events that were hastening onward to the disruption of the Church of Scotland. Of the life of the great reformer, however, he had already written out and prepared for the press three ample chapters, in which Calvin's career was traced through the studies of his youth, onward to his adoption of the reformed doctrines, his preface to the *Institution of the Christian Religion*, and his residence in Geneva. But here the historian's task was to terminate, and terminate most unexpectedly and abruptly. On the 4th of August, 1835, he was suddenly taken unwell; a stupor succeeded, from which it was impossible to rouse him; and on the following day he breathed his last, without a groan or struggle, but insensible to the presence of his grieving friends who were assembled round his deathbed. Thus died, in the sixty-third year of his age and fortieth of his ministry, the Rev. Dr. M'Crie, whose whole life had been a preparation for death, and whom death, therefore, could not take at unawares. His remains were buried in the churchyard of Grayfriars, and over the grave a simple monument was erected by his congregation, with an inscription commemorative of his worth and their regret. At his death he left a widow, for he was twice married, upon whom government, to show their sense of his worth, settled a liberal pension. His children, who were all by his first marriage, consisted of four sons, of whom John, the third, his faithful assistant among the archives of Geneva, died only two years after his father. Besides these, he had one daughter, married to Archibald Meikle, Esq., Flemington. It is pleasing to add that of the family of such a man, there is one who inherits not only his name and

sacred office, but also his tastes and studies, and not a small portion of his talent.

Besides those works to which we have already adverted, Dr. M'Crie was author of the following publications :—" *The Duty of Christian Societies towards Each Other*, in relation to the Measures for Propagating the Gospel, which at Present engage the Attention of the Religious World; a Sermon preached in the Meeting-house, Potter Row, on occasion of a Collection for promoting a Mission to Kentucky." 1797.—"*Statement of the Difference between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland as adopted by Seceders, and the Profession contained in the New Testament and other Acts lately adopted by the General Associate Synod*; particularly on the Power of Civil Magistrates respecting Religion, National Reformation, National Churches, and National Covenants." Edinburgh, 1807.—"*Letters on the late Catholic Bill, and the Discussions to which it has given Rise*. Addressed to British Protestants, and chiefly Presbyterians in Scotland. By a Scots Presbyterian." Edinburgh, 1807.—"*Free Thoughts on the late Religious Celebration of the Funeral of Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales*; and on the Discussion to which it has given rise in Edinburgh. By Scoto Britannus." 1817.—"*Two Discourses on the Unity of the Church, her Divisions, and their Removal*." Edinburgh, 1821.—"*Sermons* (posthumous volume). Edinburgh, 1836.—"*Lectures on the Book of Esther* (posthumous). Edinburgh, 1838.

M'CULLOCH, HORATIO, R.S.A. Among the numerous Scottish artists who have distinguished themselves in the present century, an important place must be assigned to Horatio M'Culloch. Like many of his brethren who have become renowned in the ranks of artists, he was of humble origin, and was born in the city of Glasgow in the latter part of 1805—a period distinguished in our naval history by the victory of Trafalgar. This event, by which the naval supremacy of Britain was established, excited nowhere greater stir than in Glasgow, the growing prosperity of which was so dependent upon our command of the seas; and on the night of the brilliant illumination for the victory, in which the exultation of our western capital was all but frantic, our painter was born. The same event decided his parents in giving him the name of Horatio, after the great naval hero who had won the victory, and passed away in the blaze of his fame. The talent of the future artist was early manifested, and so strongly, that his father and family were too wise to thwart it; and Horatio M'Culloch, encouraged and aided by his sister not only in his earliest attempts, but those of his riper years, followed his bias for art, until it became his sole occupation. His first regular instructor in his future profession was Mr. Alexander Watt, teacher of drawing in Glasgow; and at this period he formed a friendship that lasted for life with Daniel Macnee, the well-known portrait-painter, who, like himself, was an enthusiastic student of art. Macnee being the pupil of Knox, at that time a landscape-painter of some repute in Glasgow, easily prevailed upon Horatio M'Culloch to become a pupil of the same instructor. Here the two young artists studied and painted side by side. When Mr. Macnee left Glasgow in 1825, being engaged by Mr. Lizars, engraver, Edinburgh, to colour the engravings of Selby's work on *Ornithology* and Dr. Lizars' *Anatomy*, he was soon after followed by M'Culloch, who, on the recommendation of his friend, was employed by Lizars in the same occupation. But the colouring of anatomical and ornitho-

logical plates was too mechanical an employment to satisfy the longings of Horatio; and while he attended his place of work at the appointed hour of nine o'clock in the morning, it was often after a sketching excursion of several miles in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. On the close of his engagement with Mr. Lizars, our young artist returned to Glasgow, resolved to devote himself wholly to the cultivation of landscape painting; and being soon after thrown upon his own resources by the death of his father, he painted several pictures for sale; but as these were chiefly sketches, and of small dimensions, their merits were not so conspicuous as to arrest the notice of ordinary purchasers. But this despondent state of things was somewhat relieved by Mr. Macnee, who showed some of M'Culloch's sketches to the late Provost Lumsden of Glasgow, who appreciated their merits, and employed their author in executing several large pictures for a hall which he was then building. This commission was so successfully executed as to bring him into some notice, and secure for him several small orders, but still his professional income was at best precarious and scanty. Among the artistic shifts to which he had resort, after returning to Glasgow, was painting views on snuff-boxes for Mr. Smith of Mauchline; but even from such occupation true genius can emerge, and at least two others who were employed with him in the same task afterwards became artists of great eminence.

In 1828 M'Culloch had for the first time an opportunity of testing his powers against those of artists of established reputation. In that year the Glasgow Dilettanti Society opened their first exhibition, and to that collection M'Culloch sent four pictures. This exhibition was successful, and was followed up for several years by others, to all of which he contributed pictures, by which he became favourably known in Glasgow. In 1831, 1833, and 1834 he had sent several paintings (fourteen in all) to the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibitions, and on the two latter occasions the merits of his works were so striking, that in November, 1834, he was elected an associate of the Academy. In the next year (1835) he sent eight contributions to the exhibition, which amply justified his title to the distinction bestowed on him; among these were his "View in Cadzow Park, near Hamilton, part of the Ancient Caledonian Forest," a work greatly in advance of any of his former productions. This picture was so highly praised by Professor Wilson, that he then received a fresh impulse, and the continued commendations of Christopher North became an encouraging incentive to higher efforts. In the exhibition of 1836 he had five pictures, one of which, entitled "A Scottish Strath," fully supported the high position he had already acquired. In 1838, when the first vacancy occurred, he was elected an academician, and regularly thereafter he continued to contribute pictures to the annual exhibitions, all marked by the same high qualities that had commanded not only the attention of the public, but of the critical in art. Horatio M'Culloch soon became acknowledged chief of Scottish landscape-painters—a pre-eminence which continued with him until the close of his life; and to this department of art, in which he had secured such distinction, he continued exclusively to devote himself. In the year 1837, before he was elected an academician, Mr. M'Culloch removed from Glasgow to Edinburgh, and there he continued to reside till the close of his career; but during the greater part of the summer he was in the country, making studies and sketches for his exhibition pictures, and for the commissions which he had now constantly on hand. These summer excur-

sions were always directed by the work that for the present required his attention; and thus he was sometimes located at some spot in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, sometimes in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, and sometimes on the banks of the Firth of Clyde. But it was not to the gentle and softened beauties of Lowland scenery that his pencil was confined; he also delighted to paint the wild rugged magnificence of the Highlands, in all its variety of land and water, with their varied aspects of sunshine, gloom, and storm; and for this purpose he frequently took up his residence in Inverness-shire, Oban, and Skye. It was in one of these artistic tours to Skye, on visiting it for the first time in 1847, that he married Miss M'Lellan, cousin of the wife of his friend, Alexander Smith, the poet. From sojourning in the Highlands, he would pass to the repose of the Lowlands, and its woods, lakes, and rivers, among which he constantly found fresh themes for his pencil.

Such was the artist life of Horatio M'Culloch, with but little variation over a course of forty years, in which the high excellence of the produce was almost equalled by the amount. In fact, it might be said of him, not merely that he lived by painting, but that he lived to paint. His contributions to the Royal Scottish Academy alone were one hundred and ninety-three, and among these were the most finished and best of his productions. We can only enumerate some of his larger and more important works, which are the following:—

- 1833—Head of Lochfyne—stormy effect.
- 1834—Arran as seen from Bute—sunshine bursting through a rainy cloud.
- 1835—View in Cadzow Park, near Hamilton. Part of the Ancient Caledonian Forest.
View from the Roman Camp at Dalzell, near Hamilton.
- 1836—A Scottish Strath.
Loch Eck, Argyleshire.
- 1837—Loch-an-Eilan, with the Stronghold of the Wolf of Badenoch.
This picture is well known from the large and fine engraving by William Miller.
- 1838—View in Cadzow Forest.
Beautifully engraved by Forrest for the Abbotsford edition of the *Waverley Novels*.
Loch-an-eilan, Inverness-shire, with part of the Pine Forest.
- 1839—Castle Campbell, near Dollar.
- 1840—Edinburgh from Corstorphine Hill—effect after Rain.
Moonlight—Deer started.
- 1841—Glen Messen, Argyleshire.
Cambuskenneth Abbey, near Stirling—Moonlight.
- 1842—A Road Scene on the Banks of Loch Long.
Arran, seen from Ettrick Bay, Island of Bute.
- 1843—Ben Venue and part of the Trossachs.
- 1844—A Dream of the Highlands.
This composition appears to be founded on scenery near the entrance to Loch Etive, Argyleshire.
Kilchurn Castle, Loch Awe.
Engraved by Forrest on a large size, for the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts.
- 1845—Ballachulish, on Loch Leven, Argyleshire.
Glencoe, Argyleshire.
- 1846—Bothwell Castle, River Clyde.
- 1847—Scene in the Marquis of Breadalbane's Deer Forest, Black Mount, Argyleshire.
Misty Corries—Haunts of the Red Deer.
- 1848—The Range of the Cuchullin Mountains, from Gillian Bay, Isle of Skye.
Loch Corriusk, Isle of Skye.
- 1849—On the Island of Inch Murren, Loch Lomond.
- 1850—A Quiet River.
- 1851—A Lowland River—Sunset.
Engraving on a large size for the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts.
- 1853—Glencoe, looking down the Glen—Mist rising after Rain.
Edinburgh from Spylaw—Autumn Afternoon.
- 1854—The Cuchullin Mountains, Isle of Skye.
- 1855—Knock Castle, and Sound of Sleat, Isle of Skye.
The Firth of Forth and Edinburgh, from Dalmeny Park.
- 1856—Storm on a Highland Coast, Isle of Skye.
Loch Ard, looking towards Benlomond—Sunset.
- 1857—Inverloch Castle, near Fort William.
Now in the Scottish National Gallery.
Summer-day in Skye—View of the Cuchullin Mountains.
- 1858—Moon Rising in a Highland Glen—Autumn.

- 1859—The Firth of Clyde and Dumbarton Castle, from Dalmott Hill.
- 1860—Loch Achray and the Trossachs.
Druidical Stones—Moonlight.
- 1861—Mist Rising off Mountains.
Sea Beach on the coast of Ayr.
- 1862—Ben-Venue, Loch Katrine, from near the Silver Strand.
The Island of Mull, from Kerrara—Sunset.
- 1863—Glencoe, from the Bridge of the Three Waters.
Loch Corriusk, Skye.
Loch Katrine, from the Silver Strand.
Deer Forest—Sligiehan, Isle of Skye.
- 1864—Kilchurn Castle, Loch Awe.
Sun rising through the Mist.
- 1865—Dunskiach Castle, Isle of Skye.
Glencoe, Argyleshire.
Loch Achray, Perthshire.
- 1866—Loch Katrine, Perthshire.
- 1867—Loch Maree, west of Ross-shire.

His other pieces, large and small, although so numerous, are distinguished by original genius and masterly execution, and well maintain his reputation as the best of Scottish landscape-painters. M'Culloch seldom sent pictures to the London exhibitions, and consequently was but little known there, except by art-critics. Two of his landscapes, however, which were in the great International Exhibition at Kensington in 1862, were distinguished among the choice productions of that collection, and elicited high commendation from the French critics—a distinction which to our artist was particularly gratifying. But it was in the exhibitions of the Royal Scottish Academy that his new works first appeared, and to that exhibition during his whole career they were chiefly confined. He was wont to send one or two important pictures, and several smaller ones, to each exhibition, and generally one or two annually to the exhibition in his native Glasgow.

Although Horatio M'Culloch was of a robust constitution, incessant application, and out-door exposure to changes of weather, began to tell upon his frame; and about fifteen years previous to his death, after having sat working in the open-air at Smalholme, he was attacked by a slight shock of paralysis, which affected his left side and the muscles of his face. From this however he soon rallied, and was able to continue his exertions with the same hardy vigour and diligence, and the same success, as before. In the winter of 1866 he experienced a second and still more severe stroke, from which he rallied with similar readiness and resumed his wonted occupation; but in February of the following year the third and worst attack occurred, which proved to be the final summons, and on the 24th of June, 1867, he expired, in the sixty-second year of his age. Of his talents as an artist it would now be superfluous to speak: these are attested by his numerous productions, which have established a reputation which time can only mellow and improve. His studies on the spot were usually painted in oil, and these were done with great care, many of them taking two or three weeks of constant work. He was very particular about the kind of trees that grew in certain localities, and the kind of vegetation peculiar to certain rocks and soils. While he retained the individual character of every object that he painted, from a cloud to a stone, he invested them with a certain grace and elegance that removed them from commonplace portraiture. He has been known to paint for a week upon the sky of one of his larger pictures before he was satisfied with the forms of the clouds. He seldom or never selected a scene in which buildings constituted an important feature. Neither did he often paint coast-scenery; but when he did so, water, whether still or in agitation, was rendered with rare fidelity and skill. His subjects are most frequently the moor, the loch, and the mountain side, far removed from the haunts of men; consequently human figures are but sparingly intro-

duced, and play a very subordinate part in his pictures; cattle and red deer appear much more frequently, and form more important features. His moonlight pictures are extremely fine, never black and inky, but clear, truthful, and beautiful in colour, with the richly-variegated clouds only seen in autumn. The freshness and truthfulness of his colouring, and the distinctive character he imparted to every object, are among the greatest excellences of his pictures. His landscape compositions, as well as views, are founded on carefully painted studies from nature, and in his most charming ideal work, *A Dream of the Highlands*, truthfulness reigns throughout its beauty. M'Culloch adopted no previous artist as his model. His style and mode of treatment were derived from an earnest study of nature rather than anything suggested by the works of his predecessors. His pictures may be said to approach more in character to those of Hobbema than to the works of any other well-known artist. Still, both in choice of subject and in treatment, they have distinctive individuality, and excellencies of a kind that are entirely their own.

With this professional excellence his personal character was in beautiful and harmonious keeping. Devoid of envy at the excellence of others, he was one of the first to recognize their merits; and having commenced his career as an unbefriended youth, he was only the more ready on that account to sympathize with the struggles of early genius, and extend his helping hand to the young who were worthy of success, but whose merits were as yet undiscovered. His earliest friendships were also his last, and the kindness of those who had first introduced him to notice he never forgot, and was not slow to acknowledge. Seldom, indeed, has such distinction as his been combined with such genuine modesty, simplicity, and unabated warmth of heart.

M'CULLOCH, JOHN RAMSAY. This industrious and useful statistical writer was born at Whithorn, Wigtonshire, on March 1, 1789. He was of a respectable family, who were proprietors of a small freehold estate called Auchengool, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, to which he succeeded on the death of his grandfather, who had been commander of a revenue cutter. From his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Laing, John received his early education, which consisted merely of the ordinary knowledge of his native tongue and the elementary principles of the classical languages. In youth, his future profession was not decided, so that, although placed in the office of a writer to the signet, he did not become a lawyer; and although he attended the classes of the university for two years, he neither graduated nor studied for any settled occupation. Accident, however, decided for him early in 1817, when having sent a communication to the *Scotsman* newspaper, then newly commenced, he became its editor for two years, and a frequent contributor to it for many years after. In 1818 Mr. M'Culloch commenced a series of contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, the first of which was an article on Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy*, and in addition to his writings upon the subjects of political science, he gave lectures on political economy.

Having thus established his reputation for knowledge in this particular department, Mr. M'Culloch left Edinburgh for London in 1828, in consequence of being appointed to the chair of political economy in University College, London. The chair, however, being unendowed, and the fees of his class producing an insufficient remuneration, he abandoned the charge, but continued to write on his favourite

theme, and to give lectures which were attended by some of the principal statesmen of the day. Such a man was not to be neglected, and in 1838 the Whig government gave evidence of its sense of his merits by appointing him to the important post of comptroller of H. M. stationery office, which he continued to hold until his death. The waste of paper in this department had long been proverbial; but Mr. M'Culloch introduced into it such a strict and proper spirit of economy, that useless expenditure was checked, and a saving to the nation effected, of which honourable mention was repeatedly made in parliamentary reports and returns.

But it was by his publications that he especially became a public benefactor, and upon these his chief reputation will be established, so that a list of them will suffice to constitute the chief part of his memoir; they were:—

"*A Discourse on the Rise, Progress, Peculiar Objects, and Importance of Political Economy*, containing an Outline of a Course of Lectures on the Principles and Doctrine of that Science," 8vo, 1825. "*The Principles of Political Economy*, with some Inquiries respecting their Application; and a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science," 8vo, Edin. 1825; 4th edition, 1849. "*Statements Illustrative of the Policy and Probable Consequences of the Proposed Repeal of the Existing Corn-laws, and the Imposition in their stead of a Moderate Fixed Duty on Foreign Corn*," 8vo, 1841. "*A Treatise on the Principles and Practical Influence of Taxation and the Funding System*," 8vo, 1845. "*The Literature of Political Economy*, a Classified Catalogue of Select Publications in the Different Departments of that Science, with Historical, Critical, and Biographical Notices," 8vo, 1845. "*A Treatise on the Succession to Property vacant by Death*, including Inquiries into the Influence of Primogeniture, Entails, Compulsory Partition, Foundations, &c., over the Public Interest," 8vo, 1848. "*A Treatise on the Circumstances that determine the Rate of Wages and the Condition of the Labouring Classes*," post octavo, 1851. "*A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, illustrated with Maps and Plans," 8vo; 2d edit. 1834; republished several times with improvements and additions in one volume. "*A Statistical Account of the British Empire*, exhibiting its Extent, Physical Capacities, Population, Industry, and Civil and Religious Institutions," 2 vols. 8vo. "*A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World*, illustrated with Maps," two thick and closely printed volumes 8vo, originally published in numbers and completed in 1842; a new edition with large additions was published in 1856. "*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Supplemental Disquisitions," 8vo; 2d edit. 1838, 4th edit. 1850. "*A Select Collection of Early English Tracts on Commerce*, printed by the Political Economy Club of London for private distribution, from the originals, supplied by Mr. M'Culloch, who also wrote the preface.

The value attached to these productions was shown by the number of editions through which several of them passed in England, and the reprints that appeared of them in the United States, and also by their translation into foreign languages. While he thus distinguished himself as a writer on political economy, and became a recognized authority on the subject, he still continued to retain his appointment as comptroller of H. M. stationery office, and the appreciation of his services in this department was shown by the rise in his salary, which increased by successive steps from £600 to £1200 per annum. He had also

a literary pension assigned to him of £200 per annum under the administration of Sir Robert Peel. In 1843 he enjoyed the foreign honour of being elected a member of the Institute of France. His library, especially in works connected with political economy, was remarkable both for its numerous and valuable volumes, of which he printed a catalogue raisonné for private distribution; while in private life he was as greatly distinguished by the extent of his knowledge derived from observation as well as books, and his readiness to impart it. He never also abandoned his connection with Scotland, and especially its capital, and once a year, during autumn, he was wont to visit Edinburgh, where his old friends were proud of the celebrity he had attained. At length, full of years and honour, John Ramsay M'Culloch died, November 11, 1865, at the age of seventy-five, leaving his widow, to whom he had been married in early life, and a numerous family of four sons and six daughters.

MACDIARMID, JOHN, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1779. He was the son of the Rev. Mr. Macdiarmid, minister of Weem, in Perthshire. After studying at the universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and acting for some time as tutor to a gentleman's family, he proceeded in 1801 to London, for the purpose of prosecuting a literary career. He soon obtained lucrative employment as a writer in periodical works, and became editor of the *St. James' Chronicle*, a newspaper in which some of the first scholars and wits of former years were accustomed to employ their pens. On the renewal of the war with France in 1802-3, the attention of Mr. Macdiarmid was attracted to the system of national defence which had been adopted, and he forsook his other employments to devote himself to a work of a very elaborate character, which appeared in 1803, in two volumes 8vo, under the title of *An Inquiry into the System of Military Defence of Great Britain*. He aimed at exposing the defects of the volunteer system as well as of all temporary expedients, and asserted the superiority of a regular army. His next work was an *Inquiry into the Nature of Civil and Military Subordination*, 1804, 8vo, perhaps the fullest disquisition which the subject has received. Being thus favourably introduced to public notice as a general writer, he began to aim at higher objects, but it would appear, without properly calculating his own physical capabilities. Mr. D'Israeli, who saw him at this time, and who had afterwards the melancholy task of introducing his case into the work called the *Calamities of Authors*, describes him as "of a tender frame, emaciated and study-worn, with hollow eyes, where the mind dimly shone, like a lamp in a tomb. With keen ardour," says the historian of literary disaster, "he opened a new plan of biographical politics. When, by one who wished the author and his style were in better condition, the dangers of excess in study were brought to his recollection, he smiled, and, with something of a mysterious air, talked of unalterable confidence in the powers of his mind—of the indefinite improvement in our faculties; and although his frame was not athletic, he considered himself capable of trying it to the extremity. His whole life, indeed, was one melancholy trial: often the day passed cheerfully without its meal, but never without its page." Under the impulse of this uncontrollable enthusiasm, Mr. Macdiarmid composed his *Lives of British Statesmen*, beginning with Sir Thomas More. For the publication he was indebted to a friend, who, when the author could not readily procure a publisher, could not see even the dying author's last hopes disap-

pointed. The work has obtained a reputation of no mean order. "Some research and reflection," says Mr. D'Israeli, "are combined in this literary and civil history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." "The style," according to another critic, "is perspicuous and unaffected; authorities are quoted for every statement of consequence, and a variety of curious information is extracted from voluminous records, and brought for the first time into public view. His political speculations were always temperate and liberal. He was indeed in all respects qualified for a work of this description, by great power of research and equal impartiality." The poor author was destined to enjoy for a short time only the approbation with which his work was received. His health sustained, in November, 1807, an irreparable blow by a paralytic stroke; and a second attack in February, 1808, proved fatal, April 7.

M'DIARMID, JOHN. This talented journalist and popular writer in miscellaneous literature was the son of the Rev. Hugh M'Diarmid, minister of the Gaelic church, Glasgow, and was born, it has been said, in Edinburgh, in 1790. In the latter city also he received a respectable elementary education; but being deprived of his father in early life, he was obliged to make his way by his own energy and resources. His first situation was as a clerk in connection with a bleachfield at Roslin; afterwards he obtained a situation in the head-office of the Commercial Bank in Edinburgh, where he rose to a respectable position; and while thus employed in business during the day, he attended the university classes during his leisure hours, and diligently pursued a course of reading intermixed with the practice of composition. Of two advantages he also availed himself, which tended considerably to his intellectual improvement. One of these was acting occasionally as amanuensis during two years to Professor Playfair, from whom he obtained the privilege of attending his classes and the free use of his library; the other was his becoming a member of the Edinburgh Forum, where he was one of its leading speakers. It was with this forum also that the Ettrick Shepherd was connected, and from which, he declared, he derived more benefit than from any other source of instruction.

Although John M'Diarmid under such a training soon began to manifest a strong tendency to literature, he was too wise to let it drift him from his anchorage; and accordingly, while indulging in poetry and prose, and occasionally enjoying the luxury of seeing himself in print, he continued to retain his position in the Commercial Bank. It was well that he did so, as his disposition otherwise was generous in the extreme, and might soon have involved him in difficulties from which no amount of genius could have set him free. As a specimen of this, we may mention an incident that occurred in 1816. In the previous year, at the request of a fellow-clerk, he had written some spirited verses on Waterloo, when the foundation-stone of a monument commemorative of the battle was to be erected at Newabbey, near Dumfries; and the poem having brought him into some notice among the Edinburgh publishers, he was employed by the Messrs. Oliver and Boyd to compile some works for them, for which, when the task was finished, he received £50. This sum, independent of its "money's-worth," was a literary trophy, and therefore of double value: but before the cash had got warm in his pocket, he heard a moving tale of the distresses of a brother-poet still higher in the list of fame than himself, although

not nearly so fortunate. To relieve him M'Diarmid immediately transferred to him the whole amount, which, by the way, was never repaid.

Being now of some note in the literary world, and numbering some of its most distinguished among his associates, he, in conjunction with two friends, originated the *Scotsman* newspaper, the first number of which appeared in Edinburgh at the beginning of 1817. His connection with it however was merely a share of the copyright, which he retained for several years, the management of the paper itself being conducted by the two gentlemen who had at first been joined with him in starting it. He had already a literary undertaking in view that to him was more attractive than the divided editorship of a metropolitan journal; this was the entire editorship of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, established in 1809 by the Rev. Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, and conducted by him in reference to his benevolent schemes, especially the savings-banks, of which he was the founder in Scotland, and which held the chief place in the newspaper. The reverend doctor now retired from its management, and his place as editor was ably filled by John M'Diarmid, who succeeded to the office in January, 1817.

To this new position he showed himself so well adapted as to make it evident that he had got into his proper place. It was not merely in consequence of the excellence or variety of his literary talents, for others as liberally endowed in that respect had signally failed in the department of newspaper editorship. But he was a man of practical business habits as well as a man of genius, who, in conducting a journal, could manage it as a property, besides making it an exponent of certain classes of opinions. He was imbued with a love of agriculture and a thorough knowledge of its details, and therefore well fitted for the management of a newspaper in such an agricultural district as Dumfriesshire. His time moreover was entirely his own, so that the *Dumfries Courier* enjoyed his undivided care. These advantages were soon manifested in the changes it underwent, and its constantly growing popularity. Hitherto, with a leaning to what are termed liberal views, it had dealt little with politics; and was therefore wanting in what constitutes the soul of a newspaper. But M'Diarmid was out-and-out a liberal, who entered heartily into the measures of the party; and his able advocacy of the repeal of the test and corporation acts, Roman Catholic emancipation, the reform bill, and free trade, raised the *Dumfries Courier* from a peaceful neutral into an awakened power, which secured for it the leadership of country journalism, and won for itself a high place among the best newspapers of the day. While it thus animated and expressed the political opinions of the cottage fireside, his love of agriculture in its interests and pursuits was not less conspicuous; and in this important range he introduced an improvement which afterwards was wisely adopted by the journalism of the day. It was to write weekly reports on the agricultural state of the country; and these, instead of being dry details and lists of prices thrust into a corner of the paper as if they had no right to be there, were animated sketches, interesting description, judicious suggestions of improvement, and lively farming gossip, which all could read with pleasure, and many with profit. Sometimes, too, his good nature and love of the marvellous were abused by the communications sent to him of incredibly large gooseberries and gigantic turnips, which he announced in his reports as veritable facts; but while such delusions lasted, they gave increasing interest to the newspaper; and when they collapsed

or disappeared, his readers only smiled at their editor's kindly credulity, and loved him all the more for it. They well knew that he had never exaggerated, and would never exaggerate, wilfully.

The same spirit of benevolence which induced him to announce some choice production of Munchausen's garden made him alive to every tale that awakened his sympathies; and any incident that was moving or romantic, especially if it could stand the test of a strict but loving inquisition, he rehearsed in his best style in the columns of the *Dumfries Courier*. The following instance is given in the memoir of Mr. M'Diarmid written by his son. "About eighteen years before his death, a poor wandering female, carrying a baby in her arms, begged a night's lodging at a farm-house not far from Dumfries. She was sheltered in an outhouse, and in the morning the mother was found cold in death, and the living infant still clinging to her bosom. His heart was touched by such a tale. He related it simply and affectingly in his columns, and in the London papers, where it was copied, it met the eye of a lady of rank, then mourning the loss of an only daughter. She made inquiry if the little orphan was a female, and this happily being the case, she determined at once to adopt it. Though names were carefully concealed, that the child might never in after-life learn its origin, the most respectable references were given to the parish authorities, who gladly gave up the child; and being carried to London, she was baptized into the Church of England with much ceremony, and became one of the members of a fashionable family."

Although the prosperity of the *Dumfries Courier* attested so well the talents of the editor and the care he bestowed on it, Mr. M'Diarmid still continued to cherish that love of miscellaneous literature by which he had been first distinguished. This also, so far from being a hindrance, was rather a help, to his editorial labours. In 1817 he published an edition of Cowper's poems, prefaced by a well-written life of the poet; and the work was so acceptable, that it passed through several editions. In 1820 he published the *Scrap-book*—a collection partly of selected extracts, and partly of original contributions in prose and verse, which was soon after followed by a second volume. In 1823 he wrote a memoir of Goldsmith, for an edition of the *Vicar of Wakefield* which was published in Edinburgh. In 1825 he originated the *Dumfries Magazine*, which lasted three years (a long life, by the way, for a provincial magazine), and during its existence contributed several articles to its numbers. In 1830 appeared his *Sketches from Nature*, chiefly illustrative of scenery and character in the districts of Dumfries and Galloway, and consisting of a selection of articles that had previously appeared in the *Courier*. In 1832, when the *Picture of Dumfries*, an illustrated work, was published, his pen had contributed an interesting and well-written account of the ancient burgh and its locality; and his last separate production was a description of Moffat, and a *Life of Nicholson*, the Galloway poet. He thus, in the greater part of his works, drew attention to the antiquities and natural beauties of Dumfriesshire and Gallowayshire, and the adjacent counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigton: and these productions, while they formed the charm of his leisure hours, extended his literary reputation, and that of the newspaper with which he was connected.

In 1820 Mr. M'Diarmid was offered the editorship of the *Caledonian Mercury*, the first newspaper established in Scotland; but he was too comfortably situated in Dumfries to encounter the risk of bettering his condition. At the same time, the liberal

party in the county, alarmed at the idea of losing him, made arrangements by which he became a joint-proprietor of the *Courier*, and in 1837 it became wholly his own property. He was now so highly beloved in Dumfries, that, with the exception of Burns, no name was more endeared to the people, and this he had merited by his benevolence, his amiable manners, and the good which he had done by his writings to the county at large. In 1847 he was entertained at a public dinner in Dumfries by upwards of ninety of the principal inhabitants, Sir James Stuart Menzies, Bart., being president on the occasion. On the 12th November, 1852, he was attacked by erysipelas, which at that time was prevalent in the town, under which he died on the 18th of the same month, in the sixty-third year of his age. His death was universally lamented, and after his decease, as a fitting memorial, a sum of money was collected to found a bursary bearing his name for £10 annually in the university of Edinburgh, to be competed for by students from the three counties of Dumfries, Kirkcubright, and Wigton.

MACDONALD, ANDREW, a dramatic and miscellaneous writer, was born about the year 1755. His father, George Donald, was by profession a gardener, and resided at the foot of the broad way which connects Leith with Edinburgh, called Leith Walk; the place also of young Macdonald's nativity.

The subject of this memoir received the early part of his education at Leith, and went through the usual initiatory course of classical learning in the grammar-school of that town. Having exhibited early indications of superior parts, his parents and friends entertained the most sanguine hopes of his success in the world, and especially anticipated his attaining eminence in literature. With a view to his becoming a minister of the Scottish Episcopal communion, in which he was born and educated, they entered him a student in the university of Edinburgh, where he remained till 1775, when he was put into deacon's orders by Bishop Forbes of Leith, who became also his chief patron. On this occasion, at the bishop's recommendation, he prefixed the syllable Mac to his name, though for what reason is not stated.

Although now invested with the clerical character, there was yet no vacant living for him; but through the interest of his patron, the worthy divine just named, he procured the appointment of preceptor in the family of Mr. Oliphant of Gask, as a temporary employment and means of support, until a vacancy in the church should present itself. In this situation he remained about a year, when he was chosen pastor of the Episcopal congregation at Glasgow, in room of Mr. Wood, who had gone to St. Petersburg. His appointment took place in the year 1777. His patron, Bishop Forbes, having in the meantime died, he was put into priest's orders by Bishop Falconer. Although much addicted to literary pursuits Macdonald made no public appearance as an author for five years after this period, when he made a debut in the character of a poet, by publishing a poem, or rather part of a poem, entitled *Vilina, a Poetical Fragment*. Neither this work, nor a novel which he subsequently published under the title of the *Independent*, met with any remarkable degree of success. He therefore resolved to try his talents in dramatic composition; and his first effort was the tragedy of *Vimonda*, which was brought out at the Edinburgh Theatre Royal, for the benefit of Mr. Wood, with a prologue by Henry Mackenzie, and was received with marked applause by the public, though, like all the other works of its unfortunate author, it is now scarcely known to exist.

In the meantime Macdonald, who still resided at Glasgow, was making but little progress in worldly prosperity. His fortunes, notwithstanding the success of his play, which does not seem to have yet yielded him any considerable pecuniary remuneration, were rather retrograding than advancing. The Episcopal Church of Scotland was at this period in a very depressed state. The old members were fast dying out, and there were none to replace them. The result was that Macdonald's congregation was speedily reduced to a number so trifling, that he could no longer live by his charge. Thus situated he resolved on resigning it; and as no better prospects presented themselves elsewhere in the Scottish Episcopal church, he denuded himself altogether of his ecclesiastical functions, and finally threw aside even the outward sign of his calling, the clerical dress, and became at all points entirely secularized. On throwing up his ministry he came to Edinburgh, with, it would seem, pretty confident hopes of being able to make a living by his pen; an idea in which he was encouraged by the success of his tragedy. He had, however, before leaving Glasgow, taken a step which his friends thought fit to consider as at once imprudent and degrading. This was his marrying the maid-servant of the house in which he had lodged. His reception, therefore, on his return to Edinburgh, from these friends and those of his acquaintances who participated in their feelings on the subject of his marriage, had much in it to annoy and distress him, although no charge could be brought against the humble partner of his fortune but the meanness of her condition. Whatever question, however, might have been made of the prudence or imprudence of his matrimonial connection, there could be none regarding the step which he next took. This was his renting an expensive house and furnishing it at a cost which he had no immediate means of defraying, although, with all that sanguine hope which is but too frequently found associated with literary dispositions, he fully expected to be enabled to do so by the exertion of his talents. The result was such as might have been looked for. His literary prospects, as far as regarded Edinburgh, ended in total disappointment. His creditors became pressing, and the neglect of his friends, proceeding from the circumstance already alluded to, and which in some cases amounted to direct insult, continued as marked as when he first returned amongst them, and added greatly to the distress of mind with which the unfortunate poet was now overwhelmed.

Under the pressure of these accumulated evils he determined on quitting Edinburgh, and on seeking in London that employment for his literary talents which he could not find in his native capital. Having come to this resolution, he left his mother, for whom he always entertained the most tender regard, in possession of his house and furniture, and proceeded, accompanied by his wife, to the metropolis. Here his reception was such as to compensate in some measure for the treatment which he had experienced at home. The fame of his tragedy had gone before him, and soon after his arrival procured him many sincere and cordial, though it does not appear very powerful, friends. *Vimonda* was brought out with much splendour by Colman in the summer of 1787, a short time after its author had arrived in London, and was performed to crowded houses. In the following summer it was again produced, and with similar success. This good fortune operating on a temperament naturally sanguine, lifted poor Macdonald's hopes beyond all reasonable bounds, and filled his mind with the brightest anticipations of fame and independence. In this spirit he wrote

several letters to Mr. M. Stewart, music-seller in Edinburgh, the principal, if not indeed the only, friend he had left behind him, full of the most splendid ideas regarding his future fortunes. Having left Edinburgh in embarrassed circumstances, so that neither his house-rent nor his furniture had been paid, he promises speedy remittances to defray all his debts, and amongst the rest that which he had incurred to his correspondent, who seems to have managed all his affairs for him after he left the Scottish capital, and to have generously made, from time to time, considerable advances of money on his account.

"Thank Heaven," says the ill-fated poet in one of these letters to Stewart, in which he announces the good fortune which he now conceived was to be his for the remainder of his life, "thank Heaven, my greatest difficulties are now over; and the approaching opening of the summer theatre will soon render me independent and perfectly at ease. In three weeks you will see by the public prints I shall be flourishing at the Haymarket in splendour superior to last season. I am fixed for the summer in a sweet retirement at Brompton, where, having a large bed, and lying alone, I can accommodate you tolerably, and give you a share of a poet's supper, salads and delicious fruits from my own garden."

All this felicity and all these gay visions of the future were, however, speedily and sadly dissipated. In a few short months thereafter Macdonald sunk into an untimely grave, disappointed in his hopes, and reduced to utter destitution in his circumstances. That he did thus die is certain, but neither the immediate cause, nor the progress of the sudden blight which thus came over his fortunes before his death, is very distinctly traced in any of the memoirs which have been consulted in the composition of this article, unless the following remark, contained in an advertisement prefixed to a volume of posthumous sermons of Macdonald, printed in 1790, can be considered as an explanation:—"Having no powerful friends to patronize his abilities, and suffering under the infirmities of a weak constitution, he fell a victim, at the age of thirty-three, to sickness, disappointment, and misfortune." Macdonald died in the year 1788, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving behind him his wife and one child, wholly unprovided for.

Macdonald made several attempts in dramatic composition subsequent to the appearance of *Vimonda*, but none of them were at all equal in merit to that performance, a circumstance which affords, probably, a more satisfactory elucidation of the cause of those disappointments which gathered round and hurried him to his grave, and embittered his dying moments, than those enumerated in the extract employed above. For some time previous to his death, under the fictitious signature of Matthew Bramble, he amused the town almost daily with little humorous and burlesque poems, after the manner of Peter Pindar's (Dr. Wolcot), and these were not unfrequently equal in point and satirical allusion to some of the most felicitous effusions of his celebrated prototype.

As a preacher he was distinguished for neat, classical, and elegant composition; qualities which procured a favourable reception for the volume of posthumous sermons published in 1790. A tragedy which he left in a finished state at his death was printed, and included in a volume of his poetical works published in 1791.

On the whole, Macdonald's literary talents seem to have been of that unfortunate description which attract notice, without yielding profit; which produce a show of blossom, but no fruit; and which, when

trusted to by their sanguine possessor as a means of insuring a subsistence, are certain to be found wholly inadequate to that end, and equally certain to leave their deceived and disappointed victim to neglect and misery.

It may be proper, before concluding this brief sketch of Macdonald, to advert to the account given of him by D'Israeli in his *Calamities of Authors*. That account is an exceedingly pathetic one, and is written with all the feeling and eloquence for which its highly distinguished writer was so remarkable; but unfortunately it is inconsistent in many parts with fact. What Mr. D'Israeli mentions regarding him from his own knowledge and experience, we do not question; but in nearly all the particulars which were not so acquired, he seems to have been egregiously misinformed. In that information, however, which is of the description that there is no reason for doubting, the following affecting passage occurs:—"It was one evening I saw a tall, famished, melancholy man enter a bookseller's shop, his hat flapped over his eyes, and his whole frame evidently feeble from exhaustion and utter misery. The bookseller inquired how he proceeded with his tragedy? 'Do not talk to me about my tragedy! Do not talk to me about my tragedy! I have indeed more tragedy than I can bear at home,' was his reply, and his voice faltered as he spoke. This man was Matthew Bramble—Macdonald, the author of the tragedy of *Vimonda*, at that moment the writer of comic poetry." D'Israeli then goes on giving the result of his inquiries regarding him, and at this point error begins. He represents him as having seven children. He had, as already noticed, only one. He says he was told "that he walked from Scotland with no other fortune than the novel of the *Independent* in one pocket and the tragedy of *Vimonda* in the other." The novel alluded to was published four years before he went to London; and *Vimonda* had been brought out at Edinburgh a considerable time before he left that city. D'Israeli speaks of the literary success which the "romantic poet" had anticipated while yet "among his native rocks." The reader need scarcely be reminded that Macdonald was born in the immediate vicinity of the Scottish capital, and that the whole of his life previously to his leaving Scotland was spent in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and great part of it in what has always been considered the profession of a gentleman.

MACDONALD, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN, F.R.S., F.A.S. This scientific soldier and voluminous writer possessed, by the mere accident of birth, a distinction which his productions in authorship, excellent though they were, would have failed to acquire; for he was the son of Flora Macdonald, that heroine whose name is so intimately connected with the romantic history of "the young Chevalier." All know the dangers she underwent, and the address she exhibited, in procuring his escape from his pursuers in 1746, and the enthusiasm which her romantic fidelity excited among the Jacobites of the day, after her exertions had been successful. She was the daughter of Mr. Macdonald, a tacksman or gentleman farmer of Melton, in South Uist; and in 1746, the period of her adventurous career, she was about twenty-four years old. After her return from London, whither she was summoned to answer for her political offence in effecting the escape of such an enemy, she married; but notwithstanding the rich gifts with which her generous conduct had been rewarded by the adherents of the Stuart cause in the great metropolis, she and her husband had become so poor at the time of Dr. Johnson's visit to her in

1773, that they had resolved to emigrate to America. This they afterwards did; but either having not succeeded to their wish, or finding the love of country too strong for voluntary exile, they returned to Skye, where Flora died on the 4th of March, 1790, leaving behind her a son, John, the subject of the present memoir, and a daughter, married to a Mr. Macleod, a distant relation to the chief of that name. "It is remarkable," writes Sir Walter Scott, "that this distinguished lady signed her name Flory, instead of the more classical orthography. Her marriage contract, which is in my possession, bears the name spelled Flory."

At an early period John Macdonald went to India, and on his way thither had occasion to reside for a short time in London. This was at a period when the alarm of the Jacobite war of 1715 and 1745 had ceased to be remembered, and when the Celtic dress had not as yet become familiar to the English eye. At this transition period the Highland costume of our young Scottish adventurer appears to have excited as much astonishment, and also displeasure, as the kaross of the Caffre or the sheep-skin of the Tartar would have done, had they been paraded upon the pavement of Cheapside. Writing of this event in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1823, he says, "I well recollect my arrival in London about half a century ago on my way to India, and the disapprobation expressed in the streets of my tartan dress; but now I see with satisfaction the variegated Highland manufacture prevalent as a favourite and tasteful costume, from the humble cottage to the superb castle. To Sir Walter Scott's elegant and fascinating writings we are to ascribe this wonderful revolution in public sentiment."

As it was to the scientific departments of the military profession that Macdonald devoted his labours, his career to the close was that of a studious observer and philosophic writer, rather than a stirring adventurous soldier. He passed many years in the service of the East India Company, and attained the rank of captain of engineers on the Bengal establishment. While thus employed, the important subject of the diurnal variation of the magnetic needle occupied much of his attention, and on this he made a series of observations in 1794 and the two following years, at Bencoolen, Sumatra, and St. Helena, which he communicated in 1798 to the Royal Society, who published them in their *Transactions*, and elected him a fellow in 1800. About the last-mentioned period he also returned to Britain, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Clan-Alpine Regiment, and commandant of the Royal Edinburgh Artillery.

After his arrival, the life of Colonel Macdonald was one of diligent useful authorship, so that his history from this period is best comprised in the titles of his works, and the dates of their publication. Of these we give the following list:—

In 1803 he published "*Rules and Regulations for the Field Exercise and Manœuvres of the French Infantry, issued August 1, 1791*." Translated from the French, with Explanatory Notes and Illustrative References to the British and Prussian Systems of Tactics," &c. &c. In two volumes 12mo.

In 1804, when he belonged to the 1st battalion of Cinque Ports Volunteers, and when every kind of military instruction was most needed for our home-bred soldiery while in training against the menaced invasion of the country from France, Colonel Macdonald published another work in one volume, entitled "*The Experienced Officer; or, Instructions by the General of Division Wimpfen to his Sons, and to all Young Men intended for the Military Profes-*

sion, being a Series of Rules laid down by General Wimpfen, to enable Officers of every Rank to carry on War in all its Branches and Descriptions, from the least Important Enterprises and Expeditions, to the Decisive Battles which involve the Fate of Empires. With Notes and an Introduction."

In 1807, while chief engineer at Fort Marlborough, he published *Instructions for the Conduct of Infantry on Actual Service*. This was also translated from the French, and published in two volumes, with explanatory notes.

In 1808 appeared his first work upon a subject which had employed his attention for years. This was *A Treatise on Telegraphic Communication, Naval, Military, and Political*, 8vo, in which he proposed a different plan from that hitherto adopted.

In 1811 Colonel Macdonald produced a work in startling contrast to his former subjects, but which was only one among the studies of a comprehensive philosophic mind, under the title of *A Treatise, Explanatory of the Principles constituting the Practice and Theory of the Violoncello*. This work was published in one volume folio.

In 1812, reverting to his military avocations, he published a translation of "*The Formations and Manœuvres of Infantry*, by the Chevalier Duteil," 12mo. This was the last of his productions in military science, and, as may be surmised from the date, the last that was needed—for the French science of warfare was now well understood by our armies, as their hostile instructors were learning to their cost. This fact, however, shows the judiciousness of the plan which Macdonald had adopted as an expositor of warlike science, and indicates in some measure the probable benefit with which his own individual labours were followed.

In 1816 Colonel Macdonald returned to the important subject of telegraph communication, by publishing his *Telegraphic Dictionary*, a laborious work, containing 150,000 words, phrases, and sentences. The estimate formed of the value of this work was shown by the directors of the East India Company, who voted the sum of £400 to assist in defraying the expense of publication; it was also highly recommended by the secretary of the admiralty and the adjutant-general of the army.

In addition to these separate productions, Colonel Macdonald was a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for several years until the close of his life; but the subjects of these essays are too numerous to specify. They were chiefly connected, however, with the philosophical studies which had occupied his attention from an early period, and were characterized by the philanthropy that had always animated his pen in seeking to promote the best interests of society. The same spirit was manifested in his personal exertions; and during the last twelve or fifteen years of his life, which were spent in Exeter, the charitable institutions of that city always found him an active co-operator, as well as liberal contributor. He died there on the 16th of August, 1831, aged seventy-two, and was buried in Exeter Cathedral.

MACDONALD, REV. JOHN, D.D. This pious, earnest, and devoted minister of the gospel, whose labours among his Celtic brethren of Scotland obtained for him the distinguishing title of the "Apostle of the North," was the son of James Macdonald, also a remarkable character and man of congenial spirit, who was a catechist in Reay, and who lived to the patriarchal age of ninety-five years. The subject of this memoir was born on the 12th of November, 1779, and the circumstances of his baptism were anything but apostolic. The pulpit of Reay being at that time

vacant, the catechist, on a cold winter-day of December, carried his child to the manse of a neighbouring clergyman, to have him baptized. The minister, however, had gone upon a shooting excursion, and as he was not expected to return before sunset, James Macdonald and his party left the manse, and were returning homeward when they met the clerical Nimrod in his shooting attire, and pursuing his sport upon a moor. On learning the purpose of their journey he resolved to make brief work of it; and, breaking the ice of a pool with the butt-end of his gun to get at the water, he sprinkled the child's face, and mumbled the words of consecration. In this way the "Apostle of the North" was made a member of the visible church.

The early acts of the young boy were distinguished by great vivacity of disposition, his love of music, and aptitude for making plays, which he acted with his companions; and these exhibitions of a buoyant reckless disposition were frequently alternated with thoughts of his father's serious admonitions and with acts of juvenile devotion. Even already his character indicated that his after-career would be no middle course, but one distinguished either for evil or for good. When nine years of age he was sent to the parish school, where in process of time he was distinguished as the cleverest of all the pupils, and acquired the favourable regard of his teacher, who taught him Latin gratis. This was more than the boy's father had intended, who designed that he should only have an ordinary education; but the schoolmaster, interested in such a promising pupil, carried him beyond the boundary, and was allowed to go on unchecked. Being now distinguished as a remarkably clever boy, John Macdonald was often employed by the neighbouring farmers in making up their yearly accounts, and an anecdote of one of these occasions he afterwards frequently related. It is thus told by his biographer:—"Being asked to make up the accounts of a farmer in a distant part of the parish, he was under the necessity of remaining for several days in his employer's house. The farmer had always kept up a form of family worship, though well known to be fonder of pence than of prayers; but he had never ventured, when on his knees, beyond repeating the words of the Lord's Prayer on any former occasion. Thinking it necessary to get up something *extra* when the catechist's son was present, as he knew him to be a sharp youth who would be sure to mark the difference between his prayer and what he was accustomed to hear at home, he resolved to paraphrase the form which had stood him in such good stead before, that it might be decently long at any rate. Beginning with the invocation, he added to it the words, 'and also on the earth,' and an eke to each of the first three petitions; but, having repeated the fourth, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' there was a long pause. He evidently seemed to feel that this was but a very scanty allowance to ask, so, with an earnestness in which he let out the deepest desire of his heart, he added, 'but if Thou wilt give us more, we are quite ready to receive it.'"

The services of the young Macdonald as an accountant so favourably recommended him to Mrs. Innes of Sandside, that she obtained for him a bursary to prosecute his studies at college. While he was staying at Sandside, he was sent with a letter to a neighbouring proprietor; but while discharging this commission a recruiting party came to the place, for the purpose of raising recruits in every possible way. The allurements of music and dancing were used, into which Macdonald enthusiastically entered. But while "the mirth and fun grew fast and furious,"

his majesty's bounty, in the shape of a shilling, had passed from the pocket of the sergeant into that of the young student, who was astounded next morning to find that he had become a pledged champion of the king. It was a military hocus-pocus of the period, by which raw lads were in a twinkling transformed into heroes without knowing how. Such interest, however, was used on the occasion, that Macdonald's engagement was cancelled, and he was left free to repair to the university, which he did in 1797. His love of music, so general among the whole Celtic race, has already been mentioned, and of all instruments, that of the Highlander is the bagpipe, which Macdonald loved and cultivated with national enthusiasm. His pipes were therefore carefully packed up with his books, and during his first year of college life their strains probably consoled him in the midst of his literary difficulties. But when he left home in the second year of his studentship, the serious subjects which now engrossed his attention made him leave the bagpipe behind. His father afterwards wrote to him to inquire what should be done with it, and the answer of the youth, who was now abjuring his idols, was, "Just what you think right." He well knew how this license would be interpreted. The worthy catechist, on receiving this reply, laid the Dagon of his son's late idolatry on the block, and with an axe hewed it to pieces.

At college John Macdonald was one of the most distinguished of the gown-class students, and in that of mathematics he was without a rival. His diligence in that science was illustrated by a curious instance of somnambulism. The professor of mathematics was accustomed to reserve, until near the end of the session, the most difficult of his problems; and as only a few of his students could solve them, or cared to risk such an ordeal, the class by that time had usually dwindled to a fragment. In a diminution of this kind John Macdonald at last found himself with only one class-fellow, and with a problem for the next day which, after all his evening attempts, he was unable to solve. He went to bed leaving the work unfinished—but what was his astonishment on waking next morning, to find a correct solution lying before him in his own handwriting! He was informed by his college chum that he had risen during his sleep, worked industriously upon the paper, and returned to bed after the task was ended. He took the solution to the class-room, and the professor found it quite correct. Such fortunate freaks of intellect, while the physical powers are dormant, sometimes occur among the wonders of psychology. A similar instance occurred to one of his own predecessors in the parish of Urquhart, who was a habitual somnambulist. He had engaged to preach a public sermon at Inverness; but after useless study on the previous day he was at last obliged to go to bed, after being unable to write a sermon, or even to find a text. Not long after he fell asleep his wife saw him rise, light a candle, sit down at his desk, and write for a long time, after which he extinguished the candle, and returned to his couch. In the morning he awoke, and his perplexity returned at having neither discourse nor text, when his wife told him that she could furnish him with both. "That can be of no use to me," replied the minister sadly, "if I did not myself select the subject, and compose the sermon." "But you have done both," replied his helpmate, and with that she produced the manuscript he had written, and told him the particulars of the night. He read the production carefully, and then said, "The text is suitable, and the skeleton is perhaps better than I could have written in my waking hours; but I was unconscious when I wrote it, and I

will not offer to the Lord that which cost me nothing." Rejecting this questionable aid, the conscientious man set off to Inverness, and on the way studied another subject, on which he preached with marvellous power and efficacy.

The abjuration by Macdonald, while a student, of his beloved bagpipe, is suggestive of a change in his character and feelings. And such had passed upon him, and transformed him into a new man. It was in the interval between two of his earlier college sessions that anxiety about his immortal welfare dawned upon him, and made him ask in earnest, "What shall I do to be saved?" This concern, acting so strongly upon such a lively excitable temperament, was probably occasioned by a perusal of the works of President Edwards, and Macdonald could obtain no rest until the momentous question was answered. His lonely walks for self-communion were frequent; but every repeated inquiry only deepened the obscurity and increased his doubt. It was a fearful probation, through which he was taught to minister to souls in similar affliction, and lead them to the remedy. His state and the deliverance that followed are thus recorded by his biographer:—"Shut up to Christ as his only resource by the felt desperateness of his case as a sinner, and by the authority of the command to believe in the Son, on the one hand; and on the other, shut out from him in darkness under the power of unbelief and in the impotence of spiritual death, well knew he then the agony of a soul lying without hope at the disposal of Him who will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and who hardeneth whom he will. In this state of mind, as he himself once told the writer, he was walking one day by the sea-side. Under the pressure of despair, and at the suggestion of the tempter, he advanced within the sweep of the great billows that were breaking wildly on the shore. Ere the advancing wave had reached him, a ray of gospel light pierced the darkness in which his soul was shrouded. Rushing at once from the danger which he had rashly provoked, and climbing up into a quiet cave in the rock hard by, he was there and then enabled to commit his soul to Christ. He went to the shore that day in the grasp of the destroyer; he returned from it in the arms of the Saviour."

After a student life that was consistent with his profession, John Macdonald received license as a preacher from the presbytery of Caithness on July 2d, 1805. His first discourses in public, however, were below the mark, and after passing through the usual ordeal of popular criticism, they were pronounced too cold and formal, and unworthy of his father's son. He had not yet discovered where his strength lay, and his sermons, it was alleged, were too fastidiously composed and delivered, to be imbued with the necessary unction. Two months after being licensed, he set off upon an Ossianic tour through the North-western Highlands, at the urgent request of Sir John Sinclair, who was anxious to know whether the poems attributed to Ossian were veritable compositions, or only literary forgeries. The conclusions arrived at by Macdonald at the close of his investigation were such as are now generally accepted. There was such a poet as Ossian, and many of the poems attributed to him are genuine; but how much Macpherson may have increased them, or altered them, cannot now be ascertained. During this tour, however, our young probationer was not unmindful of his proper work, and preaching in every parish as he went along, he unconsciously trained himself for that career which afterwards procured for him the title of the "Apostle of the North."

That these incidental services were not unnecessary in the Highlands, where clerical zeal and intelligence were at a very low ebb, may be learned from an example of the minister of Glenelg. Macdonald having one day supplied the pulpit, the minister observed to him after the service was over: "That was a very good sermon, I suppose, but it was quite unsuitable here; for you spoke all day to sinners, and I know only one in all my parish."

Having officiated as a missionary for six months, Mr. Macdonald was ordained to the ministerial charge of the district of Berriedale in September, 1806. In the same year he married, although his income was both scanty and precarious, and at the close of 1806 he received a presentation to the Gaelic church in Edinburgh from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and was inducted into that charge in January, 1807. It was time indeed for him to obtain a transference; for, in the midst of the bustle of flitting from Berriedale, the day being very tempestuous, a whirlwind wrenched off the roof of his frail little cottage, and strewed the ground with its fragments. "There, John!" cried his father, who had come to assist him in removing, "I think it was high time to leave Berriedale!" The new Edinburgh charge into which Macdonald entered was neither simple nor easy. Those who composed the congregation were indeed Celts by birth; but, from a long residence in Edinburgh, they had almost ceased to be Highlanders, without becoming wholly Lowlanders. While some of them understood no sermon unless it was in Gaelic, several by disuse had almost forgot the language, while those who had been born in Edinburgh understood no tongue but the Scotch-English. To manage such a flock, also, was as difficult as the choice of the language in which to instruct them, for those who had thriven and become rich had also become arrogant, so that nothing less would satisfy them than being self-constituted chieftains to rule both minister and congregation. Even for a religious teacher who was willing to become all things to all men, no ordinary amount of tact and prudence, as well as gentle compliance, was necessary in such a charge, as by conciliating one party he was certain by that act to offend another. This Mr. Macdonald found to be the case, especially in the language of his preaching, for while English services were absolutely necessary, a majority of his hearers regarded it as a hostile tongue, and instruction conveyed in it as a positive insult. This difficulty he endeavoured to surmount by the double labour of being an English as well as Gaelic minister, and performing the duty of both, but giving the predominance to the latter. He accordingly preached two Gaelic sermons during the Sabbath-day, and an English discourse in the evening. In addition to these he held prayer-meetings and district catechisings, and delivered regularly a weekly lecture. He also periodically visited his people scattered over the extent of Edinburgh and its suburbs. And as his earnest diligence grew in the work, his eloquence as a preacher underwent a change for the better; for, in addition to the former distinctness and intellectual arrangement of his sermons, there was now a vitality and fervour imparted to them that winged them with force and conviction. "So marked," says his biographer, "was the change which then passed over him, that many were led to judge that he had never preached the gospel till then. This is entirely a mistake. He preached the gospel in Berriedale as surely as in Edinburgh, though with far less unction, discrimination, and power." Amidst all this labour, also, he was not neglectful of the duty of self-improvement; and in the literary society of Edinburgh,

as well as a careful perusal of the best writings of the period, he enlarged his knowledge and improved his facility in the command of English, which, being to him an acquired language, he had hitherto used with some hesitation and difficulty.

His popularity as a Highland minister being diffused over the Lowlands, the services of Mr. Macdonald were now in great request not only in Edinburgh, but in Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Dundee, and Perth, and frequently in Glasgow and Stirling, where Highland regiments of militia were stationed. These engagements and incessant demands upon his time, the natural result of clerical popularity, would have left him no leisure for study, had not a friend provided for him a "prophet's chamber," into which he could retire when the pressure from without was too great. Little do the frivolous know what thought and preparation must be given to the construction of a discourse for the pulpit, and how anxiously a conscientious minister will prepare himself for the task. This common mistake was expressed to Macdonald by a lady, when he proposed to retire to study. "Oh, sir," she said, "you can shake a sermon out of your sleeve any time you like." "Yes, ma'am," he replied, "but I must first put a sermon into my sleeve before I can shake it out."

After this change in the character of his sermons had occurred, Mr. Macdonald visited his father in Caithness; and while on his journey he preached in several places, and excited the astonishment of all his hearers. On his return from Caithness he arrived at Tain, where he was unknown, and was asked by Dr. Mackintosh, the highly popular minister of the parish, to occupy his pulpit on the ensuing Sunday. To this Macdonald agreed, and the congregation were indignant at seeing a stranger in the place of their own beloved minister. Among these was one who on that day had walked sixteen miles to hear the eloquent doctor—a feat to which he was often accustomed, and who thus described the services of that Sabbath:—"I was greatly disappointed on seeing Dr. Mackintosh walking towards the 'manse-seat,' and instead of him a smart-looking young man walking, as I thought, with too rapid progress, and with too light a step, towards the pulpit. I felt at once as if the day was lost. I expected no good, and shut up my heart against the youth who came in between me and my wonted Sabbath fare. He gave out the psalm. 'You can't spoil that, at any rate,' I said to myself. The prayer began; but I scarcely heard the first part of it. Gradually my attention was attracted, but towards the manse-seat I found my eye still wandering. Before the prayer was over I ceased to look away from the pulpit. When the sermon began I forgot all but the doctrine I was hearing. As he warmed up with his subject, the preacher became most vehement in his action; every eye was rivetted on the speaker, and suppressed sounds testified to the effect which his sermon was producing. His second discourse was so awe-inspiring that the audience became powerfully affected. Such was the awful solemnity of the doctrine and the vehemence of the preacher's manner, that I expected, ere he was done, every heart would be pierced, and that the very roof of the church would be rent. The sermon over, all were asking who the preacher was. 'A young man from Edinburgh of the name of Macdonald' was the only answer that could be given."

In 1813 Mr. Macdonald was translated from his Highland congregation in Edinburgh to Urquhart, being presented to that parish by Forbes of Culloden, the patron, on the petition of the parishioners. On account of the talents and popularity of Mr. Calder,

the previous minister of Urquhart, it was feared that his successor would appear at a disadvantage, but a short time sufficed to show the groundlessness of the apprehension; for, without abating their regard for their former pastor, they soon learned to prize the remarkable spirit of their new minister and his different style of preaching. It was a change indeed, but on the whole a change for the better, which they were both able and willing to appreciate. They had also been so well advanced under the ministry of Mr. Calder, that Macdonald could more amply engage in his beloved work as an evangelist among his countrymen at large. It was an instructor of this kind that was especially needed in the Highlands. Here and there, indeed, faithful and diligent ministers were to be found; but their number was small compared with those who regarded their charges merely as *livings*, and had entered office for a piece of bread. Remote from civilized society, and the wholesome superintendence of church-courts, they lived as idly or as dissolutely as they pleased, while of the flocks of such pastors it might be said, in the words of Milton—

"The hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed."

Selections from the sermons of such spiritual teachers would compose a jest-book of "very tragical mirth;" but instead of these, let the following instance of how a Highland pulpit might be occupied suffice. One minister during the Peninsular war, instead of preaching a sermon, brought occasionally a newspaper to the church, and read to the congregation an account of the various battles as the news arrived. On one occasion a false report of Napoleon's death had been published in the journals; and, eager to communicate glad tidings, the clergyman hied to the church on Sunday with his newspaper, and read the statement as it was there set down. Of course a later bulletin contradicted the statement, so that on the following Sunday he felt himself obliged to commence the service with the following remark:—"It was all lies I told you last Sabbath; Napoleon the scoundrel is yet alive."

During the first four years of his residence at Urquhart the extra parochial labours of Mr. Macdonald over Perthshire were frequent, inasmuch that he was noted as the Whitfield of the county; and although his own parishioners occasionally murmured at the length and frequency of these absences, they were as often mollified by his return, and the extraordinary diligence of his ministrations during each interval spent among them. These, indeed, were seasons of repose contrasted with his privations in traversing thinly-peopled districts where the highways were few, his readiness in preaching and teaching wherever a small handful of people could be collected, and the variety and number of his efforts as minister, missionary, schoolmaster, and catechist, every day of the week, and almost every hour of the day. And still as public attention to the calls of religion was excited, and conversions effected by such visitations, the sluggishness of the parochial incumbents, whose work was thus done by a stranger, could not fail to provoke the inquiry and condemnation of their people. It was a provoking contrast, under which many a Highland minister writhed, and they attempted in many cases to exclude him from their parishes, after locking their church-doors against his entrance. On one occasion, when he besought the use of the pulpit for a week-day, the minister refused with, "No, the command is, 'six days shalt thou labour,' which shows that preaching should be confined to the Sabbath." Another minister, who had allowed Macdonald to preach in his pulpit, and was

blamed by his brethren for the toleration, honestly justified himself by the following answer:—"I think we might give our people a treat now and then, when they put up with our gibberish all the rest of the year." On one memorable occasion, having been solicited by the parishioners of Dornoch to preach to them, Mr. Macdonald consented, provided leave could be obtained from the minister of the parish. This, however, was withheld, so that when Macdonald arrived, the church was closed. The adjacent parish of Creich, however, was not tabooed by clerical restriction, and he adjourned to Spinningdale, where Creich touches the west boundary of Dornoch, and there commenced the public religious service, while the Dornoch people sat opposite upon their own soil. And never had he preached with greater fervour or power, while the spot on which he stood was worn down by the action of his feet into a pit, the form of which was pointed out to visitors many years after.

The hostility of the Moderate party in the Established church against their opponents, whom they characterized by the title of "wild men," had now concentrated with tenfold strength against Mr. Macdonald, or, as he was now termed, "the wild man of Ferintosh." He was no longer to be allowed to turn the Highlands upside down, and vex the repose of its peaceful parishes, or the still more valuable repose of their ministers, by his unseasonable visits. A pretext, also, was given for his trial at the ecclesiastical tribunal by his proceedings in the notable district of Strathbogie. Pitying its destitute spiritual condition, he had often wished to preach there, but was as constantly opposed by the parochial clergy, until, hopeless of overcoming their obstinacy, he at last preached in a dissenting chapel within the bounds of their presbytery. This was in the year 1817, and as his act appeared to be a trespass which the laws of the church had denounced, the case was brought before the General Assembly. After a long discussion in that highest of church-courts the following motion was made and carried by a large majority:—"Having considered the references, the Assembly declare, as it is hereby declared, that the performance of divine service, or any part of public worship or service, by members of this church in meeting-houses of dissenters, is irregular and unconstitutional, and ought on no occasion to take place, except in cases in which, from the peculiar circumstances of a parish, its minister may find it occasionally necessary for conducting the ordinary religious instruction of his people; and the Assembly further declare, that the conduct of any minister of the church, who exercises his pastoral functions in a vagrant manner, preaching during his journeys from place to place in the open air, in other parishes than his own, or officiating in any meeting for religious exercises without the special invitation of the minister within whose parish it shall be held, and by whom such meetings shall be called, is disorderly and unbecoming the character of a member of this church, and calculated to weaken the hands of the minister of the parish, and to injure the interests of sound religion; and the Assembly enjoin presbyteries to take order, that no countenance be given by ministers within their bounds to such occasional meetings proposed to be held for divine service, or other pious purposes, as may, under the pretext of promoting religion, injure its interests, and so disturb the peace and order of the church; and, in case of such meetings taking place, the presbyteries within whose bounds they are held are enjoined to report the same to the meeting of the General Assembly ensuing." A stop must be put to the evangelistic invasion of

parishes—no matter how destitute their spiritual condition, or how careless or inert their ministers, and the present motion provided for their defence in all time to come. But where the while was the condemnation of the culprit by whose deeds this discussion had been provoked, or the sentence of suspension or deposition which might have been expected to follow? This essential was strangely omitted, so that, while the offence itself was punished, the offender was allowed to go free. Upon this inconclusive conclusion the following remarks were made by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, in the pages of the *Christian Instructor*:—"The references which gave rise to the decision accused Mr. Macdonald of Urquhart of irregular practices in the function of preaching. It was his conduct which these documents stated to be the ground of the application. It was his conduct which every one of the speakers in supporting them made the subject of their animadversion. And it was his conduct which the motion, in its original form, as concocted (shall we say?) at Aberdeen, was intended to censure and condemn. But every person who had the misery to be present when the matter was reasoned, must recollect how Mr. Macdonald's conduct was, in the course of the debate, so completely vindicated, that not even the most fierce and unreasonable of his opponents could persist in their primary determination to find him guilty. Every one seemed to vie with another in declaring that he was not only a good man, and a useful minister in general, but quite innocent and blameless in the particular examples brought forward to his prejudice. And accordingly the sentence found no fault with him—did not even mention his name—no, nor made the remotest allusion to anything he was alleged to have done. How ridiculous, then, is the sentence!"

We now pass onward in the course of our narrative to the year 1822, when Mr. Macdonald visited the island of St. Kilda. This solitary spot in the Atlantic, where it stands like a fragment broken off from the mainland, and cast aside as useless, was at this time inhabited by 108 persons, who occupied a little village built like a Hottentot kraal, and where they lived in somewhat of the Hottentot fashion. Their chief wealth consisted of solan geese, with the feathers of which they paid their rent, and occasionally procured a few extra comforts; and their chief subsistence was a few cows and a small breed of sheep, whose wool supplied them with clothing. Their principal excitement as well as occupation arose from the capture of the solan geese that inhabited the ramparts of rocks by which their dismal isle was walled out from the world, and the incredible daring with which they war with these birds in their nests, being suspended for the purpose in mid-air by a slender rope held only by a single person, and relying on which they swing themselves from cliff to cliff, where, by the slightest failure of eye or nerve, they would lose their hold, and be dashed in pieces on the rocks beneath, or drowned in the ocean—are everyday feats in the lives of these poor Kildaites. Macdonald had often thought of them, and now he was to visit them by an express commission from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and, with the consent of the minister of Harris, who, although St. Kilda was in his parish, had never visited it. This difficult and dangerous voyage was to be performed in the company of the tacksman of the island; and at sea between Harris and St. Kilda Macdonald expressed his affectionate longing for the people by a burst of Celtic poetry, in which he longed for the wings of a dove, that he might speedily be with them. As he neared his destination, he soon per-

ceived that his undertaking was only suited for missionary enterprise, and he thus wrote in his journal:—"At last I caught sight of the island, a sight I had longed to see, and my heart swelled with gladness as I looked. But who could look on that island, standing erect out of the sea, with its rugged, craggy rocks, and its waste, unlovely mountains, its rough, green shore, the rude proud billows of the sea indenting all its sides as they dash against it with furious onsets, while it stands unyielding to the surf that is raging all around it, though its brow is bare and hoary with the waste and the spray of the waves; who could see it thus, and unbidden venture to approach it! Truly, if I had not a call from the Lord, I would not set foot on its shore."

On disembarking at the only spot which formed the landing-place of that rock-bound island even for a boat, Macdonald found that he had suddenly passed from storm, tempest, and the risk of shipwreck to a calm, genial, moral atmosphere, in consequence of the gentle simple manners and affectionate welcome of its people. They had still retained among them a scanty portion of their early Christian education, such as it had been; but happily it was sufficient to increase not allay their thirst, and make them eager for more. On being introduced to Mr. Macdonald as a minister sent to them by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, these primitive people shook hands with him as if he had been an old-established friend, and said, "God bless the society which sent him; and God bless him for coming!" The work of preaching was commenced without delay, the only barn in the village sufficing them for a church, and a summoning cry for a church-bell; and with preaching was connected pastoral visiting and catechising, which were performed in houses, or in the fields wherever a group of people were collected together. "I feel," he said, "that I ought to let slip no opportunity of doing so—that I am in a manner accountable for them in the day of the Lord—and that ere another messenger may visit them, there is every mortal certainty that some of those I now see will be in eternity." As most of the people could not read, and as the greater part of their Christian knowledge was merely traditional, much of Mr. Macdonald's teaching was of matters about which they had never heard, or only heard imperfectly; but his instructions were conveyed with such fervent simplicity as found an entrance into every heart. They could never hear enough; and on one evening when it was feared that the lamps of their meeting-place would not burn at night, in consequence of the boisterous wind, the active young men immediately set about repairing the roof of the barn, which they did effectually in half an hour, declaring, "There shall be sermon indeed, and we shall not lose a single night."

After a stay of ten days in St. Kilda, during which he had preached thirteen times, irrespective of his other apostolic duties, Macdonald found himself obliged to return with the tacksman, in whose boat he had come to the island. All wept when his approaching departure was intimated; and when he descended to the beach to embark, the whole population of the island—men, women, and children—accompanied him to the shore, and bade him farewell amidst cries and tears. Such was the parting of these simple children of nature—men whose brave hearts no dangers could daunt, but which were also filled with the tenderness of women. It was no wonder that ever afterwards Macdonald remembered this *Ultima Thule* of his apostolic wanderings and its primitive inhabitants, who were so utterly concealed from the world, with a more than ordinary

interest and affection. Under this feeling he revisited St. Kilda in the following year, and no sooner did his bark heave in sight than all the islanders rushed joyfully to the shore to welcome him. "We had no sooner effected a landing," he writes, "than they all pressed around me, and grasped my hand each in his turn, when I thought they would have wrung the very blood out of it. Few words passed for a minute or two, but tears trickled from every eye. I was overcome myself." When this tumultuous outburst of affection had subsided, he adds, "At last silence broke, and says every one here and there, 'This is a surprise: this is more than we looked for! We little expected to see his face again. God bless him for this visit. He will bless him whatever becomes of us.'" The sacred uses of the old barn were resumed, and he stated to them that, besides meeting them for public worship once a day in the evening as formerly, he should hold a morning religious service for prayer and praise, and the reading and exposition of Scripture, should the nature of their occupations permit. To this they joyfully assented, exclaiming, "We can easily manage our other business, and what is everything else to this?" Having such a willing people, most of the difficulties that encounter missionary labour were removed; and as a Gaelic school had been established in the island since his former visit, several of the young could read the New Testament and some portions of the Old. Their gratitude also to their religious instructor was expressed in a manner which, however trivial or odd to civilized estimation, was truly noble, considering their scanty means. Every morning, as soon as the island dairy-maids had returned from the milking on the hills, they presented abundance of warm milk to Macdonald and his friends, saying, "He gives us the great good, and why should we not give him the little—little indeed, in comparison with what we receive?" But this was not enough, and, on having called a public meeting to deliberate what present they could give to the kind minister, they agreed to bestow upon him their best, which was a good fat wedder. During this stay of nearly three weeks at St. Kilda Mr. Macdonald was gratified to witness the religious improvement that had taken place upon the people, and the diligence with which they had turned all his instructions to their proper account. But again there was to be a melancholy parting, and no sooner had he announced the passage in Romans xiv., which was designed as the text of his farewell sermon, than his audience at once perceiving the application burst into tears, while the women lamented with cries and sobs. It told them that he was going indeed, and as formerly they accompanied him weeping to the shore, and afterwards ascended to the top of their highest hill, and gazed upon his receding bark, until it had vanished from their view.

After returning from his first visit to St. Kilda Mr. Macdonald was invited to become minister of the Gaelic chapel, Edinburgh, with a stipend of £400 per annum; "but though the translation," he said, "might be desirable for the sake of a rising family, how could I part with dear Urquhart?" In the following year, 1823, he was invited by the London Missionary Society to preach their anniversary sermon in May, with which invitation he complied, and on reparing to the vast capital of Great Britain he found himself in a new world, and among a strange people, of whom he had hitherto heard only by report. But even there he employed himself in his wonted evangelistic work, and had soon more invitations to preach than he could accept. It was after his return that he paid his second visit to St. Kilda. In 1827 a new

field was opened to his spirit of apostolic enterprise. Mr. Daly, then rector of Powerscourt, and afterwards Bishop of Cashel, being anxious that the gospel should be preached to the Irish in their native tongue, had applied to Scotland for a Gaelic evangelist, and the choice of the Scottish clergy for such a service naturally fell upon Macdonald. Having accepted the commission and mastered the Erse language, of which his own was a dialect altered by the lapse of 1400 years, he went to Dublin, and commenced an evangelistic tour which comprehended the towns and villages of a large portion of the green island. He preached almost every day, and while his use of the Irish language by such constant practice was always becoming more easy, he was soon able to preach to the natives with all that eloquence and fervour which had distinguished his addresses to the Scottish Highlanders. The effect of such preaching was shown by many of the Irish repairing, like Nicodemus, by night to hear him, not daring to do so by day from fear of their clergy. But the great difficulty of his sermons in effecting conviction and instruction arose from the ignorance of the people, who were forbid by their priests to read the Bible. Not content also with this safeguard of ignorance, and alarmed at the crowds who assembled to hear the heretic preacher, they employed smart fluent speakers to address the people in refutation of the arguments adduced in the sermon. But Macdonald's preaching had not only such unexpected antagonists, but also unexpectedly as strong supporters. On one occasion, when preaching upon the parable of the good Samaritan, he said, "I am not to inquire at present why the priest passed the poor man by." At this, up bolted a raw Irishman in the congregation, with "Plase your Rivirence, I can tell you why the prait passed him by." "I shall be glad to hear it," said the preacher, "if you can tell." "And that I can," cried the other; "it was because he knew that the thieves had left no money in his pocket." The poor fellow had some cause for this bitter conclusion, as the priests had lately wrung from him his last penny, for burying his wife and saying masses for her soul.

After an active and useful tour in Ireland Mr. Macdonald on his return bestirred himself for his poor Kildaites, who had never been absent from his thoughts; and after preaching over the length and breadth of Scotland for the purpose, he was enabled to collect sufficient funds for the erection of a manse and church in St. Kilda. The buildings being completed and a minister appointed, Macdonald accompanied him to the island in 1830, and introduced him to his flock. The poor islanders could scarcely believe their eyes when they thus saw the realization of their highest wishes, and their gratitude to Macdonald, by whose instrumentality the change had been accomplished, made them almost speechless. During this visit he also preached in the islands of South Uist and Pabbay, in which the majority of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics, and sunk in religious ignorance and apathy. His ministrations, however, roused them to inquiry about their spiritual interests, by which both Protestants and Roman Catholics appeared to be benefited alike. On one occasion, when he had preached at South Uist, and was about to dismiss the congregation, fifty or sixty persons, who either lived at a distance or had not received the notice in time, unexpectedly arrived. Macdonald expressed his regret that they had come so late, and that should he begin a new service, the patience of his recent audience would be exhausted. "No, no," cried one of them, "you will not tire out our patience, though you should continue till midnight." A new service commenced, and no symptom

of weariness appeared. At the dismissal of the congregation one of the audience was overheard to exclaim, "What wonderful doctrines are these we heard to-day!" "Wonderful indeed!" replied his neighbour, evidently a Roman Catholic; "and when would our priest give us such doctrines?" "Indeed," said a third, in the earnest metaphorical style of the Celts, "his words made holes through my heart!"

In presenting a view of the daily, weekly, and yearly life of the Highland Whitfield, the following summary given by his biographer is too important to be omitted. It gives us a picture of apostolic zeal and activity, such as modern times can too seldom exhibit. "On Sabbath, when at home, he always delivered three sermons. Once a month he preached regularly in Inverness and in Dingwall, and for a considerable time stately in Invergordon. In not a few places he was invariably present on communion occasions, usually preaching every day; besides giving to many ministers occasional and more limited assistance. He often went on excursions to various parts of the Highlands, preaching as he went. During three months of each year he preached on an average two sermons a day; and in no year of his life in Ross-shire did he preach fewer than 300 sermons. He preached upwards of 10,000 times during the last thirty-six years of his life, and never delivered an unstudied discourse. This was not owing to his confining himself to a set of sermons which he constantly repeated; for he has left among his papers skeletons of discourses on almost every text on which a sermon could be written, besides notes of lectures on the Gospels and other parts of Scripture."

In a life of so much travel, at all hours and in every kind of weather, not only the frequent hardships and privations, but the usual risks to life and limb, were cheerfully encountered, and bravely endured. In a swollen river which he had to cross he and his horse were stranded, and would there have been drowned, had not both been pulled out by ropes thrown across by people who had assembled on the river's bank. On another occasion, when travelling to Auldearn on a winter's night to preach, Mr. Macdonald was suddenly pounced upon by two men—one of whom laid hold of his horse's bridle, and the other of his right arm, while they demanded his purse and watch with the usual threat for refusal. The minister coolly observed in reply, "This was not the reception I expected on coming to preach at Auldearn." "This is Macdonald!" cried one of the scared footpads to his companion, "we had better let him alone"—and with that they disappeared as quickly as they had started up.

In one of his journeys he caught a severe cold, but as he persisted in his work instead of waiting for the means of cure, the pores of his body closed, and the disease became dangerous. Knowing that nothing but a copious perspiration would cure him, for obtaining which the usual medicine was now found useless, his friend Hector Holm, a Highland Esculapius, thought he had hit upon the right plan to effect it. He privately sent intimation to the nearest houses that Mr. Macdonald was going to preach, and when the people were assembled in the kitchen of the house, he told Macdonald the purpose of their meeting. The minister declared, that in his present state he was unable to preach; but his objections were overruled by the pertinacious Hector, who represented that it would be very hard to send away the poor people without a word, and suggested that he only needed to sit in bed wrapped up in his blankets, and read and expound a passage of Scripture, while the people would listen outside the door

in the passage. On these easy terms Macdonald agreed, but he had not well entered into his subject, when, as his counsellor had foreseen, his wonted ardour in preaching came upon him, his few words became an eloquent elaborate lecture, and at the end of it he was covered with perspiration. He was then muffled up in the bedclothes, and after a sound sleep he awoke in the morning freed from all complaint. Holm valued himself not a little upon a remedy so well adapted for such a patient, although perhaps he was not aware that the original merit of the discovery belongs to Rowland Hill. It was a saying of that eccentric divine, "There is no cure for a minister's cold equal to a good pulpit sweat."

Another evil to which Macdonald's course of life exposed him arose from the jests and gibes of the profane, which to a sensitive mind are generally more painful than any bodily infliction. But he, too, when there was need, could utter such pungent jokes, that wittlings often thought twice before they measured wits with him. Not a few good *mots* could be selected illustrative of the keen but well-regulated hilarity of the "Apostle of the North;" but, passing over these, we shall content ourselves with the following incident, in the words of his biographer:—"While crossing Kessock ferry along with the minister of Killearnan, among their fellow-passengers was a drunken exciseman, at whose feet a dog was lying. The gauger, observing the ministers, raised the dog, and holding it in his arms, went up to Mr. Kennedy, and said, 'Will you christen this child?' Mr. Kennedy, horrified, at once ordered him away. He then presented the dog to Mr. Macdonald, who immediately rose up and said, 'Do you acknowledge yourself the father of what you now present for baptism?' The exciseman, drunk as he was, saw that he was caught in his own snare. Looking wildly at the ministers, he flung the dog into the sea, and skulked back to his seat amidst the jeers of all who were on board."

While those events were going on which finally ended in the entire severance of the Church of Scotland into two separate churches, the party to which Macdonald adhered, and the church with which he was to be finally identified, were matters of no doubtful question: hitherto he had acted wholly with the intending out-goers, and his labours over the Highlands had greatly aided in preparing that remarkable accession of Highlanders who joined the exodus. When the controversy, therefore, was at its height, and the Disruption inevitable, he was one of the men of foremost mark in the preliminary events that took place. But it was just at that critical period that an accusation was brought against his character, which, if established, would not only have annihilated his present influence, but blasted all the reputation of his former life. It was a charge, the most damaging of all that can be brought against the clerical character. A wretched woman, unmarried, who had followed him from place to place in his religious itinerancy, had sought many interviews with the unsuspecting minister, and been regarded by him and many others as a sincere follower of the gospel, became the mother of a child, and anxious to grace her shameful fall, if she could not conceal it, she charged the paternity first upon an eminent Christian layman, and afterwards upon Mr. Macdonald. A calumny so foul and unexpected was answered by Mr. Macdonald with an instant demand for a trial of the case before the presbytery, and after a searching investigation his innocence was completely established. In 1842, the same year in which this distressing annoyance occurred, Mr. Macdonald received the diploma of D.D. from the university of New York, America.

When the Disruption at last occurred, Dr. Macdonald went out with the Free Church, but not alone; and the number of Highland congregations who followed his example was the fruit of that diligence with which he had prepared them for such a consummation. On being obliged to resign his manse, he first removed to a small cottage in the neighbourhood, afterwards to a larger and more comfortable residence, and finally to the Free Church manse which was built at Urquhart, where he spent the last three years of his life. In 1844, when a meeting of the General Assembly of the Free Church was held at Inverness, he was appointed its joint-moderator, with the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane of Greenock, as representative and interpreter for the Highland speaking part of the assembly. Before the commencement of its proceedings he also preached a Gaelic sermon, the text of which, as soon as commenced, provoked a smile from the Highland portion of his auditory; and when the Lowland hearers turned to their English Bibles, they found that he had chosen the following verse for his discourse, "And these who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." The text had been applied by the Highland Moderates to this Inverness assembly, and Dr. Macdonald returned it to them with interest, by the use which he made of it in justifying the Free Church's proceedings.

Being now an old man, the doctor, after such a laborious well-spent life, might justly have retired to the shade, and sought repose; but his mind was as active and enterprising as ever, and his physical frame robust and capable of much endurance. With him, to live was to work, so that life and labour could only terminate together. A new cause was also to be built up, in which he had been a diligent influential workman, and he could not desert it now when it was most in need of aid. His itinerant labours were therefore continued after the Disruption as busily as before, and comprised a large amount of travelling both in the Highlands and Lowlands. In 1849, as if he had felt a premonition that the end of his career was at hand, although no symptom of decay as yet appeared, he preached repeatedly from the text, Eccles. ix. 10: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest." It was on this text, also, that he preached his last sermon in the Free Church of Kiltarn.

The immediate cause of Dr. Macdonald's death was occasioned by an apparently trivial accident. His foot had been blistered by an uneasy boot, but, regardless of the inconvenience, he continued to travel and preach as before. At last he became so lame that application to medical aid was necessary; but mortification had already set in, and on a medical consultation being held, the propriety of amputating the foot was suggested among the means of cure. But no sooner was this whispered than some scores of stalwart Highland admirers of Dr. Macdonald, each armed with a stout cudgel, mounted guard over the house where the surgeons were assembled, and threatened with grievous pains and penalties all who should attempt any such experiment upon their venerated pastor's limb. The plan of amputation was abandoned, and excision of the mortified part of the foot adopted; but the operation was useless, as the virus had passed into his system. Death was inevitable, but this the venerable apostle contemplated as a happy entrance into his proper home. Many were the edifying declarations which he uttered to his friends on his death-bed, which they treasured up for affectionate remembrance, and among these

was the following to a minister who visited him:—"There are three things which the Lord hath done for me; and may you have cause to praise him for dealing so with you. He did not expose my heart-sins to the world; he did not punish my secret sins in my public work; nor did he alienate from me the affections of his people during all my ministry." Even when delirium supervened before his decease, Dr. Macdonald's ruling passion was expressed in praying and preaching as if he had been at his wonted work with a congregation before him. Thus he continued until his death, which occurred on the 18th of April, 1849.

Dr. Macdonald was twice married, his second marriage having occurred in 1818. He had ten children, of whom three were by his first marriage, and six are still alive. His eldest son, John, his first-born, as well as his best beloved, who resembled himself in character and pursuits, after studying for the church, became for a short time minister of River Terrace Scotch Church, London; but having in early life devoted himself to the work of a missionary, he went out in that capacity to India, and there died in the midst of his missionary career in 1847. His aged father received the mournful intelligence by letter while upon a preaching tour in Perthshire, and on his way to preach at Glenlyon; but, being intent on his work, he put the letter unread into his pocket, and did not remember it until next day, when he was on his way to Edinburgh. It was the heaviest of his calamities, the greatest of his bereavements; but after he had lamented as a father, he was enabled to rejoice as a Christian. On returning home he took for his text, "It is well;" and on applying the words to his son's death, he said, "It is well that he was educated; it is better far that he was born again; it is well that he was licensed to preach the gospel; it is well that he was ordained as a pastor; it is well that he went to India; and, above all, it is well for him that he died; for thus, though away from us, and 'absent from the body,' he has secured the gain of being ever with the Lord."

M'GAVIN, WILLIAM, a modern controversial and miscellaneous writer, was born August 12th, 1773, on the farm of Darnlaw, in the parish of Auchinleck, Ayrshire, which his father held on lease from Lord Auchinleck, and afterwards from his son James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. A short attendance at the school of that parish, when about seven years of age, constituted the whole education of a regular kind which the subject of this memoir ever enjoyed. His parents having removed in 1783 to Paisley, and being in by no means affluent circumstances, he was sent at an early period of life to earn his bread as a draw-boy in one of the manufactories. Subsequently he tried weaving of silk, but eventually was led by his taste for reading to become apprentice to Mr. John Neilson, printer and bookseller—a situation highly congenial to his taste, and which afforded him the means of cultivating his mind to a considerable extent. Among various persons of talent and information who frequented Mr. Neilson's shop was the unfortunate Alexander Wilson, poet, and afterwards the distinguished ornithologist, who, finding it necessary to remove to America, was assisted to no small extent by Mr. M'Gavin. The popular opinions of that period were adopted in all their latitude by Mr. M'Gavin; many fugitive pieces by him upon the question of parliamentary reform and other exciting topics were received with approbation by those who professed similar sentiments; but it is not known that he took any more active part in the politics of the time.

The duty of reading proof-sheets in his master's shop was the circumstance which first led Mr. M'Gavin to study the English language carefully; and, considering the limited nature of his education, it is surprising that he should have been able to attract notice as an author under the age of twenty.

In 1793, having left Mr. Neilson's shop, he was found qualified to assist his elder brother in the management of a school where writing, arithmetic, and mathematics were taught. Of this seminary he afterwards became sole master; but he ultimately abandoned teaching as a pursuit not agreeable to his genius or temper, and in 1798 was engaged as book-keeper and clerk by Mr. David Lamb, an American cotton merchant, to whose two sons he at the same time acted as tutor. Some years afterwards, on Mr. Lamb removing to America, Mr. M'Gavin became his partner; the business was carried on in Glasgow. In 1805 Mr. M'Gavin married Miss Isabella Campbell of Paisley. As his business was of a light nature, and Mrs. M'Gavin brought him no children, he enjoyed more leisure for the cultivation of his mind than falls to the lot of most merchants in the busy capital of the west of Scotland. At a later period, after the death of his original patron, he entered into partnership with the son of that gentleman, and carried on what is called a West India business under the firm of M'Gavin and Lamb. This ultimately proving unprofitable, he was induced in 1822 to undertake the Glasgow agency of the British Linen Company's bank, which he conducted without intermission till his death.

Mr. M'Gavin was brought up by his parents in the strictest tenets of the Presbyterian faith, as professed by the congregations of original Anti-Burghers. About the year 1800 a conscientious dissent from the views of this body respecting church government induced him to join the Rev. Mr. Ramsay in the formation of an Independent or Congregational church. In this communion he began to exercise a gift of preaching, with which he was endowed in a remarkable degree, receiving from Mr. Ramsay the ordination which was considered necessary for the pastoral office by this body of Christians. Eventually, circumstances so much reduced the society as to make it cease to answer what he conceived to be the design and use of a church—namely, "not only the edification of its own members, but the public exhibition of their spirit and practice for manifesting the glory of the grace of God, and promoting the salvation of men." For this reason, in 1808 he joined the kindred congregation of Mr. Greville Ewing in the Nile Street meeting-house, Glasgow, where he was soon afterwards invested with the office of deacon. Here he might have also continued to preach if he had been willing; but he was now unable, from the pressure of business, to give the duty that attention which he deemed necessary, and accordingly resisted Mr. Ewing's frequent and urgent solicitations, though he occasionally consented to perform public worship in the neighbouring villages, or in places where he thought such ministrations eminently necessary.

Being a man of uncommon industry, and equally great benevolence, Mr. M'Gavin found time, amidst his numerous mercantile avocations, to write a number of religious tracts and stories for the improvement of the poorer and junior classes of society. Though these productions are of a class which do not usually attain a high place in literature, no reader, however indifferent to the subjects, or of however highly cultivated intellect, could peruse them without remarking the extraordinary conciseness of style and moral force by which they are characterized. The most distinguished of all Mr.

M'Gavin's writings is his *Protestant*, a series of papers designed to expose the errors of the Church of Rome, commenced in 1818, and finished in 1822. In the general decline of religious controversial writing, the celebrity acquired by this work is a strong testimony to the powers of the author. In its collected form, in four volumes octavo, it went through no fewer than seven editions in the first ten years. According to Mr. Greville Ewing, in a funeral sermon upon Mr. M'Gavin, "the commencement of the work was casual, and the whole executed with hasty preparation. While engaged in a mercantile business of his own, he had at that time the winding up of an old concern of his partner, the heavy charge of another concern, which in the end proved a severe loss to him, besides other business matters, as factorships, references, as sole arbiter in cases both from private parties and from the Court of Session, which he decided in a manner satisfactory to all concerned; and many other things were devolved on him, which none but a man of clear judgment and unusually industrious habits could have undertaken. A work which otherwise would have been extremely irksome was rendered pleasant by the continued and increasing favour with which it was received by the public in general, and by the approbation of distinguished individuals in each of the three kingdoms. One of the most eminent bishops of the Church of England offered to give him holy orders. That, however, which was most gratifying to the author, was the interest which he was honoured to excite in the public mind with regard to the subject of Popery. I make no attempt to give a particular account of the contents of this work. It is impossible, they are so extensive; it is unnecessary, they are so generally known. It is matter of notoriety that Mr. M'Gavin was prosecuted for certain articles in the *Protestant*, and had a verdict against him, imposing on him a fine of £100, which, with expenses, amounted to above £1200. Into the merits of these things I shall not enter further than to state, in round numbers, that £800 of the £1200 was raised by public subscription, and that the whole, it was believed, would have been more than paid had not each subscriber been limited to a certain sum. As the case had been so arranged, Mr. M'Gavin was obliged, in the meantime, to pay the balance out of his own pocket, of which, great as the amount was, I never heard him complain. The publishers afterwards very handsomely came forward to reimburse the author, which, from the sale of the work, they were enabled to do without loss to themselves, though he had no claim upon them."

Mr. M'Gavin in 1827 superintended a new and improved edition of the *Scots Worthies*—a work commemorating the lives of the most eminent Scottish clergy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and originally written by an unlearned individual named John Howie of Lochgoin. The book was greatly improved by the notes of Mr. M'Gavin. He soon after published a refutation of the peculiar views of Mr. Cobbet in his *History of the Reformation*, and a similar exposure of the principles of Mr. Robert Owen. Being a decided enemy to the connection of the church and state, he was induced to embody his sentiments on that subject in a pamphlet, entitled *Church Establishments considered, in a Series of Letters to a Covenanter*. Not long before his death Mr. M'Gavin superintended a new and improved edition of Knox's *History of the Reformation*, and aided with an introduction a work by the Rev. Mr. John Brown of Whitburn, entitled *Memorials of the Nonconformist Ministers of the Seventeenth*

Century. In the midst of his divers labours he suddenly died of apoplexy, August 23, 1832.

Of the intellectual vigour and religious fervour of Mr. M'Gavin, his published writings afford a sufficient and lasting memorial. His personal qualities are not, however, fully shown in that mirror. His diligence in his ordinary secular employments, his zeal in promoting the religious and worldly interests of all who came under his notice, his mild and amiable character in private society, are traits which must be added. Two of his most conspicuous qualities—the power of a satirist, and a certain precision which appeared in all he either spoke or wrote—might be supposed incompatible with the tenderer lights of a domestic character. But in him the one set of qualities was not more conspicuous than the other. "His personal disposition," says Mr. Ewing, "was that of the publican who pleaded with God for mercy when he went up into the temple to pray, and returned justified, because he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Like Nathaniel, he was an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile. Like Paul, he was ready to call himself less than the least of all saints, and to ascribe his salvation to Jesus Christ, having come into the world to save sinners, of whom he was a chief. He had, even in his natural temper, much tenderness of heart, much sincere and generous benevolence. If conscious of any quickness, which I have heard him acknowledge, but never saw, it was guarded by the vigilance of Christian meekness, and by the genuine modesty of superior good sense. Those who knew him only from feeling the lash of his controversial writings, may have been tempted to think of him as an austere man. In truth, however, he was the very reverse. The profits of the *Protestant* he once offered as a subscription to the society in this city for the support of the Catholic schools. The offer was declined, because some of the Roman Catholic persuasion regarded it as an insult. I do not wonder at the misunderstanding. But had they known him as I did, and as he was known by all his familiar friends, they would have accepted of his offer as a mark of his cordial good-will to a valuable institution."

MACGILL, STEVENSON, D.D., professor of theology in the university of Glasgow, was born at Port-Glasgow on the 19th January, 1765. He received the earlier part of his education in the parish school of Port-Glasgow, and at the age of ten was sent to complete it at the university of Glasgow. Here, as his destination was for the ministry, he went through a nine years' course, where his proficiency in literature, science, and theology obtained a considerable number of class honours, and secured the approbation of his professors. On the completion of his studies Mr. Macgill was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Paisley in 1790, and soon after received the offer of the chair of civil history in St. Andrews, a charge which was to be united with a small country parish. But even thus early, and in spite of so alluring a temptation, he was the uncompromising enemy of ecclesiastical plurality, and therefore the offer was refused. In the year after he was licensed to preach he was presented to the parish of Eastwood; and while he continued there, his ministry was distinguished not only by careful study and preparation for the duties of the pulpit, but also by his attention to the moral and religious instruction of the young of his parish, and the proper support of the helpless poor. The diffusion of infidel and revolutionary principles, which the recent events in France had occasioned, also called forth the anxiety of Mr. Macgill; and in 1792

he published a small tract, entitled the *Spirit of the Times*, particularly addressed to the people of Eastwood, in which he temperately and judiciously warned them against the anarchical theories of the day. After having been for six years minister of Eastwood, he was translated, in 1797, to the charge of the Tron Church of Glasgow, that had become vacant by the death of the Rev. Dr. M'Call. Here his pastoral labours were at least of threefold amount, in consequence of the rapid growth of the population, and the increase of poverty, ignorance, and crime, with which it was accompanied. But to these he addressed himself in a right apostolic spirit, and with an effectiveness of which Glasgow still reaps the fruits. Soon after his arrival in Glasgow, the well-known period called "the dearth" occurred, and Mr. Macgill became an active advocate for the establishment of soup-kitchens, and other means for the relief of the poor. The comforts and cure of the sick, and the coercion and reformation of the criminal, were continual objects of his pastoral solicitude, and therefore he became a careful superintendent of the wants of prisons and the infirmary. In him too the Lunatic Asylum of Glasgow, which has been so efficient an institution for the relief of the worst of all maladies, found not only its best friend, but also its chief originator, in consequence of the impulse which he gave towards the erection of that noble structure. One defect also under which Glasgow laboured until it had grown into an evil of the first magnitude, called forth his active exertions. This was the deficiency of church accommodation, which, although common to Scotland at large, from the increase of the population, was particularly felt in Glasgow, where the ratio of increase had been unprecedented, and was still continuing to go onward with a constantly growing magnitude, while the number of the city churches remained stationary. Nothing could more effectually encourage dissent than such a state of things; and accordingly, the great mercantile city of the west, once so famous for its hearty attachment to the Kirk which the Reformation had established within its walls, was now becoming the great emporium of Scottish sectarianism. Nor was this the worst; for even the numerous chapels that were erected by the different sects were still inadequate either for the growth of the population or for the poverty of the masses, who were unable to contribute their prescribed share for the maintenance of the self-supporting principle. All this struck the observant eye of Dr. Macgill, who tried every method, both with the church-court and town-council, to have the evil removed by the erection of new churches, as well as the way prepared for their full efficiency, by the extension and improvement of the civic parochial education. For the present, however, he laboured in vain; for the city dignitaries of the day were more intent upon the great wars of the Continent, and the movements in the Peninsula, than those evils around them that required no far-seeing sagacity to detect; and thus "the righteousness that exalteth a nation" was left to a future hearing. But his appeals were not ineffectual, although for the present they seemed to be scattered to the winds, or buried in the earth; for after many years the harvest shot up, and before he closed his eyes he had the satisfaction of seeing the principle of church extension reduced to vigorous action in that very city where his former appeals on the subject had been unheeded.

While Dr. Macgill was thus actively employed upon the important subject of civic economy as developed in prisons, schools, and churches, he was far from being remiss in those studies with which the

more sacred duties of the ministerial office are connected. Seldom, indeed, in any man, was a life of contemplation more harmoniously blended with a life of action; and therefore, amidst a career of practical hard-working usefulness, which he continued until he was stretched upon a death-bed, he was an inquiring and improving student, who felt that he had still something to learn. Such was the disposition with which he commenced his ministry in Glasgow. He knew the quantity of out-door work that would beset him in the discharge of his duty, and he was aware of its tendency to mar the occupations of the study, and arrest or throw back the mind of the minister, and shut him up within the narrow circle of his early acquisitions. But he knew withal that the duty of intellectual self-improvement was equally urgent with that of active everyday usefulness. On this account he proposed to his brethren of the presbytery the plan of a literary and theological association for mutual instruction, by the reading of essays and oral discussions; and the proposal was so acceptable that in 1800 a society for the purpose was formed, whose meetings were held once a month. The important subjects which it kept in view, and its plan of action, were admirably fitted for the clergy of a large city, who, of all men, must keep abreast of the learning and intelligence of the age. While he was a member of this literary and theological association, Dr. Macgill read, in his turn, a series of essays which he had written on the pastoral office and its duties, and the best ways of discharging them with effect. These essays, which were afterwards published in the form of letters, entitled *Considerations addressed to a Young Clergyman*, gave ample proof of his high appreciation of the ministerial office, and sound views of an appropriate clerical training. The work, also, as well as the consistent manner in which he had always acted upon its principles, pointed him out as the fittest person to occupy a most important office in the church. This was the chair of theology in the university of Glasgow, which became vacant in 1814, by the death of Dr. Robert Findlay, who had held it for more than thirty years.

On his election to the professorship of divinity, Dr. Macgill addressed himself in earnest to the discharge of its onerous duties. And that these were neither few nor trivial may be surmised from the fact, that the general number of the students in the divinity hall was above 200, while their exclusive instruction in theology, instead of being divided among several professors, devolved entirely upon himself. The mode also of teaching that most complex as well as most important of sciences, was still to seek; for as yet the training to the ministerial office was in a transition state, that hovered strangely between the scholastic pedantry and minuteness of former years, and the headlong career of innovation and improvement that characterized the commencement of the nineteenth century. And in what fashion, and how far, was it necessary to eschew the one and adopt the other? It is in these great periodic outbursts of the human mind that universities stand still in astonishment, while their learned professors gaze upon the ancient moth-eaten formulas, and know not what to do. To teach theology now was a very different task from the inculcation of Latin and Greek, which has continued the same since the days of Alfred. The first years, therefore, of Dr. Macgill's labours as a professor, consisted of a series of experimenting; and it was fortunate that the duty had devolved upon one so patient to undergo the trial, and so observant of what was fittest and best. At length the whole plan of theological instruction was

methodized into a system that worked harmoniously and effectively under the control of a single mind. It was felt to be truly so by the students who passed under its training; so that each fell into his own proper place, and the daily work of the divinity hall went on with the regularity of a well-adjusted machine. It was sometimes objected to the course of lecturing, that it attempted to comprise too much; that it descended to too many minutiae; and that the fit proportion which each subject should bear to the whole was thus lost sight of. Dr. Macgill himself was sensible of these defects, and many years before his death employed himself in lopping off whatever he considered to be redundant in his lectures, and condensing whatever was too diffuse. But let it be remembered, also, that when he commenced he was groping his way along an untried path. Even his learned predecessor, Dr. Findlay, had laid out for himself a theological course of such vast range as an ordinary life would have been utterly insufficient to overtake; and thus, at the end of each four years' course, his pupils escaped with a few theological ideas that had been extended and ramified to the uttermost; a little segment instead of a full body of divinity. But in the other duties of his professorship, where his own individuality was brought into full play, unfettered by forms and systems, Dr. Macgill was unrivalled. In his oral examinations of the class he seemed to have an intuitive sagacity in entering at once into the character of each pupil, and discovering the kind of management which he most needed. In this case it was most gratifying to witness with what gentleness, and yet with what tact, he repressed the over-bold and animated the diffident, stimulated the slothful and encouraged the career of the diligent and enterprising; while his bearing, which was in the highest degree that of a grave divine and accomplished scholar, adorned by the graces of a Christian gentleman, won the reverence, the confidence, and affection of his students. But it was not alone in the class-room that these qualities were exhibited in their fullest measure. His evenings were generally devoted to his students, of whom he was wont to have a number in rotation around the tea-table, so that at the end of the session none had been omitted; and while at these *conversazioni* he could unbend from the necessary formality of public duty, and encourage a flow of cheerful intercourse, it always tended more or less to the great object which he had most at heart—the formation of a learned, pious, and efficient ministry. Nor was this all. Few, indeed, can tell or even guess his cares, his labours, and his sacrifices in behalf of these his adopted children, whom once having known, he never ceased to remember and to care for, and for whose welfare his library, his purse, and his personal labours were opened with an ever-flowing liberality. These were the very qualities most needed by a professor of theology, and best fitted to influence the pupils under his training. Dr. Macgill, indeed, was neither a man of high genius nor commanding eloquence; at the best he was nothing more than what might be called a third-rate mind—a man who, under different circumstances, might have passed through life unknown and unnoticed. But with a mind so balanced, and animated with such high and holy principles, he was enabled to acquire an ascendancy and accomplish a work which first-rate intellects have often attempted in vain.

*After having continued for several years exclusively devoted to the duties of the theological chair, Dr. Macgill suddenly found himself summoned to the arena of a church-court, and that, too, upon a question where the conflict would be at *outrance*.

Hitherto he had been the enemy of ecclesiastical plurality, modified though it was in the Church of Scotland by the union of some professorship with the ministerial charge of a parish, instead of the care of two or more parishes vested in one person. And while some confined their hostility to the objection that the chair and the pulpit generally lay so far apart that the holder must be a non-resident, the objections of Macgill were founded upon higher principles. He knew that plurality was totally opposed to the laws and spirit of the Scottish church; and he was too well aware of the important duties of a minister to have his office conjoined with any other pursuit. And now the time and occasion had arrived when he must boldly step forward and speak out. In 1823 the Rev. Dr. Taylor, principal of the university of Glasgow, died, and the Rev. Dr. Macfarlan, minister of Drymen, was appointed to succeed to the office. But hitherto the principal of the college had also been minister of St. Mungo's, or the High parish of Glasgow, and it seemed a matter of course that Dr. Macfarlan should hold both livings conjointly, to which he was appointed accordingly. It was the gentlest form in which plurality had ever appeared in Scotland, for both charges were in the same city, while the one, it was thought, could not infringe upon the duties of the other. But to Dr. Macgill it appeared far otherwise. By the statutes of the college the principal was bound to superintend its secular affairs, and teach theology, which was a task sufficient for any one man; and thus the holder would be compelled either to give half-duty to both offices, or reduce one of them to a sinecure. It was upon these arguments that Dr. Macgill opposed the double induction. It was a stern and severe trial that thus devolved upon one who had hitherto been such a lover of peace; and it was harder still, that his opposition must be directed against one who was thenceforth, let the result be what it might, to become his daily colleague as well as official superior. Many in his situation would have contented themselves with a simple *non liquet*, whispered with bated breath, and thought their vote a sufficient testimony of their principles. Superior, however, to such considerations, and anticipating the great controversy that would be at issue upon the subject, Dr. Macgill, several months before it took place, brought the question before the senate of the university, and finding that his learned brethren would not coincide with him, he had entered in the college records his protest against the induction. In the keen debates that afterwards followed upon the subject in the presbytery of Glasgow, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and at last the General Assembly, to which it was carried for final adjudication, Dr. Macgill assumed the leadership; and few, even of his most intimate friends, were prepared for that masterly eloquence which he exhibited at the first step of the controversy. In taking his chief ground upon the argument of the responsibility of city ministers, and the immense amount of labour which they had to undergo, especially in such a city as Glasgow, he invoked his brethren of the presbytery in language that was long afterwards felt and remembered. The question, as is well known, was lost by the evangelical party; and the union of the offices of principal of the university of Glasgow and minister of the church and parish of St. Mungo was confirmed, as well as the continuance of plurality sanctioned. But this was only a last effort. The opposition which Dr. Macgill thus commenced had aroused the popular feeling so universally upon the subject as to command the respect of the government; and the royal commission which was afterwards appointed for

visiting the universities of Scotland confirmed the popular expression. Let us trust that the evil thus denounced and banished will never again find an entrance into our national church.

Besides his hostility to ecclesiastical pluralism, Dr. Macgill was decidedly opposed to patronage, and earnest for its abrogation. He did not, however, go the whole length of his brethren in advocating the rights of popular suffrage. On the contrary, he was opposed to merely popular elections, and held that they had never been the law of the Church of Scotland. Still he was of opinion that the existing patronage was a great evil, that required a total amendment. He declared it to be a hard thing upon the people of Scotland, that an individual, who might be deficient in principles, knowledge, and morals, should dictate to the worthy and respectable the man whom they should receive as their minister. And it was harder still, he thought, that this patron might be of any or of no religious belief, and in either case opposed to the faith of those over whom he appointed a minister. But worst of all, this right, originally intended for the good of the people in their highest interests, might be bought, like any marketable commodity, by a person wholly unconnected with the parish, and who had no interest in its welfare. The church, indeed, had power to judge and decide on the qualifications of the presentees, by previously trying them as licentiates, and finding them competent for the work of the ministry in general, in life, doctrine, and knowledge. But the preacher thus approved of might be unqualified for the particular charge to which he was designated; so that however orthodox, learned, and pious his manners, his habits, and mode of preaching might be, they might still be such as to make him unsuitable for the people over whom he was appointed. For all this a remedy was necessary; and that which Dr. Macgill had long contemplated he propounded before the committee of the House of Commons appointed to try the question of patronage in Scotland. For this purpose his first desideratum was, the abolition of the act of Queen Anne for the restoration of patronage in our church. This being obtained, he proposed to divide the representation of the parish between three bodies, consisting of the heritors, the elders, and the male communicants, each body to be represented by three delegates, to whom the nomination of the future pastor might be intrusted. Let this committee of nine, after having weighed the case, present to their constituents the person of their choice, whom they had approved by a majority of votes; and should any disputes afterwards arise upon the concurrence of the people, let the case be settled by the decision of the church-courts. Such is an abstract of his plan, by which he hoped the despotism of patronage on the one hand, and the anarchy of popular election on the other, would be equally avoided. But subsequent events showed that this, as well as many other such plans, was but a "devout imagination." The agitation against patronage was followed by the veto-law, and finally by the Disruption. No compromise or half measures—nothing short of a total abrogation of the evil complained of—was found sufficient to satisfy the remonstrants.

After this the course of Dr. Macgill's life went onward tranquilly but usefully; and of the events that occurred till the close, a brief notice may suffice. In 1824, in consequence of a discovery by Dr. M'Crie, the able biographer of John Knox, that our Scottish reformer was educated at the university of Glasgow, Dr. Macgill conceived that Glasgow was the proper place in which a monument should be erected to his memory. The idea was eagerly

caught by several of the spirited citizens, and the result was that stern column on the height of the Fir Park, better known as the Glasgow Necropolis, surmounted by the statue of Knox himself, with the Bible in one hand, and the other stretched out towards the rapidly-growing city, as if he were in the act of uttering the old civic motto, "Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word." In 1828 Dr. Macgill was unanimously elected to the office of moderator of the General Assembly—an office which it was thought he should have occupied at a still earlier period, but for the predominance of that party in the church to which his views in doctrine and discipline were opposed. In 1835 he was made one of the deans of the chapel-royal, a merely honorary appointment, having neither emolument nor duties at that time attached to it. Three years after (1838) he was busily occupied with the plan of erecting a house of refuge for juvenile delinquents in Glasgow—one of his many successful public efforts for the instruction of the young and reformation of the vicious. During 1838 and 1839 he was also employed in preparing two volumes for the press. In 1839, though now borne down by age and the pressure of domestic misfortunes, he resolved to encounter the labours of the winter as he had been wont; and in October he opened the divinity hall, and went through the half-year's course without having been absent a single day. But it was life's last effort. In the end of July, while returning from Bowling Bay, where he had been visiting a friend, he was caught in a heavy shower of rain: a cold and sore throat ensued, that soon turned into fever, accompanied with delirium, in which he was generally either in the attitude of prayer, or employed in addressing an imaginary audience. It was indeed the ruling passion strong in death—the predominance of that piety and activity which had formed his main characteristics through life. He died on the morning of the 18th of August, 1840, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Dr. Macgill was not a voluminous writer; this his devotedness to his daily public duties prevented, as well as the fastidious views which he entertained of authorship, that made him unwilling to commit to the press anything which he had not deeply studied and carefully elaborated. Whatever therefore he has written, he has written well. Besides his *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, he published *Discourses and Essays on Subjects of Public Interest*, *Collection of Translations, Paraphrases, and Hymns*—several of which were his own composition, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Criticism*, and on *Subjects Introductory to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, and a volume of sermons, dedicated "to his former pupils, now his brethren, as a remembrancer of past times." But even when his writings are forgot, his labours in the Scottish church, rent asunder though it has been since his death, and the benefits of these labours upon all parties, will continue to remain a unanimous and hallowed remembrance.

MACGILLIVRAY, WILLIAM, A.M., LL.D. This distinguished naturalist, and popular writer in several departments of natural science, was born in the island of Harris. Having early acquired a taste for the studies by which he rose to distinction, and gone to reside in Edinburgh, he became assistant to Professor Jameson in natural history and the geological museum of the university. From this he was afterwards transferred to the office of conservator of the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh. He thus enjoyed in each position very favourable opportunities of studying the specimens and preparations that were placed under his charge,

and of these opportunities he zealously availed himself. But he was not a mere recluse student, or one satisfied with the specimens which others had placed within his reach; he also was a diligent Rambler in the fields, watching attentively the phenomena of nature not in one but in many departments. The fruits of these multifarious investigations were displayed with happy effect both in his lectures and writings, in which every subject he treated was fully and clearly illustrated more or less from his own personal knowledge. Though a lecturer on botany, his earlier publications were connected with geology, and this department of science continued to obtain a portion of his studies during the rest of his life. His geological papers accordingly were numerous, and in 1839 he published *A Manual of Geology, with a Glossary and Index*. In 1834 he published a small edition of Withering's *Arrangement of British Plants*, a work of great benefit to young students in botany. In zoology, by which he was still better known and more highly distinguished, he studied every family of the animal kingdom, and contributed largely to the literature of many of its special departments. Of these productions were his *Conchologist's Text-book*, which has gone through six editions; his *History of the Molluscan Animals of the Counties of Aberdeen, Kincardine, and Banff*; and papers on various species of shells. He was the author of the seventh volume of Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*, which contains an account of British quadrupeds. He also published a paper on the *Mammalia of Aberdeen and the adjoining Counties*. This enumeration will convey some idea of his multifarious pursuits. It was perhaps too wide, as is confessed by his admiring reviewer in the *Athenæum*: "Dr. William Macgillivray," he writes, "was a naturalist, and one of no mean order. Had he confined his attention to a few of the subjects of the vast field over which he laboured with unwearied industry through a long life, he would perhaps have attained to a yet higher position as a man of science than that which he reached. Whilst in the fields, on the mountains, or by the sea-shore, he had an eye not only to birds, but to every natural object that surrounded him; and the interest with which he regarded them is expressed in the numerous papers and works which he has written on botany, geology, and zoology."

But the work by which Dr. Macgillivray is best known, and will be longest remembered, is his *History of British Birds, Indigenous and Migratory*. No anatomist had ever dissected so large a number of birds, or was so well acquainted with their internal organization. No one also had more carefully studied their habits in all the places of their resort, among rocks and islands, on the sandy shores of the sea, in the firths and estuaries, and in the inland waters. It was well that one so well qualified should concentrate his great natural powers and extensive knowledge upon the subject of ornithology, as the science had hitherto been defective and uncertain. Birds were arranged according to their external form; Linnæus grounded his system upon the shape of the feet and bill, and Vieillot his upon the legs. But the better plan, which Dr. Macgillivray was the first to carry out, was to arrange them according to their internal structure. This dissection was so minute and specific, that the birds of every species were characterized with a distinctness that was wholly new, and perhaps is tiresome to ordinary readers; but on the other hand, his descriptions of each in full life and plumage, and as it subsisted in its own fashion, is so full of graphic power and eloquence, as to be more than a counterpoise to such scientific speciality. In describing the nature and habits of the birds, his own

observation was brought into play; but where it was incomplete, he had recourse to twelve authors, whose means of information about particular species were superior to his own—an assistance which he frankly acknowledges. The first three volumes of his *British Birds* appeared in 1837, and completed his account of land birds. A fourth and fifth volume, which were published a very short time previous to his death, treat of those birds which inhabit the waters. But even while these volumes were in preparation for the press, he felt his last illness making such progress that he feared he should not live to complete them. Accordingly, in his preface to the fourth volume, dated from Torquay, he pathetically alludes to his feeble health, which prevented him from following the sea-birds to their rocky fastnesses, where he could personally observe their manners and habits. "As the wounded bird," he sadly writes, "seeks some quiet retreat, where, freed from the persecution of the fowler, it may pass the time of its anguish in forgetfulness of the outer world, so have I, assailed by disease, betaken myself to a sheltered nook, where, unannoyed by the piercing blasts of the north, I had been led to hope that my life might be protracted beyond the most dangerous season of the year." His yearnings for a complete accomplishment of his beloved task were so far gratified, that he lived to complete the fifth volume, and died almost simultaneously with its publication. The manner in which he bids adieu to his readers is so full of his own character and history, and withal so tender and pathetic, that we quote it in full, as the best commentary upon his labours and their close:—

"I have finished one of the many difficult and laborious tasks which I had imposed upon myself. Twelve years have elapsed since the first three volumes of this work were issued to the public, and I had scarcely hoped to see its completion when I was most unexpectedly encouraged to revise the manuscript of the two remaining volumes, containing the wading and swimming birds, of which the history, in so far as I am acquainted with it, is now given on the same plan as that adopted for the land birds. Commenced in hope, and carried on with zeal, though ended in sorrow and sickness, I can look upon my work without much regard to the opinions which contemporary writers may form of it, assured that what is useful in it will not be forgotten, and knowing that already it has had a beneficial effect on many of the present, and will more powerfully influence the next generation of our home ornithologists. I had been led to think that I had occasionally been somewhat rude, or at least blunt, in my criticisms; but I do not perceive wherein I have much erred in that respect, and I feel no inclination to apologize. I have been honest and sincere in my endeavours to promote the truth. With death, apparently not distant, before my eyes, I am pleased to think that I have not countenanced error, through fear or favour. Neither have I in any case modified my sentiments so as to endeavour thereby to conceal or palliate my faults. Though I might have accomplished more, I am thankful for having been permitted to add very considerably to the knowledge previously obtained of a very pleasant subject. If I have not very frequently indulged in reflections on the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as suggested by even my imperfect understanding of his wonderful works, it is not because I have not ever been sensible of the relation between the Creator and his creatures, nor because my chief enjoyment when wandering among the hills and valleys, exploring the rugged shores of the ocean, or searching the cultivated fields, has not been in a sense of

His presence. 'To Him who alone doeth great wonders' be all glory and praise. Reader, farewell."

It is only necessary to add a few particulars to the memoir of this talented and amiable naturalist. The distinction which he had acquired in science by his publications procured for him the title of LL.D. from the university of Aberdeen, and afterwards the professorship of natural history, and the appointment of lecturer in botany in Marischal College. Dr. Macgillivray was also a member of the Wernerian Natural History and Royal Physical Societies of Edinburgh, and of the Natural History Society of Philadelphia. Besides his works already mentioned, he published the *Travels and Researches of A. Von Humboldt in the Equinoctial Regions of America and in Asiatic Russia*, forming vol. x. of the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, 12mo, 1832; *Lives of Eminent Zoologists, from Aristotle to Linnaeus*, 8vo, 1834, also published in the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*; and the *Rapacious Birds of Great Britain*, 12mo, Edinburgh, 1836. At the time of his death he had prepared for the press a volume on the *Natural History of Dee-side*, containing an account of a personal tour up the valley and among the mountains of that district, with sketches of the geology, botany, and zoology of Dee-side, and lists of its minerals, plants, and animals; but as this work could scarcely be expected to command a remunerative sale, Dr. Macgillivray's family declined to publish it. It was not, however, destined to remain in oblivion. Her majesty Queen Victoria having heard of it, generously purchased the manuscript from the family, and ordered it to be printed for private circulation. It forms a handsome octavo volume, illustrated with several wood-cuts of the scenery of the district, and a carefully executed map of the district of the river Dee, with the geology of the valleys and mountains laid down; and copies of the work were liberally presented by his royal highness Prince Albert to the naturalists, natural history societies, and public libraries of Great Britain.

Dr. Macgillivray left a numerous family behind him, of whom the eldest son, Mr. John Macgillivray, accompanied Captain Stanley as naturalist in the voyage of the *Rattlesnake*, and published a narrative of the voyage, including discoveries and surveys in New Guinea, &c., in 1852. He also assisted his father by supplying much valuable matter to the last two volumes of the *History of British Birds*, and has published several papers on various departments of natural history. It only remains to be mentioned that Professor Macgillivray died at Aberdeen on the 5th of September, 1852.

M'GRIGOR, SIR JAMES, Bart., K.C.B., &c. This distinguished military surgeon, whose professional talents were a great though unrecorded agency in the successful career of our British armies in the Peninsular war, was the eldest of three sons of Colquhoun M'Grigor, Esq., a merchant of Aberdeen, by Ann, daughter of Lewis Grant, Esq., of Lethindrey, in Strathspey, Inverness-shire—at which place the subject of our memoir was born in 1771. He was educated at the grammar-school of Aberdeen, at that time reputed one of the best public schools in the kingdom; and at the close of the five years' course, an event there befel him which awoke him to a life of public enterprise and activity. Before the provost, the magistrates of the city, and professors of the university, assembled in the common hall, the first prize of the school was awarded him by the rector. His heart did not swell with higher pride when nearly half a century afterwards he was elected lord-rector of the university of Aberdeen.

After the usual course of five years at the high-school, James M'Grigor entered Marischal College, where, at the close of the fourth session, he took the degree of A.M.

Being now furnished with a sufficient amount of scholarship for all ordinary purposes, the profession he should adopt was the next question. His father was desirous that he should become a merchant like himself, but James had already acquired other tendencies than those of buying and selling. He had chiefly associated with medical students, and acquired an interest in the subjects of their study. One of these youths had also obtained a medical appointment in the army, and his smart cocked hat and cockade attracted the admiration of M'Grigor. His choice was fixed: he would be a surgeon, and not only so, but an *army*-surgeon. He became a regular student of medicine first in Aberdeen and afterwards at the university of Edinburgh, where he pursued his studies with such intensity as at one time greatly to affect his health for several months. Having finished his medical education and returned to Aberdeen, he there formed among the students, in 1789, the Medical Society for that city. Its origin was small and humble, but it was fortunate in having Mr. M'Grigor for its originator, as it expanded under his fostering care, and rose with his professional rise, until it became one of the most respectable institutions of its kind in the kingdom. "I watched," he says, "its advancement and its success with the anxiety of a parent. By my own subscriptions, donations of books, and continued warm importunities to my numerous friends, I obtained no small proportion of the funds required for the erection of the handsome building which the society now possesses, and which contains its valuable library, museum, &c."

On the commencement of the war with France, Dr. M'Grigor's desire to be an army-surgeon broke out with such fresh intensity, that he gave himself no rest until he had purchased a medical commission in the Connaught Rangers. He would have preferred a Scottish regiment, but was dissuaded by the army agent, who remarked to him, "Your prudent countrymen will soon make their way in an English or Irish regiment, but in one of their own corps there are too many of them together; they stand in the way of each other." M'Grigor never afterwards regretted that he followed the suggestion. The 88th regiment, better known by the name of Connaught Rangers, to which Dr. M'Grigor now belonged, was both as to officers and soldiers exclusively Irish, and during the whole course of the war it was difficult to tell whether its tumultuary recklessness in the camp, or fearless courage in the field, was the most conspicuous. After the regiment had been stationed for a short time at Jersey, it was ordered to Bergen-op-Zoom, and Dr. M'Grigor, although well nigh reduced to extremity by an attack of typhus fever, would not be left behind. His professional zeal was rewarded by a complete recovery during the voyage. From Bergen-op-Zoom, the Connaught Rangers were transferred to Nimeguen, to form part of the British garrison, as the town was about to be besieged by the enemy. Here, in addition to the care of the sick, the doctor experienced the usual dangers of a siege until Nimeguen was evacuated; and he suffered, in common with the troops, in their disastrous retreat through North Holland, dispirited, famished, and wasted by disease. On one occasion he was carried along insensible, and apparently dying, to save him from falling into the hands of the Dutch, who murdered our sick soldiers in revenge of their houses having been burned by our troops for

fuel. Helpless as a child he was in like manner conveyed into the transport that was to carry him to England, and was unable to ascend upon deck until the vessel anchored at Yarmouth.

After several changes the Connaught Rangers were marched to the neighbourhood of Southampton, and the regiment having got Lieutenant-colonel (afterwards Marshal) Beresford for its new commander, a quarrel between the future victor of Albuera and Dr. M'Grigor occurred. The colonel's manner was harsh, haughty, and exacting; he found at his arrival much sickness in the regiment, and, forgetful of the careless and intemperate habits of his countrymen, he was disposed to lay the blame upon the doctor. After repeatedly quarrelling about the sick-list which M'Grigor presented every morning, he at last broke forth, "This state of things must not continue; I will not have such a number of sick in my regiment, and I am sure the greater part of them are not sick." To this insulting address the doctor replied, "It is not my fault that there are so many sick in the 88th regiment; all I can do is to cure them as fast as I can; and as to not one half of them being sick, I can assure you that every one contained in that report you have in your hand is sick." The colonel swore that it was impossible, and that the doctor must be deceived by sham patients, on which M'Grigor declared, that if the regiment continued in its present mode of living, the number of the sick instead of diminishing would soon be doubled, and that the temporary barracks, besides not being weather-proof, were in such a filthy state as to be a nursery for disease. Finding the fault thus falling back upon his own head-quarters, and inferentially upon himself as their commander, the colonel in a rage went off on a tour of inspection, and over the whole barracks found so much to blame, that every officer in turn came in for a share of his loud displeasure. After a two hours' promenade of this kind, he commenced a survey of the hospital, challenged at each ward by Dr. M'Grigor to declare whether any fault could be found with it—and he found himself compelled to acknowledge that all was right: he even compelled his officers to go through the hospital also, that they might witness the contrast which it presented to the barracks. Still determined to find fault somewhere, Colonel Beresford afterwards blamed the doctor for not appearing with the regiment when on parade, although his numerous duties in the hospital took up the whole of his time, and ordered him to turn out on such occasions with the other officers. Weary at length of such a commander, M'Grigor resolved to exchange into another regiment, and announced his purpose to the colonel; but the latter, who had now come to a better state of feeling, expressed his regret at what had passed, and told him that he had reported favourably of his management of the hospital at the Horse Guards. Struck with this kind act of justice, and the more that it had occurred in the midst of their bickering, Dr. M'Grigor no longer thought of leaving the Connaught Rangers, and ever afterwards he and Beresford continued the warmest of friends.

At length the 88th was to join an army to be embarked for the West Indies, and Dr. M'Grigor repaired to Portsmouth and took up his quarters in the transport that was to convey him. Being required, however, to visit and inspect the recruits in another vessel, he could not return in time to his own, and signal-guns being fired for the departure of another fleet at Portsmouth to the Mediterranean, the ship in which M'Grigor had taken up his temporary abode mistook the order as given to the West India fleet, and went off under such a press

of canvas as distanced every pursuer, and carried her safely to Barbadoes. There, however she was alone in her glory, as the rest of the West India armament did not join her until a fortnight later. This blunder produced strange results as far as Dr. M'Grigor was concerned. Having only had time to exchange his slippers for boots, his luggage was left behind him, and he had to depend upon a joint-stock contribution of the officers who sailed with him for an outfit. On the other hand, the transport in which he should have sailed was captured on the voyage by a French privateer, so that he escaped the miseries of a French prison. His incomprehensible disappearance sorely perplexed his friends, and an officer having fallen in the hurry of embarkation between two transports, and been crushed to death, while his body had dropped into the sea and was never recovered, gave ground to the report that this was no other than Dr. M'Grigor. So firmly was this believed by all, that his own brother, then an officer at Portsmouth, gave it credence, and removed his clothes and baggage on shore. But worse than all was the filling up of his appointment as medical officer of the Connaught Rangers by another, who was gazetted in his room, and who was not made aware of the flaw in his commission until he saw his predecessor in the West Indies still alive and well, and heard the jeering advice of the soldiers, "Now your master has come, go home as soon as you can." Nor was this curious chapter of mistakes yet ended. After Dr. M'Grigor had returned to England, he one day in London met one of his old friends, Captain Maconnachie, formerly of the Connaught Rangers, and took him by the hand; but the other grew pale and breathed hard, so that the doctor thought he had suddenly become ill, and supported him into the Northumberland Coffee-house. Maconnachie thought himself hailed by a ghost, or a dead man risen to life, until a hearty dinner in the coffee-house, and an explanation and social chat, convinced him to the contrary.

The doctor was not long at Barbadoes until he was called both to active and painful duties. To quell a negro revolt in Grenada he was sent as principal medical officer in a ship of war, which he describes as "choke-full" of soldiers; and on landing he was quartered with four other officers in a bomb-proof building, which at night was like an oven. Here he continued, though sick himself, to attend to the sick, until the opposite side of the island was to be occupied, and thither he was sent round with a detachment from the 25th regiment. But this change was only from the discomforts of land to the dangers of the sea; their vessel, which was manned by negroes, suffered shipwreck when only two miles from shore; and after the selfish scramble which is apt to prevail on such occasions, where the weak are thrust aside by the strong and active, the whole party was saved, with only the loss of their baggage, by boats from the shore. In the dangers of the guerilla warfare that followed, independently of his own professional duties, Dr. M'Grigor had an ample share, but upon these it is unnecessary to dilate. Indeed, but for his undaunted spirit and strong Highland constitution, he must have succumbed to the diseases of the climate. On one occasion, while on shore, he was so exhausted by debility that he could only stagger to a house a little way off, enter it, and sink upon a settee in great pain and feebleness. Hearing a gentle sound of some one in the next room, he faintly called for assistance, upon which the master of the house appeared, in whom he recognized an old class-fellow in the colleges of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. It is needless to add that he was cordially welcomed and kindly treated. The insurrection in Grenada

was put down, but not until four times as many had perished by disease as the sword. In his voyage from the West Indies to England, Dr. M'Grigor experienced a combination of the miseries both of land and sea. The transport in which he embarked was an old crank worn-out vessel, that should never have been used for the conveyance of troops; it was wretchedly found in provisions, and was so unhealthy, that yellow fever made fearful havoc both among the soldiers and sailors. To add also to their sufferings, first one master of the ship and then another died, and the third, a sailor from before the mast, who was made captain in their room, was unable to superintend or navigate the ship, being generally drunk from morning till night. As the thought of holding their lives at the mercy of such an incompetent tarpaulin was intolerable, Dr. M'Grigor and the military officers on board, after weathering several chances of foundering, deposed and confined the captain, and elected in his place one of their own number, who had been a midshipman before he entered the military service. But although matters on the whole went more smoothly after the change, their danger was not wholly obviated, for their new commander had become oblivious of some of the most ordinary rules of navigation. He took observations and calculated so strangely, that he told the ship's company they were approaching the British Channel—on the next day that they were in it—and on the third day, while a thick fog was prevalent, that they were in the Downs. But on hailing a ship they were horrified to learn that they were actually in the St. George's Channel, with the mouth of the Mersey not far off. The ship was put about, and a new voyage commenced for the British Channel; but just when their choice commander thought they were nearing the mouth of it, they found their ship entangled in breakers among the Scilly Islands. Their daring captain managed by good luck to thread a needle's-eye passage between the breakers, after which a hurricane blew them to Ireland, and conveyed them in a sinking condition into the Cove of Cork.

After a visit to Scotland, and the pleasure of assuring his relatives that he was still alive, notwithstanding the proofs they had received to the contrary, Dr. M'Grigor rejoined his regiment, and was with it at Portsmouth during the hottest period of the naval mutiny. Soon after its termination, his duties required him once more to go abroad, and tempt, as he had already done, the perils of land and water, war, sickness, and shipwreck. Hitherto indeed his life, as we have seen, was an eventful one, and although often at the point of death, his hopeful spirit and strong constitution rallied while others succumbed. How he found time to improve himself in the science of his profession would be a mystery, were it not that he was always alive to observation, and that to him every change manifested in the diseases of his patients was a fresh chapter of study, which he was careful to master for further use. In this way he had been qualifying himself in England and the West Indies for the treatment of those diseases of climate to which soldiers are the most exposed, and the regulation of military hospitals. These acquirements, by which he was to win such high distinction, were to be matured in India, whither he was ordered to accompany his regiment in 1798.

While detailing his experiences in India, Ceylon, and Egypt, Dr. M'Grigor gives an interesting account of the state of the medical profession at this period in reference to the army. At the commencement of the French war this branch of the service was so little cultivated, and so unpopular, that the government was at its wit's-end to obtain properly

qualified army-surgeons; and to get such as it could, notices were posted on the college-gates at Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, offering the commission to such candidates as "could pass some kind of examination"—an ordeal which most could encounter without difficulty. This indiscriminate admission of the half-educated, or scarcely at all educated, and for the most part vulgar or vicious characters, into the office of army-surgeon, tended greatly to vitiate its reputation, while men of respectable training and skill were unwilling to be identified with such a fraternity. It was a case sufficient to move the humanity as well as to stir up the professional pride of M'Grigor; and as far as the influence of his advice could go, he endeavoured to remedy the evil. One of his suggestions was, that higher inducements than mere pay, free quarters, and travelling charges should be offered, and that half-pay and pensions should be added as in the case of military officers, to make the office worth the acceptance of men superior in attainments. He also advised the least and worst qualified of the profession, as soon as the war was over, to qualify themselves in earnest, by attending colleges and the medical schools, either at home or abroad. These advices were adopted, and with the happiest results. "The effects of this measure," he tells us in his autobiography, "exceeded the most sanguine expectations that I had formed of it. There appeared a *new spirit of emulation in the service*, which gained for the department much credit with our brethren in civil life; and the effect of the measure in the advantage gained to the public service has been incalculable; for I can fearlessly assert, that in the ranks of the medical officers of the army men are to be found upon a level, at least, with those in the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; and the soldier *now* well knows that he has as able advice, and is quite as kindly treated, as when he was the patient of the first hospital or dispensary in the kingdom, previous to enlistment."

From India M'Grigor was ordered to proceed to Egypt, with the force intended to be sent under Colonel Arthur Wellesley, but which was transferred to the command of Sir David Baird. Of this army, numbering about 8000 men, consisting almost equally of Europeans and Sepoys, M'Grigor was appointed superintending surgeon; while to obviate any difficulties that might arise from the army surgeons of the presidencies of Madras or Bombay at one of his majesty's service being promoted over their heads, he was furnished with a commission from the East India Company. On landing in Egypt the march of this army was by the unusual route over the desert of Thebes; but although it suffered from sand-winds, it experienced little sickness until it arrived at Rosetta. The disease that hitherto had annoyed its march was ophthalmia; but on reaching Rosetta a more terrible visitation awaited the Anglo-Indian army, in the form of the plague, which commenced on the morning of the 14th of September, in the hospital of the 88th regiment. Hour after hour during the day the cases of infection continued to multiply until evening, when the visitation had assumed an alarming aspect. M'Grigor, who had discovered the nature of the malady in the first case that appeared, procured a large building near Rosetta, to which the patients were removed; he established a pest-house and an observation-room for doubtful cases; and he directed that, in the infected rooms, lamps for the nitrous fumigation of the atmosphere should be kept constantly burning. The main British army at Aboukir and Alexandria was also suffering from plague, although in a less degree, and there the same precau-

tions were adopted which M'Grigor had established at Rosetta. In this way the plague was stopped, and the danger surmounted. As circumstances had rendered the arrival of the reinforcement under Sir David Baird unnecessary, it was ordered to return to Bombay, and after encamping with it some days in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids, M'Grigor accompanied it in its march through the desert of Suez, and reached Bombay in safety. Here he found fresh occupation for his professional care, as the plague was raging in Persia, and especially at Ispahan and Bagdad. He therefore established a quarantine at Butcher's Island, where every vessel was obliged to anchor and perform quarantine that came from the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea. A few months afterwards he was ordered to return home with two companies of the 88th regiment.

As there was peace at present between France and England, Dr. M'Grigor, on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, associated in the most friendly terms with Admiral Lenois and the general who had been sent out by the French government to re-occupy their possessions which had been restored, and the amity between the two nations seemed so well established, that M'Grigor was intrusted with the charge of the despatches from the admiral and general to the French ambassador in London. But soon after he had left the island of Ascension, at which the vessel touched in its voyage to England, he received alarming tidings from the master of an American vessel, that war between France and England had broken out afresh, and that French privateers were cruising directly in their course. The prospects of capture and a French prison were disagreeable interruptions to the ennui of their voyage, and plans were immediately adopted to prevent their realization. For this purpose Captain Gordon of the royal navy, who commanded the transport, caused the six almost useless guns which she carried to be prepared for service, added to them a whole battery of wooden guns, called quakers, which he ordered to be made and mounted by the ship's carpenter, so that they might show at a distance like real cannon, and had the vessel disguised with paint to look like an armed frigate. The hands on board, consisting of fifty invalid sailors, and as many lascars, were also put through their exercise, and taught how to look more numerous and formidable than they really were. In this way it was hoped that, by showing a grim and resolute aspect, an enemy would think twice before attacking them. Soon after, at evening, a suspicious-looking vessel followed in their wake, which sheered off on a shotted-gun being fired at her; but in the morning she reappeared, accompanied by a consort nearly as large as the British ship. To keep these formidable vessels at a distance, so that they might not detect the real weakness of the transport, was now the object of the latter; and Captain Gordon having caused the invalid sailors to assume their dress as sailors of the royal navy, ordered them, lascars and all, to go frequently up and down the rigging, that they might appear a numerous crew; he also, and an invalid navy lieutenant, assumed their uniform, and showed themselves on every part of the deck; while M'Grigor in his uniform of the 88th, another passenger in that of a Bombay light horse volunteer, and a third in a scarlet uniform, stood in conspicuous parts of the deck as three marine officers. All this bravado was effectual; for the enemy, after watching them for hours, and surveying them from different quarters, evidently judged them too strong to be assailed, and sheered off in quest of safer antagonists. The same was their good fortune when they were about to enter the Chops of the Channel: several ves-

sels, apparently French privateers, approached them, but always made off from the transport's frigate-like appearance. On arriving in England Dr. M'Grigor published his *Medical Sketches of the Expedition from India to Egypt*, which he had prepared from his notes at Bombay and in his voyage to England. He hesitated about committing it to the press, until he was encouraged to publish it by Sir Gilbert Blane and Dr. Buchan—two of the most competent judges on the subject of pestilence, and who thought that M'Grigor's treatment of the disease was both original and judicious.

After he had joined his regiment at Helsham in Sussex, Dr. M'Grigor found himself, from the unhealthiness of the place and the want of an assistant, so overwhelmed with occupation, that in 1804, after having been eleven years with the 88th or Connaught Rangers, he was transferred to the royal regiment of Horse Guards Blue, then quartered at Canterbury. As the colonel was a rigid disciplinarian, M'Grigor was obliged to appear accounted as an officer of the corps; and the sudden transformation was so great, that he says, "I burst into a laugh at my own appearance, equipped as I was with a broad buff belt, jack-boots that came high up my thighs, and stout leather gloves which reached nearly to my elbows, with a large fierce-looking cocked hat, and a sword of great weight, as well as length." Who, indeed, in such a blood-thirsty costume could have recognized a gentle practitioner of the healing art? But he discharged his proper duty ably, especially when gangrene had appeared in the hospital, and run its course through most of the patients. From Canterbury the regiment was transferred to Windsor, where he came into frequent contact with George III. and members of the royal family, of whom he relates several amusing anecdotes; but the charm of such princely society was somewhat impaired by the strict, and occasionally contradictory, enactments about the proper costume of army surgeons at the military balls and levees of royalty. Still more offensive to his professional feelings must have been the interferences of royalty itself in his own particular department. He was attacked by a severe hooping-cough, and he tells us, "I was surprised one morning by my friend Dr. Lind, librarian to the queen, calling upon me. He told me he came by desire of her majesty, to recommend my using oil of amber for my hooping-cough, to be rubbed on the spine. I confess," he adds, "I had no faith in the remedy, and did not use it; but my cough continuing inveterate, and inducing much determination of blood to the head, I took my friend Dr. Lind's advice of change of air, and moved from the fine clear air of the neighbourhood of Windsor, to the close confined air of a narrow street in the Strand; where, in the course of ten days, my cough entirely left me."

At this time Lord Melville, who was at the head of the Board of Control, contemplated the project of establishing a fourth presidency in India, which was to include all the eastern islands; and among the officials whom he contemplated for this new presidency was Dr. M'Grigor, who was to be at the head of its medical board. The outcry raised against the project, as a mere device to form good appointments for Scotsmen, was both loud and angry, while the contemplated elevation of M'Grigor produced a ferment in the whole medical department of the East India Company. At first he was delighted with the prospect of such a rise, until he saw the storm which it occasioned; and on learning that Lord Melville had threatened to resign office rather than renounce his nomination, he generously resolved to sacrifice his own wishes, rather than occasion injury

to his patron. He therefore refused the appointment, and expressed his final decision not to leave the king's service, or to go to India. This disinterestedness did not go unrewarded, as he was soon after gazetted deputy-inspector of hospitals. On his promotion appearing in the *Gazette*, the king, on meeting him on the terrace, asked him "How he could leave the Blues?" The doctor, in reply, made his acknowledgments for the new office with which he had been honoured, when the king continued, "But don't you think it a greater honour to be surgeon of such a corps as the Blues?" M'Grigor rejoined, "Every officer is naturally desirous of moving forward in your majesty's service." To this the king remarked, "Aye, aye, all you Scotsmen are ambitious." The last time he saw George III. was soon after on the terrace, when several officers were drawn up on parade, and M'Grigor at the extremity of the line. The king, who wore a green shade over his eyes, looked the doctor full in the face from under it, who expressed his regret at the malady of the royal eyesight. "Aye, aye," said the king, "this is one of the fruits of the expedition to Egypt." Not long after this the symptoms of his mental malady reappeared.

The new appointment of Dr. M'Grigor was every-way satisfactory. At a single bound it carried him three steps upwards in the service, and gave him the highest rank but one in the department. It also introduced his active mind to a wider sphere of duty, and a statistical collection of medical facts, a practice in which he felt especial interest. His charge was the superintendence of the health concerns of the troops stationed in the northern district, including the whole of the troops, militia and line, distributed through Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and part of Northumberland. The number and magnitude of his duties, that might have daunted or perplexed another, only quickened his activity and deepened his enjoyment, so that in every instance he showed himself equal to the occasion; and while visiting all the hospitals, and inspecting every case of sickness in each hospital, he either inspired his numerous officials by his zeal, or kept them at their duties by his watchfulness. We can only afford from his autobiography a short extract of the nature and mode of his proceedings:—"In the York district I commenced a practice which I ever after persevered in, and found it of the greatest advantage. In my inspection of the hospital of each corps, accompanied by its medical officers, I examined each patient's history, the medical officer reading the particulars of the case at the patient's bed-side, and the treatment hitherto pursued; I then questioned the patient, generally approving of what had been done; but suggesting what might occur to me as to further treatment. On the evening of the day on which I inspected an hospital, all the hospital books were sent to my inn, where I examined them, making note of my remarks. These remarks I subsequently embodied in a letter to the surgeon, when I did not fail to advert to whatever I had indicated on former instructions, if it appeared to have been unattended to; and in this letter I referred to different authors on the diseases which were prevalent, or in which diseases the surgeon appeared not to have been successful. Those letters, marked private, and always couched in friendly terms, had, with but few exceptions, the best effects; where they had not, I at first threatened, once or twice, to report to the general in command of the district; and finally to the board, in order that ultimate steps might be taken. It rarely happened, however, that friendly exhortation to the officer, aided sometimes by a notice or recommendation from

the commanding officer of the regiment, failed to effect the best result."

The remarkable ability with which Dr. M'Grigor discharged his professional duties, and the success with which it was attended, soon arrested notice in the highest quarters; and the Duke of York, declaring that he must not be confined to so narrow a sphere, had him appointed to the charge of the south-west district, one of the largest in England. To this quarter, where the hospital concerns had got out of order in consequence of laxity of discipline, he introduced the same methodical strictness and regularity, which was followed by the same happy effects. Soon after another district was also added to his charge, consisting of Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. These two places abounded with duties of a peculiar and important kind. At Portsmouth almost all the great embarkations on national expeditions took place, and there was a garrison there of nine or ten regiments, and a large dépôt of prisoners both afloat and on shore. At the Isle of Wight was the dépôt of the recruiting for all the regiments in the service, and the only large general hospital in the country. Such an addition to an already heavy charge might have appeared absolutely overwhelming, more especially as Dr. M'Grigor got an alarming account of the duties of the district from its previous occupant. "I was not dismayed, however," he tells us, "by the extent and formidable nature of the duties now about to be imposed on me. At this time I wanted such a charge. I was full of activity and zeal, and full of confidence that I should well acquit myself of my duties. Above all, I liked them, and felt assured I could do good, having always in view my original plan, which I wanted to execute on an extended scale." His desire was soon gratified, for first one large slice and then another of the district of Sussex, with the medical superintendence of upwards of 5000 more troops, were thrown additionally into his scale. His charge now included the counties of Hants, Sussex, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, and South Wales. In addition to the demands of such an extensive charge, the number of expeditions which at this time were sent from Portsmouth occupied much of his time and attention. The medical concerns of these expeditions were under his charge, and he had to examine each of the transports appointed for the reception of troops, the quantity and quality of the provisions, and particularly of the water on board—also the accommodation for such as might fall sick, the supplies of medical comforts as well as medicine, with the stock of chirurgical materials and instruments supplied and embarked for the expedition. He had, moreover, to examine and inspect each corps as to its health when it arrived; to receive each of the medical officers of the staff; to warrant the advance of their pay, travelling charges, and lodging-money at Portsmouth; and finally, to survey each transport and inspect each corps after embarkation, as also to report to the board the state in which each regiment had embarked. But although he systematically encountered and overcame all these difficulties on the regular principle of "one down and another come on!" the master-difficulty at length arrived, that could not be dealt with so easily. This was the arrival at Portsmouth of the army of Sir John Moore, after the battle of Corunna—that army which after its victory was indiscriminately huddled and closely packed into transports, the healthy, the sick, and the wounded being all mingled *pêle-mêle*, until they were discharged wholesale upon our shore, and all needing more or less medical care. It was only here that M'Grigor confessed the duty to be

"overwhelming." The arrival was unexpected, and the diseased patients who were disembarked conveyed their maladies, chiefly typhus fever and pneumonia, over Portsmouth, and among many of the regiments in other portions of Dr. M'Grigor's districts. But if he was daunted it was only for a moment, after which he showed himself equal to the difficulty. This chaos of confusion worse confounded was reduced to order, expedients were multiplied to meet so many necessities; and after considerable time, but with far inferior loss of life than such a sudden visitation might have occasioned, the hospitals were cleared of the sick of the different corps, and the infections they had left behind them.

So high was now the reputation of Dr. M'Grigor for the medical management of troops, that his promotion only waited for an opening. This seemed to have arrived when Lord Beresford, on taking charge of the Portuguese army, desired that M'Grigor should accompany him as chief of the Portuguese medical staff, with the rank of inspector of hospitals. But before he could enter into this appointment, his destination was altered by a sudden order from government to repair to Walcheren, in consequence of the sickness and mortality which there prevailed in our army. He immediately embarked on board the admiral's ship the *Venerable*, which was in readiness with several transports to proceed to Walcheren. But the ship suddenly struck upon a sand-bank, and every expedient to lighten and remove her was tried in vain. During the night her bulging was terrific, the rudder was carried away, and the water was heard rushing through the opening seams, while at each bump, that seemed as if it would rend the vessel asunder, the shrieks of about eighty women, mostly Irish, the wives of soldiers going to join their husbands at Walcheren, added to the horrors of that terrible night of trial. The main-mast had already been cut away and the guns thrown overboard, except six, to fire signals of distress, and which were discharged every five minutes. At length an American vessel was descried in the distance; but instead of approaching to relieve them, she bore away for Flushing, which was distant about four leagues off. "God help us!" exclaimed an officer of the ship, "we are doomed to destruction: the *Venerable* will not hold out till other vessels can near us!" While this dark surmise was common to all on board, a small brig, warned by their signal guns, approached, and received all the women on board; and scarcely had their safety been thus insured, when all the boats of the British fleet at Flushing were seen coming full manned to their rescue. All in the *Venerable* were thus brought ashore, and Dr. M'Grigor, who was drenched with salt-water and exhausted with working at the pumps, was put to bed, where his sleep was haunted by nightmare dreams, in which he fancied himself lying at the bottom of the sea, with all sorts of horrible fishes surrounding him, and ready to devour him.

Frightful, however, as were these visions, the realities which awaited his waking hours were scarcely less appalling. Hitherto his principal wish had been to witness sickness upon a great scale, that he might learn the most effectual means of curing it; and in this he had been gratified during his advance in the science, by the widening of his sphere of observation at every step. But the Walcheren spectacle exceeded all that he had seen or imagined. There a conquest and an occupation was worse than the worst of defeats, and the soldier's field of glory was truly the valley of the shadow of death. The number of the wounded, and especially the sick, comprised nearly half of the British army, and on

Dr. M'Grigor's arrival the medical stores were found nearly empty. The article in chief request was bark, but scarcely any of this powerful remedy remained. Providentially an American vessel which had arrived with a large supply of champagne and claret for the suttlers, had brought some chests of bark on a venture, and this the doctor bought up and used, until a fresh supply arrived from England. A defect as serious as the want of medicine was the want of money, for the accounts of the medical department had got into such a state of confusion, that Dr. M'Grigor had to look after their rectification as well as the condition of the sick-rooms and hospitals. Alarmed at the fearful mortality, our government resolved that a member of the medical board should proceed to Walcheren to investigate and report, and Sir Lucas Pepys, the physician-general, was selected for that purpose; but he refused to go, and his excuse was that he was unacquainted with the diseases of the soldier in camp or in quarters. A strange apology for a functionary holding such a commission! At length, after such a dangerous service had been banded to and fro, two government physicians were ordered out, accompanied by Sir Gilbert Blane, who joined them as a volunteer; and on arriving at Walcheren they found the region so unhealthy, and the army so wasted by mortality and sickness, that they could counsel nothing better than that our troops should be instantly withdrawn. This accordingly was done, and when he reached Canterbury, after landing at Deal, Dr. M'Grigor was taken ill with the Walcheren fever, which had been lurking in his system before he left that place of pestilence. Had he remained at Flushing a day or two longer his fate would probably have been sealed. It was well for him, however, that the seizure took place in England, and that kind skilful friends as well as efficient remedies were at hand. He recovered, and after a strict parliamentary inquiry into the whole case of the Walcheren expedition, all classes united in absolving him from any share in its blame, while they commended his diligence, devotedness, and professional skill.

On his return to England the doctor resumed his place at Portsmouth and the superintendence of his districts; and in June, 1810, he married Miss Grant, the sister of his friend Dr. (afterwards Sir James) Grant. Marshal Beresford was again desirous that he should superintend the medical department of the Portuguese army, which had been offered him by government before his departure to Walcheren; but now that he was a husband, this situation had fewer allurements for him than when he was a bachelor—and besides, he now held the permanent rank of inspector of hospitals, which would only have been local if he had joined the Portuguese army. He was happy in his own new home at Portsmouth, his duties after his late campaign had become light by comparison, and he was father of a son not yet six months old, when he was suddenly whirled once more into the vortex of military active life by an order to embark immediately for the Peninsula, as chief of the medical staff under Lord Wellington. "At any other time," he says, "this appointment would have gratified me to the full extent of my ambition: but the happiness I had enjoyed in the married state made it now a sad and painful change to me. The announcement was a sad blow to my beloved wife, who at once determined to be my companion. I had, however, seen enough of ladies on service in the field to decide me against that step; and I knew well, that with the care of my wife and child, I could not do my duty in the way in which I had determined it should be done while I remained in

the service." Under these prudential considerations he set off alone for Portugal, and reached Lisbon on the 10th of January, 1812. So far as the mere pleasures of climate were concerned the change was a happy one. On leaving Falmouth the streets were covered with black ice and the surrounding mountains with snow; but when he looked a few days after from the windows of his bedroom at Belem, he was astonished to find himself in a land of sunshine, with its orange-trees covered with fruit. It was too flattering and fallacious a welcome to a land laid desolate and overwhelmed beneath the horrors of war.

At Lisbon, where his professional duties commenced, Dr. M'Grigor found great irregularity both in the medical stores and the purveyors' and apothecaries' accounts. The city and its neighbourhood were likewise so delightful, that a marvellous number of sick from the army, both officers and soldiers, had accumulated there, who seemed in no hurry to recruit their health and fit themselves for a return to duty. Of all these circumstances he took a minute account, which he communicated to Lord Wellington, accompanied with suggestions as to the mode of remedy; and of these the great commander highly approved. At the time, indeed, so great were the emergencies of the British army that not a man who was fit for duty could be spared. Being invited to head-quarters to confer with his lordship on the subject, the doctor went thither, and at the first interview Lord Wellington remembered that when he was only Colonel Wellesley he had met with M'Grigor in India. This naturally led to the mention of the 88th regiment, now serving in Portugal, to which the doctor had been again attached; and in a full company in the dining-room, Wellington asked if he had met any of the Connaught Rangers in his route. On the doctor replying that he had not, the other jocularly observed, "I hope from your long living with them you have not contracted any of their leading propensities; for I hang and shoot more of your old friends for murders, robberies, &c., than I do of all the rest of the army." On seeing that the doctor was abashed, and the whole company laughing loudly, Wellington added apologetically, "One thing I will tell you, however; whenever anything very gallant, very desperate, is to be done, there is no corps in the army I would sooner employ than your old friends the Connaught Rangers."

The state of the military hospitals for the British army in the Peninsula—with the exception of the snug billets at Lisbon—were, on the arrival of M'Grigor to superintend them, in great need of such a strict and able censor. The official accounts had been carelessly kept; and as if to cover this unpardonable offence, and make any remedy hopeless, his predecessor in office had carried with him to England almost all the office books and papers, even the letter-books, and the orderly-book and those containing Lord Wellington's standing-orders to the army. As without these he could not advance a step, the doctor indignantly reclaimed them—although when they arrived from England they were found so imperfect as to be of little use. Left almost entirely to his own resources, he availed himself of the experience he had acquired in the York district, and matured at Portsmouth and Walcheren; and the order and method of the military hospitals gradually assumed a new aspect. In these reforms he was also so fortunate as to be appreciated by his great commander, who hitherto had received so little support from the heads of the several departments of the military service, that he had been obliged to perform their duties as well as to command the army. Under such encouragement

the sick and wounded were duly cared for, while the studied delays of convalescence found no quarter; even the paradise of the sick at Lisbon was broken up, and its tenants healed as if by miracle. Henceforth no sick nor wounded were to be sent to the rear of the army, except on the proceedings of boards of medical officers, subject to the approval of Dr. M'Grigor, and such sick as were sent to Lisbon, if not cured within a limited time, were to be embarked for England. In these measures the general and he were completely at one; and from the efficiency of the army under such a system, no small share of the merit belonging to the great victories of the Peninsular war might justly be attributed to the toilsome but unostentatious labours of the doctor. The only case in which they appear to have disagreed was in the proposal of the latter to prevent the accumulation of the sick and wounded in the rear of the army; for which purpose he suggested that each regiment and brigade should have its own hospital for slight cases of disease and wounds, and that conveyance for the hospital establishment should be provided for each corps and brigade. Here the science of healing and the science of war were in opposition, and Wellington exclaimed warmly against a plan that would clog the movements of his army, declaring that he would have no vehicles except for the conveyance of his guns. A few days afterward, his lordship, adverting to the plan, said it was excellent if it had been practicable, because it was "lamentable to see so many men slightly ill or wounded sent constantly to the rear, and thus diminishing the force of the army in a greater proportion than the reinforcements from England were adding to it;" but he closed all with, "I cannot risk encumbering the army and impeding its movements either in advancing or retiring." Preparations were now made for the siege of Badajoz; and while the troops and their artillery were set in motion, the hospitals and their stores had also to be got in readiness. The quarters occupied by M'Grigor and his medical staff at Castello Born were so wretchedly uncomfortable, that this change to the dangers and hardships of a siege was felt as a relief. At Elvas he established his office; on the ground of the encampment he set up a small field-hospital; and for his comfortable accommodation when detained at night upon the field, Lord Wellington kindly caused a tent to be pitched for him near his own, where he could be furnished with some straw for a bed and two blankets. The destructive character of the siege kept the doctor and his numerous staff in constant occupation, and but for his prewise cares, would have far exceeded the means of remedy. At last Badajoz was taken by storm, and the atrocities that followed were such as to annihilate the glories of the capture. British soldiers, maddened by the resistance they had overcome, and inflamed with wine, seemed to surpass the fiends themselves in deeds of horrid iniquity, and full swing was given to the most revolting excesses of revenge, wanton cruelty, and lust. And all the while their officers were helpless to restrain them; even Wellington's life was endangered by the soldiers when they fired what they called a *feu de joie* in his honour. When M'Grigor walked through this pandemonium he saw that the Connaught Rangers, who had been foremost in the siege and storm, were now the wildest and the worst in these excesses; and when he expostulated, they raised their muskets, and were only prevented from firing at him by his reminding them that he too had been an old Connaught Ranger. Within the fortress he found a considerable number of killed and wounded; but from what he had witnessed he did not

doubt that the greater number of these had been occasioned by the drunken brutality of our own soldiers. After he had taken an account of the cases both within and without the walls, and made arrangements for their treatment, he entered the tent of Wellington with his report, and found his lordship writing the despatches. At such a favourable moment the doctor ventured to plead in behalf of the medical staff: "I trust, my lord, you are satisfied that the medical officers during last night did their duty, as well as the military officers, and that you will receive my testimony that they discharged their arduous and laborious duties most zealously, and often under circumstances of personal danger of which they were regardless." "I have myself witnessed it," replied the general. M'Grigor then said to him, "Nothing could more gratify those officers, nothing could be a greater incentive to their exertions on future occasions, than his noticing them in his public despatches." "Is that usual?" asked Wellington. The doctor, without directly answering the question, said, "It would be of the most essential service;" and ventured to add, "that really their extraordinary exertions gave them in justice a claim to this." Wellington rejoined, "I have finished my despatches—but, very well, I will add something about the doctors." This he amply and honourably did, and when the gazette appeared the medical officers of the army in England were delighted to find that the merits of their brethren were publicly recognized and acknowledged as well as those of the military officers. It was the first time this had been done, and ever since the example has been followed both in the army and navy.

Although the toils of the military officers are succeeded after victory by rest and enjoyment, there is no such intermission for the medical department of an army; and their labours, which were great both before and during the siege of Badajoz, were multiplied tenfold after the town was taken. Even the wreck and ruin produced by success is frightful, and the wounds of the victor are often of deadly character. Having gathered up the surviving relics of the storming of Badajoz, and seen them properly accommodated and placed in the way of recovery—for which purpose every church, monastery, convent, and public building at Badajoz and Elvas had to be converted into an hospital—M'Grigor followed the movements of the commander-in-chief. He was present at the battle of Salamanca, after which his labours were so arduous that he was obliged to remain there until he was recalled by positive orders to head-quarters. On his way he found many of the sick and wounded of our army, both officers and soldiers, who were not only without medicines and medical attendance, but without food; and as they were sinking fast under their privations, he wrote to Salamanca for a supply of medical and purveying officers, and also a supply of provisions to each of the places he had visited. On arriving at Madrid, which was the head-quarters for the time, he waited upon Lord Wellington, who was then in the act of sitting for his portrait by a Spanish artist, and to whom he gave a detail of the state of the wounded at Salamanca, and of those whom he had visited on his way to the Spanish capital. "But when I came," adds the doctor, "to inform him that for their relief I had ordered up purveying and commissariat officers, he started up, and in a violent manner reprobated what I had done. It was to no purpose that I pleaded the number of seriously ill and dying I had met with; and that several men and some officers had died without ever having been seen by a medical officer. I even alluded to what had formerly occurred at Talavera,

and to the clamour raised in England when it was known that so many wounded and sick had been left to the mercy of the enemy. All was in vain. His lordship was in a passion, and the Spanish artist, ignorant of the English language, looked aghast, and at a loss to know what I had done to enrage his lordship so much. 'I shall be glad to know,' exclaimed his lordship, 'who is to command the army? I or you? I establish one route, one line of communication for the army; you establish another, and order the commissariat and the supplies by that line. As long as you live, sir, never do so again; never do anything without my orders.' I pleaded that 'there was no time to consult him to save life.' He peremptorily desired me 'never again to act without his orders.' Hereupon I was about to take my leave, when, in a lower tone of voice, he begged I would dine with him that day, and of course I bowed assent."

After this fortune turned against the British arms, and Lord Wellington was compelled to retreat from Burgos, after unsuccessfully besieging it. Before he had given orders for this dispiriting movement, he sent for Dr. M'Grigor, to whom he communicated the unpleasant intelligence, saying, that he must leave the place on that very night; "but what," he anxiously added, "is to become of our sick and wounded?" The doctor's reply tranquillized him in this matter. Seeing that his lordship was so much troubled with the siege, he had of his own accord enlisted every cart and mule that came with provisions to the army, to carry off his sick and wounded patients in return to the hospitals he had established at Valladolid, so that only about sixty would be left behind whose condition would not bear removal. This relieved Wellington's anxiety, and that evening the retreat was commenced. On reaching Valladolid his lordship's disquietude about the sick was removed, for the hospitals there had lately contained 2000 patients whom he could neither protect nor leave behind. But the doctor had used the same provident care which he had exercised at Burgos; he had again put every cart and mule in requisition, and forwarded them to Salamanca, so that not more than 100 soldiers and officers would be left behind. "And you have made Salamanca choke full? I cannot stop there." "No, they are in movement from Salamanca on Ciudad Rodrigo, and from that to the Pise hospital buildings which we erected near the Douro, and move from thence on Oporto, with instructions to the principal medical officer there to have them in readiness for embarkation should that be necessary." Thus while Lord Wellington had been conducting the retreat of the army, M'Grigor had been providing for the more difficult retreat of the sick and helpless, and had conducted it with such admirable foresight, that they were placed in safety without encumbering the march of the troops. During this interview Lord Wellington was at a post on the bridge against which the enemy kept a very heavy cannonade, and in the upper floor of a small house which was riddled with shot. Hearing that the sick and wounded were thus disposed of, he exclaimed in a transport, "This is excellent! Now I care not how soon we are off." It was now time for M'Grigor to justify these proceedings, which had been undertaken on his own responsibility. "My lord," he said, "you recollect how much you blamed me at Madrid for the steps which I took on coming up to the army, when I could not consult your lordship, and acted for myself as I had done." "It is all right as it has turned out," replied Wellington; "but I recommend you still to have my orders for what you do." When the army in its retreat had passed the

bridge of Salamanca, the doctor was temporarily lamed by the kick of a horse. No sooner did Wellington hear of this disaster, than he kindly put his own carriage at M'Grigor's service, although it was the only carriage in the army.

The same wisdom and provident care distinguished the professional arrangements of Dr. M'Grigor during the whole of the retreat, and when the army got into quarters; and in reading his statements we can easily perceive that the handling of troops in the march or the battle is by no means the most difficult portion of a campaign. "Nothing is so unmanageable," said the Duke of Wellington, "as a British army in retreat or when foiled;" it is then that the self-will and sullenness by which the three nations that compose it are characterized, and above all, the tendencies to brutish intemperance of English, Scotch, and Irish alike predominate; and as if in revenge of disaster or defeat, the soldiers are apt to march their own way in defiance of orders, and get drunk as soon as possible. Thus it was in the retreat of Sir John Moore to Corunna, and the retreat of Wellington from Burgos; and when the army of the latter had reached winter-quarters, contagious diseases and mortality, the effects of intemperance, prevailed to a frightful extent, while compared with them the number of medical officers was very small, and the hospital accommodations not large enough for a tenth part of the sick. These were the trying difficulties which M'Grigor had now to encounter, and they were bravely met and overcome. At his suggestion every medical officer on leave of absence was ordered to return from England without delay; and as some time must elapse before they could arrive, he engaged the services of all the medical Spanish and French officers he could find, alluring them with the amount of English pay, which was greater than their own—and the French doctors who were prisoners of war were stationed in our hospitals in the rear, that they might not be tempted to desert to their countrymen. The scantiness of hospital accommodation was counteracted by his establishing regimental hospitals, which he quietly introduced, notwithstanding the previous opposition of Lord Wellington when the plan was first proposed. Now, however, they were found not only so absolutely necessary, but so beneficial in the saving of life and the expeditious cure of diseases, that the whole army were convinced of their propriety. The army was restored to a state of efficiency; but by whom was it saved, and prepared for future triumphs? The following intimation in M'Grigor's autobiography can answer the question: "During the time we were in quarters, the chief duty of the army fell on the medical officers, which was most laborious, in some cases overwhelming; and in a great many instances the medical officers fell a sacrifice to their zeal and humane exertions. Worn down by the harassing fatigue they underwent, they were seized frequently with the contagion of the typhus fever they were treating, and too often fell a sacrifice to it."

Although thus much had been effected, the careful forethought of Dr. M'Grigor was still careful about the evils that loomed in the future. Another campaign was to open; and he suggested to Lord Wellington that should its operations be more extended, or even be upon the same scale as the last, and at a distance from large towns, the want of general hospitals would be felt for such cases of disease and wounds as could not easily bear conveyance. The temporary erection of buildings at no great distance from head-quarters was proposed, that might contain 5000 men; but the difficulty of finding materials was the chief obstacle. M'Grigor mentioned, among

other matters, that when he went to the West Indies with Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition, government had sent out with it wooden buildings for hospitals in framework, which, on being landed, required only to be put together by carpenters, and that a day might suffice for erecting them. Nothing more at the time was said upon the subject, to which his lordship did not seem to pay particular attention; but not long after, when the doctor called one morning with his official report of the sick, Lord Wellington said, "By the by, your hospitals are ordered out, and may soon be expected. By a despatch from Lord Bathurst, which I received by the English mail, sent to head-quarters this morning, I find that they ordered them instantly, and were embarking them in three vessels; with two master carpenters and twelve carpenters to put them up and take them down, and to teach our artificers how to do this; but they will be a vast expense to the country." The doctor was surprised at the sagacity with which his lordship had seized the idea, and at his promptitude in following it up. A proper place was selected, and by M'Grigor's plan laid out for the occasion; an hospital-village was set up, consisting of several streets of small houses or cottages, such as are called *Pise* buildings. So many of the sick were beyond expectation recovered to join the ranks, in addition to the reinforcements from England, that Wellington in high spirits commenced the campaign which terminated so triumphantly at Toulouse. Much of this medical zeal, diligence, and professional skill, by which such a result was produced, was owing to the diligence of Dr. M'Grigor for the improvement of this department of the service, and the carefulness with which he recommended the deserving officers for promotion—recommendations which Lord Wellington always carried out with the home government. Of these medical officers it was indeed said that they had decided the day at Vittoria; for without the 4000 or 5000 convalescents which they had restored to the British army, the battle might either have not been won, or not have been attempted.

It is unnecessary here to follow the course of events from the battle of Vittoria to the fall of Bordeaux and the advance upon Toulouse, in which M'Grigor accompanied the army, and shared in not a few of its dangers. On the morning of the surrender of Toulouse he was sent by the Duke of Wellington into the town for the purpose of procuring from the magistrates accommodation for the wounded of the allied army. It was no trivial or easy matter, as more than 5000 wounded men required to be comfortably housed and nursed. On entering Toulouse the doctor was astonished and well-nigh frightened at the fervour of his welcome, for thousands blocked up his passage, and rent the air with their shouts of *Vivent les Anglais*. Mystified and bewildered by this reception he knew not what to conclude, until he was relieved by an English officer who stood by laughing heartily, and who told him that the people had mistaken him for the Duke of Wellington himself! To accommodate his army of patients, not only the town's hospitals had to be put in requisition, but also the convents, nunneries, churches, and even many of the private houses. By this time also the British medical officers were in such a complete state of efficiency as to be greatly in advance of those of other countries, and this fact was illustrated in a way that was highly gratifying to Dr. M'Grigor. Among the sick and wounded soldiers under his charge in Toulouse, were not only British soldiers, but those of our allies, and also of the French; but in every case these last preferred the services of British practitioners to those of their own.

During the peaceful occupation of Paris by the allied armies, the time of Dr. M'Grigor was chiefly spent in travelling through different districts of the country, not, however, as a mere pleasure-seeker, but to examine their military hospitals with a view to the improvement of his own. He returned, however, to Toulouse with the conviction that they had nothing particularly worthy of copying. On his return an agreeable surprise awaited him. The medical officers had entered into a subscription to present him with a service of plate valued at nearly 1000 guineas, which was subsequently presented to him in London. "What greatly enhanced," he says, "the value of this gift was, that it was voted and presented at a time when the donors of it ceased to be under my control, when they could expect neither further approbation nor advantage from serving under me; in fact, when the tie was broken between us, and when we were about to be widely separated." On returning to England his services were recognized by a retiring allowance of £3 per day, and the honour of knighthood. His active mind, however, could not rest in retirement, or upon the distinctions he had already won, and he resumed the study of two of his favourite branches—anatomy and chemistry, attending for that purpose the lectures of his old teacher Mr. Wilson, in the Hunterian school, Windmill Street, and Mr. Brande, the lecturer on chemistry. But although independent he must have an occupation, and he was about to set up as a physician in London, when he was unexpectedly appointed director-general of the army medical department, through the patronage of the Duke of York. Although the office was alluring, he might have hesitated to accept it, but for one inducement sufficiently characteristic of the man. "This," he says, "was my extreme desire to accomplish fully the object which I had entertained for many years, viz. to turn the reports and returns rendered by the medical officers of the army to the account of science and the improvement of the officers themselves; instead of devoting them, as was the fashion of the day, to the fiscal concerns of the department, to the economy and the minute expenditure on account of the hospitals; in fact, to pounds, shillings, and pence, and that almost entirely. It was notorious," he adds, "in the army, and had even become cause for ridicule among military officers, that the subject-matter of the correspondence of the board, as shown by the correspondence-book of the regimental medical officers, turned wholly upon those details."

This generous purpose Sir James M'Grigor proceeded to realize as soon as he commenced the duties of his appointment. He issued forms to the surgeons of all the regiments in Great Britain and Ireland, and to the heads of the medical staff at all the colonial stations, requiring their transmission of half-yearly and annual reports to the medical board in London, detailing the health and condition of the troops, the diseases prevalent among them, and the modes of treatment pursued—and when any of these cases were of unusual interest he transmitted queries to obtain further information. In these periodical returns he obtained information of the average duration of a soldier's life in different climates, the causes of each disease, their best mode of treatment, and the mortality produced in particular years by yellow fever, cholera, and epidemics. He also learned the effects of any new sanitary measure or treatment introduced for the purpose of preserving the health of the troops or facilitating the recovery of the sick; and these beneficial measures he could direct to be used wherever they might be necessary. These

medical reports were of a very different character from those huckster-like accounts of the expenditure of rhubarb, oatmeal, lint-plaster, &c., to which the medical statistics of the army had hitherto been chiefly restricted; and during the thirty-five years that Sir James held the office of director-general, these records amounted to fifty bound folio volumes, each duly lettered with the name of the colony or district to which it related—forming in themselves an invaluable library of military medical statistics. So highly indeed were these volumes appreciated, that they were eventually published with the aid of the War Office.

This admirable combination of enthusiasm, perseverance, and method which had distinguished Sir James M'Grigor through life, and which he brought so fully to bear upon the duties of his department, were not confined within his own professional range: he was desirous that long after he had passed away the effects of his labours should still survive, and a new generation of army-surgeons be raised, abler still and more enlightened than his contemporaries. Accordingly he exerted himself in the formation of the museum of anatomy and natural history, bearing upon military surgery, at Fort Pitt, Chatham, and to him the prosperous condition to which it had attained at his retirement from office was mainly owing. In consequence of his influence with the medical officers of the army, and his successful applications in behalf of the museum, it comprised at the time of his retirement 5888 specimens in natural, morbid, and comparative anatomy, and comparative physiology; 19,262 specimens of the three different classes of the animal kingdom; 8561 specimens of the vegetable kingdom; 6891 specimens in mineralogy and geology; 988 works of art—and more than 500 human crania, declared to be a collection of skulls unequalled in any other museum in Europe. Attaching also a library to the museum, he gave it repeatedly gifts of books, bestowing at one time 1500 volumes, and inducing his scientific brethren to follow his example. In 1852 the library contained 10,000 volumes.

Besides these scientific institutions to facilitate the training of efficient medical officers for the army, Sir James M'Grigor originated those which provided for the comfort and respectability of the profession. Impressed by the destitution which often, on the death of a medical officer, awaited his wife and children, Sir James in 1816 established the "Army Medical Friendly Society." For this purpose he induced the medical officers, soon after they had entered the service, to subscribe annually to the society; and so apparent were its benefits, that when Sir James retired, it was distributing incomes among 120 widows, and possessed a capital of nearly £80,000. Another similar institution which he founded was that of the "Army Medical Benevolent Society," for the relief of the more necessitous families of medical officers, especially of orphans, by private assistance; and to this society he was a liberal contributor while he lived. At his retirement its capital amounted to nearly £15,000.

It will thus be seen that the public honours which continued to accumulate upon Sir James M'Grigor to the end of his public career were for present as well as past services, and were also deservedly bestowed. He was made a knight-commander of the Tower and Sword of Portugal for his services in the Peninsular campaign, and permitted by his majesty to wear the Turkish order of the Crescent for the offices he rendered in the Egyptian campaign. In 1831 he was created a baronet. In 1850 he was invested with the order of a knight-commander of the

Bath. His literary and civic distinctions were also numerous. He was appointed a member of council in the London university; he was a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and a member of various societies of Dublin and Edinburgh, and of several societies on the Continent. He was elected by his alma mater, the Marischal College of Aberdeen, its rector in 1826 and 1827, and again in 1841. It was there also that he was one of the founders of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Aberdeen. In 1826 he was honoured with the freedom of the city of Edinburgh, in the university of which he had been a student.

To the last Sir James M'Grigor was an indefatigable labourer in his duties as medical director-general. He rose at an early hour in the morning, and after transacting much of its business at home in the form of correspondence, &c., he repaired at ten o'clock in the morning to his office, and there was busily employed until five in the afternoon. Such an amount of labour he did not feel too much in attending to the health of our troops in so many near and distant stations over half the world. Thus he had continued his director-generalship for thirty-three years, until feeling in 1848, when he had reached the peaceful age of seventy-seven years, that longing for rest and retirement to which the most active are at last reduced, he expressed to the Duke of Wellington, then commander-in-chief, his wish to retire from office. But the "iron duke," who was the senior of Sir James by two years, and who regarded him as an iron doctor, answered, "No, no, M'Grigor; there is plenty of work in you yet." It was a characteristic reply from the energetic old soldier, who was still ready for the field should his country require it. He could not also endure the thought that the man whom he valued so highly, and who had contributed so greatly to his victories, should now be lost to the army, and at his remonstrance Sir James continued in office two years longer. But at the close of 1850 he was compelled to tender his final resignation, which was reluctantly acquiesced in at the Horse Guards, with many professions of sorrow and attestations of his valuable services; and when he retired from office in the spring of 1851, the officers of his own department resolved to express their esteem by presenting him with a costly testimonial. But this he intimated that he could not accept after their former munificent token, and accordingly they presented, instead of it, a valedictory address signed by upwards of five hundred members. After this a tranquil old age succeeded, which only terminated on the 2d of April, 1858, when he had nearly completed the eighty-eighth year of his age.

It is evident from the nature of his active life, spent in so many climates, that Sir James M'Grigor could have little of what is called learned leisure for indulgence in authorship, and he slightly alludes in his autobiography to the *Medical Sketches of the Expedition from India to Egypt*, which he published a short time before he joined the Blues. The continuator of his biography, however, mentions the following productions as having also proceeded from his pen:—*Memoir on the State of Health of the 88th Regiment and of the Corps attached to it, from June, 1800, to May, 1801*. Presented to the Bombay Medical Board, 1801.—A letter in reply to Dr. Bancroft who had published *Some Strictures on the Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry*. 1808.—In 1810 he published in the sixth volume of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* some valuable information on the fever which appeared in the army on its return from Spain to England in 1809.—

"*Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in the West Indies*; prepared from the Records of the Boards of the Army Medical Department and War Office Returns." Folio, 1838.—*Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in the United Kingdom, the Mediterranean, and British America*. Folio, 1839.—"Sketch of the Medical History of the British Armies in the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal during those Campaigns." This important and interesting publication was a paper which appeared in the sixth volume of the *Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*.

MACINTOSH, CHARLES, F.R.S., an inventor of several chemical manufactures, was born at Glasgow, December 29, 1766. He was the son of Mr. George Macintosh, who introduced the manufacture of cudbear and Turkey-red dyeing into Glasgow. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Charles Moore of Stirling, the brother of Dr. John Moore, author of *Zeluco*, and her nephew was Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, K.B., who fell in the disastrous retreat at Corunna. Charles received the elements of his education in his native city, and afterwards was sent to a school at Catterick Bridge, in Yorkshire. On his leaving the latter he was placed in the counting-house of Mr. Glassford of Dugaldston, to acquire habits of business. He studied chemistry under the celebrated Dr. Black, then settled in Edinburgh, and turned his knowledge to practical account at an early period, having embarked in the manufacture of sal-ammoniac before he had attained the age of twenty. He subsequently introduced from Holland into this country the manufacture of acetate of lead and acetate of alumina, employed in calico-printing. In 1797 he was associated with Mr. Charles Tennant, then a bleacher at Daruley near Glasgow, in working the patent for the production of chloride of lime in the dry state and in solution, since employed so extensively as a bleaching agent. In the same year he became a partner in a firm at Hurler for the manufacture of alum from alum-schist; and in 1805 similar works, on a larger scale, were established by the same company at Campsie. On the death of his father in 1807, Mr. Macintosh took possession, with his family, of the house at Dunchattan, near Glasgow (but now in Glasgow), where he continued till the end of his life to prosecute his chemical researches. In 1822 he obtained a patent for his celebrated invention of the waterproof cloth distinguished by his name. With a view to the obtaining of ammonia to be employed in the manufacture of cudbear, Mr. Macintosh in 1819 entered into a contract with the proprietors of the Glasgow gas-works, to receive the tar and other ammoniacal products of the distillation of coal in gas-making. After separating the ammonia, in converting the tar into pitch, the essential oil named naphtha is produced; and it occurred to the inventive mind of Mr. Macintosh to turn this substance to account as a solvent of caoutchouc or india-rubber. He succeeded in producing a waterproof varnish, the thickness and consistency of which he could vary, according to the quantity of naphtha employed in the process. Having obtained a patent for this process, he established a manufactory of waterproof articles, which was first carried on in Glasgow, but was eventually transferred to a partnership in Manchester, under the name of Charles Macintosh & Co. In 1828 Mr. Macintosh joined a copartnership in working the hot-blast patent of Mr. J. B. Neilson. He first established in Scotland the manufacture of Prussian blue

and prussiate of potash; invented the mode of topical printing of calico, silks, &c., by the application of the caoutchouc and naphtha varnish; and invented and patented a process for converting iron into steel, by means of carburetted hydrogen gas. Mr. Macintosh closed a career of great usefulness to science and the arts on the 25th of July, 1843, in his seventy-seventh year.

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN, one of the best of the modern Highland poets, was born in Druimlaighart, in the district of Glenorchy, Argyshire, on the 20th March, 1724. He was the child of poor parents, and never received the slightest tincture of school learning. He was engaged in the civil war of 1745, but on the loyal side. Local and family ties made him a member of the large force which Argyshire sent forth on that occasion to support the government, and he fought at the battle of Falkirk under the command of Colonel Campbell of Carahin. It is not to be inferred on this account that he had any antipathy to the cause in which so many of his countrymen were engaged. He was involved in the disgraceful retreat of the king's troops, in which he lost his sword—circumstances which gave him no small degree of mortification, as he has himself shown by the clever song which he wrote upon the occasion. At what period of his life he commenced the composition of poetry is not known. His only models in the art must have been those legendary verses of various kinds and ages which the Highlanders used to recite by the winter fireside, and hand down from one generation to another by oral communication.¹ Of the grammatical principles of language he must have been completely ignorant; his knowledge would be confined in a great measure to the objects of his own Highland vale, and to the Scriptural lore which he would hear occasionally expounded in the parish church. He possessed, however, the genuine talent of the poet—not only that natural eloquence which supplies imagery and suggests incident and allusion, but that felicitous power of expression, which from its being alike found in the untutored Burns and the refined Horace, ought to be considered as much a native gift as any other. This poor Highlander—the reader cannot conceive any man poorer in the goods of fortune—is said to exhibit in his poetry a purity and aptitude of diction, and a harmony of versification, such as are not surpassed in the poetry of any age or country. He may not only indeed be introduced here as a Scotsman who has earned a respectable fame, but he might be instanced, in works more expressly devoted to the consideration of the intellectual powers of men, as a singular specimen of original and brilliant talent, altogether unfavoured by direct instruction, and going contentedly side by side for a long life with a character of the most simple and unworldly kind.

Being an excellent marksman, Duncan—or, as he was generally styled by his countrymen, Donacha Ban—(fair-haired Duncan)—was appointed forester to the Earl of Breadalbane in *Coire-Cheathaich* and *Bein Dourain*, and thereafter to the Duke of Argyll, in *Brachill-Gie*. In 1768 a volume of his poems was published at Edinburgh, under the descriptive title of *Orain Ghaidhealach, le Donacha Mac-an-t-soir*;² it was reprinted in 1790, and again in 1804.³

¹ There was not a printed book in the Gaelic language which contained any sort of poetry except the Psalms, until Alexander Macdonald published his *Gaelic Songs* in 1751.

² *Gaelic Songs*, by Duncan Macintyre.

³ With some additional poems composed during these intervals.

and has long been out of print. One of the poems in this volume was "Oran na Briogais," or, as it may be freely rendered, "The Anathema of the Brecks," being a pretty open expression of the most disloyal sentiment on the part of the author respecting the abolition of the Highland, and the substitution of the Lowland dress, which formed one of the measures of the government for breaking the Jacobite spirit, after the rebellion of 1745. It is well known that the Highlanders in general resented this measure very bitterly; and none more so than such as, like Macintyre, had been loyal to the king during the late broils. They deemed the breeches at once a literal and emblematic restraint—a thing unsuited to their habits as well as tastes—and, as is plainly intimated by Donacha Ban, a sufficient cause of offence to cause a *universal* rising in favour of Prince Charles, should he ever again appear in the country. Of the spirit of this poem we can give no fair specimen—though the first stanza has been cleverly rendered in the following terms:—

"My curse upon the gray brecks
That bind our supple limbs so light!
We're fetter-bound in slavery;
And right is now o'ercome by might.
Had we been faithful to our king,
We ne'er should have to dree such thing,
But light's a bird upon the wing
Might be each free-born mountain wight."

When, by the exertions of the Marquis of Graham, the act for abolishing the Highland dress was repealed (1782) Macintyre celebrated the event in a poem of clamorous joy, such as would have done honour to a repelled invasion or a liberated country. These poems, with an English translation, are to be found in the *Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine* for October, 1833.

In 1793 the poet, though advanced to a considerable age, became a private in a fencible regiment then raised by the Earl of Breadalbane, in which situation he continued till the corps was disbanded in 1799. It is probably to a period antecedent to either of these dates that we are to ascribe an anecdote of Macintyre, which was related to the editor of this Dictionary by the late Mr. Alexander Campbell, editor of *Albyn's Anthology*. The Earl of Breadalbane being anxious to provide permanently for the latter life of his ingenious dependant, consulted the poet himself as to the way in which he thought that object might be best accomplished. Macintyre, whose whole life had been passed in the humblest obscurity, undisturbed by so much as a wish for anything better, took some time to consider the matter, and to make inquiries; and then came to his lordship with a request that he would exert his influence to procure a place for him in the city-guard of Edinburgh, a military police whom Sir Walter Scott has since rendered classical by his pen, but who were then the alternate scoff and terror of their fellow-townsmen, at *sixpence a day*! Into this antiquated corps—for such it was, both in its general character and in respect of the age of most of its members—Macintyre was accordingly transplanted;⁴ thus exchanging the Highland solitude, whence the inspiration and enjoyment of his whole life had been derived, for the duties of a peace-officer in one of the most crowded streets in the world, where every object must have been to him artificial and strange. It is an affecting illustration, however, of the pleasure which unambitious minds may derive from humble sources, that the poet wrote upon this occasion

⁴ He composed a poem in Edinburgh, in which he shows the poetical talent of nice observation, describing every remarkable or novel object, but without any expression of surprise.

a self-gratulatory ode, in which he expresses quite as bounding a transport at his accession to a salary of sixpence a day as Napoleon could have done at the addition of a kingdom to his dominions. We have thought this poem so extraordinary a curiosity in its way as to make a translation of it, with which we have been furnished by an obliging friend, the example to be presented in this place of the style of Macintyre, so far as the unavoidable formality and tameness of a literal English version can exemplify the exquisite graces of the Gaelic bard.

TRANSLATION OF VERSES TO HIS MUSKET.

BY DUNCAN MACINTYRE.

Many a turn of fortune may happen to a man,
He may fall in love with one he may not get—
I devoted twenty years to the first I fancied,
But she forsook me and I was left alone.

I came to Edinburgh to seek a sweetheart;
Said Captain Campbell in the town-guard,
That he knew a widow in a secret place,
And would endeavour to put her in my way;

He did, as he was wont, fulfil his promise;
He gave her to me by the hand, and her portion with her.
Whoever may ask her name or surname,
They call her Janet,¹ and George was her grandsire.

She is quiet and affable, without gloom or vexing look,
And as high in rank as any lady in the land;
She is the means of my support since she joined me—
Great is the cause of grief to him who has not got her.

I have forsaken Nic-Cosum,² though she still lives,
And allowed the crested stags to wander where they please;
I have chosen a young wife, which I do not repent;
I am not without wealth since I espoused the fair one.

I pass my word that she is most excellent,
And that I never discovered any hidden fault in her;
She is stately, fine, straight and sound,
Without defect or blemish, twist or bend.

When needy folks are pinched for money,
George's daughter will not let my pocket be empty;
She keeps me in drink in the alehouses,
And pays every stoup that I call for.

She does every turn as I bid her,
She tells me no lie nor false story;
She keeps my family as well as I could wish,
Though I do no labour nor dirty work.

I worked laboriously though I amassed no wealth,
I vowed that I would disdain to be a menial;
I have ceased to toil since I have remarked
That the idle man endures longest.

It is my loving wife who will not deceive me;
She is able always to earn my bread;
I shall have no lack of clothes or linen;
And worldly cares now give me no concern.

How long he remained in the situation alluded to has not been ascertained. The latter years of his life were spent in Edinburgh, and are said to have been cheered by the bounty of the Earl of Breadalbane. He died in that city, October, 1812, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

"In his young days," says the author of *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, "Macintyre was remarkably handsome, and throughout his whole life he possessed a very easy and agreeable disposition. Although, when provoked, his enemies generally felt the effects of his pride and resentment, yet to his benefactors he was equally grateful. He was very fond of company and a cheerful glass, and was not only very agreeable over his bottle, but also very circumspect. Although Macintyre discovered an early inclination to poetry, he did not produce anything till the memorable battle of Falkirk, a description of which forms the first song in the valuable collection published by him, wherein it is said to have been his first regular

attempt at composition. The collection contains lyric, comic, epic, and religious compositions, of such merit as renders it difficult to say in what department of poetry this writer most excelled. . . . His poetical talents justly entitled him to rank among the first of Celtic bards, for all good judges of Celtic poetry agree that nothing like the purity of his Gaelic, and the style of his poetry, has appeared in the Highlands.³ Of Donacha Ban it might justly be said,

"'Nan leabhadh eas' òg gach òran a's sgéul,
Cha chuireadh neach beò a ghlas-ghuib air a' bhéul!"

M'KAIL, HUGH. Of this young martyr for the cause of religious liberty little has been recorded, except his martyrdom itself. That, however, was an event so striking, that it stands out in strong relief among the similar events of the period, filled though it was with such atrocities of religious persecution as made Scotland for the time an Acelanda among the nations.

Hugh M'Kail was born about the year 1640. His boyhood and youth were thus spent among the most stirring incidents of the Covenant, when the patriotic and religious spirit of our country made a life of ease or indifference almost an impossibility. His studies were prosecuted with a view to the ministry, at the university of Edinburgh, and when he had entered his twenty-first year he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery. At this time also he appears to have lived with Sir James Stuart of Kirkfield, as his chaplain.

In those days preaching behoved to be a very different matter from what it generally is at present; and when we wonder at the frequency with which public measures were introduced into the pulpit, as well as the severity with which they were often reprobated, we must remember that this was nothing more than what necessity required and duty justified. The age of journalism had not yet fully commenced; and those political movements by which the interests of religion were affected had no place of discussion or reprobation but the church, so that to "preach to the times" was reckoned the duty of the minister, not only in Scotland but in England. The pulpit was thus constrained to occupy that place from which the public press has happily relieved it. Besides, a war at this time was going on in Scotland that proposed nothing short of the utter annihilation of the national church; and every faithful minister, therefore, felt himself standing upon a watch-tower, from which he was to look anxiously over the whole country, and

³ Note by a Correspondent.—All this must be taken in a very qualified sense. There is nothing approaching to sublimity in the whole range of Macintyre's compositions. His poem in praise of Bendourain is in somewhat of a heroic strain; but it scarcely deserves the name of epic. Alexander Macdonald was far superior to him in what is usually understood by the term genius; but from his classical education he was less scrupulous about the purity of his style, and his works abound in classical allusions. It is to the purity of his language, and the harmony of his numbers, that Macintyre owes his fame in a great measure. In these qualities he is almost equalled if not rivalled by Mary Macleod, an untutored poetess, but her compositions are not so numerous, and she had not the varied talent of Macintyre. As already said, his poetry is chiefly of a descriptive character, and Dr. Johnson's criticism on Thomson's *Seasons* may be applied to him, with this qualification, that his comprehension of the vast was not equal to his attention to the minute. His love-songs are remarkable for delicacy of sentiment—and his descriptions of the chase are very animated. Here he was quite at home. Some of his pieces are valuable, as descriptive of country manners now almost extinct. He may be called the Pope of the Highlands, as Macdonald was the Byron, and William Ross the Burns. Macdonald had more originality of genius than any of the Highland poets; but it was irregular and not under proper restraint—Ross, for tenderness and sensibility, was what Burns may be supposed to have been if he had been born and bred in the Highlands. Macintyre was more agreeable.

¹ A by-word for a regimental firelock, but never applied to any other gun.

² A favourite fowling-piece to which he composed another song.

sound the alarm whenever danger approached, let the quarter from which it issued be what it might.

To this duty, so full of imminent peril, M'Kail, as a preacher, was soon summoned. The bishops who had been imposed upon the country by royal authority, complained that their offices were not respected, nor their behests obeyed; and Middleton's mad parliament had passed, under the inspiration of wine and strong drink, that sweeping decree by which 400 ministers were ejected from their charges for non-compliance. It was in September, 1662, while this measure was impending, by which the best pulpits of Edinburgh as well as Scotland at large were soon to be deprived of their ministers, that Hugh M'Kail, who had frequently officiated in the city as a preacher with great acceptance, delivered his last public sermon in the High Church, on the Sabbath before the edict was to take effect. His text was from Canticles i. 7; and in illustrating this passage as applicable to the persecutions which religion had generally endured, he declared that the "church and people of God had been persecuted both by an Ahab on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church." He made no particular or personal application of this general truth; he merely stated it as a well-known historical fact; but so close was the parallel to the present state of affairs, that Charles II. was found to be the Ahab, the persecuting royal favourite Lord Middleton to be the Haman, and the apostate Sharp, now Archbishop of St. Andrews, to be the Judas Iscariot whom the preacher meant. To suspect was to convict and condemn, and a party of horse was sent to his residence near Edinburgh to apprehend him. But having received a hasty notice a moment previous to their arrival, he escaped from his bed into another chamber, and managed to elude the pursuers. He fled, in the first instance, to his father's house, where for a time he was safe from detection. But as some victim was necessary, M'Kail's patron, Sir James Stuart, and Walter Stuart, his second son, were apprehended instead of the preacher, and accused of having listened to, or at least having been informed of, the aforesaid sermon, which "had maliciously inveighed against and abused his sacred majesty, and the present government in church and state, to the great offence of God and stumbling of the people;" and that, notwithstanding their knowledge of it, they had still continued to harbour and entertain its author. Both were imprisoned, and did not obtain their liberty until they had cleared themselves of the charge. In the meantime M'Kail went abroad, and, as Wodrow informs us, "accomplished himself in travelling for some years."

After a residence of four years upon the Continent, Mr. M'Kail returned to Scotland in 1666. It was not to a peaceful home that he returned, for the persecution was hotter than ever; and in the desperate insurrection which commenced at Dumfries, and ended in the defeat at Pentland, he joined the devoted band, and shared in the toils and privations of their march until they came to Cramond, on their way to Rullion Green, where his strength, unfitted for such rough service, broke down, so that he was left behind. He then endeavoured to shift for himself; but while on his way to Libberton, he was set upon by some peasants on the watch for stragglers, and apprehended, his enfeebled state, and the light rapier which he wore, being insufficient for the least resistance. This was upon the 27th of November; and on the following day he was examined by a committee of the secret council. He refused to criminate himself by answering their questions or

subscribing to their charges; but on the following day he complied so far as to confess that he had joined in the insurrection. This, however, was not enough: the rulers of Scotland were determined, for their own purposes, to prove that the rising of Pentland was a great national conspiracy, abetted by the Presbyterians of England and our enemies upon the Continent; and if proof could not be obtained from the confessions of the prisoners, it was resolved to wring it from them by torture. The selection of their victims from among the prisoners for this experiment was in keeping with the injustice of the infliction; for these were Hugh M'Kail, who had not been at Pentland at all, and John Neilson, of Corsack, in Galloway, a gentleman who, though he had been plundered of his all, and driven to the fields for his adherence to the Covenant, had yet saved the life of Sir James Turner when the latter was taken prisoner, and had behaved throughout the insurrection with gentleness and clemency. It was in vain they protested that they had already confessed all, and knew nothing of a conspiracy; the boot, the instrument of torture, was laid upon the council-table, and they were assured that on the morrow, if they still refused to confess, they should undergo its infliction. The very name of that engine can still raise a shudder in Scotland, though few are acquainted with its peculiar construction. It was a wooden frame composed of four pieces of narrow board hooped with iron, into which the leg was inserted; wooden plugs of different sizes were then successively introduced between the boards and the limb, and driven home by the executioner with the blows of a heavy mallet, while at each stroke the sufferer was exhorted to confess whatever might be demanded by the judges. In this way the anguish of the victim was increased or prolonged at pleasure, until it often happened that nature could endure no more, so that for present relief he was ready to confess whatever might bring him to the more merciful alternative of the halter.

On the following day the council assembled, and, true to their promise, they proceeded to examine the prisoners by torture. The experiment was first tried upon Mr. Neilson, and as the wedges proceeded to crush his leg at each descent of the mallet, his cries were so loud and piteous, that even savages would have melted with compassion to hear them. But not so the judges: bent upon learning the particulars of a plot that had no existence except in their own craven fears, their command at each interval was, "Give him the other touch!" As no confession was forthcoming after their worst had been inflicted, they next proceeded to deal with M'Kail, hoping perhaps to find greater compliance from his youth and gentleness of disposition. It was in vain for him to allege that he was aware of no conspiracy—that he had confessed all that he knew already: although so much time had elapsed, they still remembered what he had said about an "Ahab on the throne." His leg was placed in the boot, and after the first blow, while every nerve was tingling with the shock, the usual questions were put to him; but he was silent: the strokes were repeated, until seven or eight had been given; but to the questions he solemnly declared in the sight of God that he could reveal nothing further, though every joint of his body should be subjected to the same torture as his poor leg. This was unsatisfactory to the judges, who ordered another and another "touch," which their victim endured without a murmur of impatience or bitterness; and after ten or eleven strokes in all, and given at considerable intervals, he swooned, and was carried back to prison.

Thus no crime had been either discovered or confessed, and even according to the barbarous law of torture, it might have been thought that M'Kail should have been set at liberty, as one against whom no offence could be proved. And had he not suffered enough already to satisfy the most vindictive? But such was not the reasoning of the day, and the judges resolved to fall back upon the fact that he had joined the insurgents, and accompanied them to Ayr, Ochiltree, Lanark, and other places. It mattered not to them that he had not been present at the battle of Pentland; it was enough that he would have been there if he could, and therefore must be punished as a convicted traitor for his traitorous intentions. The day after his examination ten of these unfortunate insurgents were tried and sentenced to execution; and only five days afterwards, other seven were ordered to prepare for trial. It was resolved that among these already foredoomed victims M'Kail should be impannelled; but the torture he had undergone had thrown him into a fever, accompanied with such debility, that compearance was impossible, and this he represented while he craved a few days of delay. Nothing could be more natural than his present condition after the treatment he had experienced, or more reasonable than his request; and yet his judges would not be satisfied until they had sent two physicians and two surgeons to examine the patient, and attest "upon soul and conscience" that his case was as he had stated. Of what did these men think the bones and flesh of Covenanters to be composed, that they could endure so much, and yet recover so quickly? It would be well, we opine, if no judges were to inflict torture until they had previously tried its effect upon themselves. In this way King William adventured upon a taste of the thumbscrew, and declared that under it a man might confess anything.

On the 18th of December, while still a sufferer, M'Kail was brought out to trial. Into this we do not enter more particularly, as it was a matter of daily occurrence in the justiciary proceedings of the period. The answers he gave, and the arguments by which he justified his conduct, were such as his judges cared nothing about; and while he talked of conscience and the divine law as binding upon every community, they silenced him with the statute-book, and charged him with rebellion. The sentence, which was probably nothing else than he expected, was, that on Saturday, the 20th of December (only two days after), he should be taken to the market-cross of Edinburgh, there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and his goods and lands to be escheated for his highness' use. This was summary work; and three others, who were tried along with him, were sentenced to the same doom. He was then led back to the Tolbooth, the people lamenting him as he passed by, to whom he addressed the words of consolation and comfort, as if they, and not himself, were to suffer. Among others, to some tender-hearted women, who bewailed such an untimely termination of his labours, he said, "Weep not: though I am, but young, and in the budding of my hopes and labours in the ministry, I am not to be mourned; for one drop of my blood, through the grace of God, may make more hearts contrite than many years' sermons might have done." As the time allowed him to dissolve the affectionate ties of nature was so brief, he requested that his father might be allowed to visit him in prison, which was granted. And of how many such tender yet heroic partings were the cells of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to be witnesses at this period! The meeting of father and son was accompanied with much affectionate endearment, as

well as earnest Christian prayers for support and resignation. "Hugh," said the senior, "I called thee a goodly olive-tree of fair fruit, and now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruit." The son deprecated this estimation as too high; but the other burst forth into the declaration that he had spoken only the truth, and that it was assuredly his own sins, and not those of his amiable boy, that had brought the latter to such a close. "It is I," he cried, "who have sinned; but thou, poor sheep, what hast thou done?" The other blamed himself that for failure in the observance of the fifth commandment, his days were to be short in the land. He added also his fear, that God had a controversy with his father for overvaluing his children, and especially himself.

During his short stay in prison M'Kail was employed in private devotion, and in the duty of encouraging and confirming his fellow-sufferers. At times, also, such was his cheerfulness that his language was full of humour. To a friend who visited him in prison, and condoled with him upon his mangled limb, he replied, "The fear of my neck makes me forget my leg." On the evening of the 19th of December, while eating his final supper with those who were to be executed with him on the following day, he said to them merrily, "Eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be a fat Christmas-pie to the prelates." After supper he read to them the 16th Psalm, and then said, "If there were anything in the world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the Scriptures." He comforted himself, however, with the thought that he would soon be in that place where even Scripture is no longer necessary. After writing his will, which was an easy work, as it consisted of the bequest of the few books he possessed to his friends, he slept soundly, and on waking his comrade at five o'clock in the morning, he said pleasantly, "Up, John, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going to be hanged this day, seeing we lie so long." Before going to execution he bade farewell to his father, with the assurance that his sufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry twenty years. Such was his heroic hope, and the history of Scotland has told us how fully it was verified.

As soon as M'Kail appeared on the scaffold, a sound of wailing arose from the numerous spectators. And indeed it was no wonder, for he had a high reputation for learning and talent, such as was rare among the persecuted of this period. He was also in much estimation for his fervent piety and steadfast devotedness. And then, too, there were other circumstances that never fail to deepen the popular sympathy at such a tragic spectacle; for besides being still in the bloom of early youth, we are told that he was a "very comely graceful person." "There was scarce ever seen," it is added, "so much sorrow in onlookers; scarce was there a dry cheek in the whole street or windows at the cross of Edinburgh." With gentleness and dignity he prepared for his departure, and after delivering his testimony, which he had written out, and sung his last psalm, he exclaimed to his friends as he ascended the ladder, "I care no more to go up this ladder than if I were going home to my father's house. Friends and fellow-sufferers, be not afraid; every step of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven."

Having seated himself mid-way, M'Kail addressed the spectators with his parting farewell. He expressed his belief that all this cruelty which drove so many to the scaffold, was not so much owing to

the Scottish statesmen and rulers as to the prelates, by whom the persecution was urged onward, and at whose hands the blood of the sufferers would be required. He then declared his cheerful readiness to die for the cause of God, the covenants, and the work of reformation, once the glory of Scotland. Here, on being interrupted by loud weeping, he told the people that it was their prayers not their tears which were needed now. After expressing his triumphant assurance of the bliss into which he was about to enter, and consoling them with the thought, he suddenly broke off into the following sublime prophet-like declaration, which has so often stirred the heart of Scottish piety to its lowest depths: "And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell father and mother, friends and relations, farewell the world and all delights, farewell meat and drink, farewell sun, moon, and stars! Welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, and God of all consolation; welcome glory, welcome eternal life, and welcome death!"

Such was the departure of Hugh M'Kail, standing upon an ignominious ladder, and yet upon the threshold of heaven, and all but glorified before he had departed. And below was a crowd among whom nothing was heard but heavy groans and loud lamentation. It was a death such as only a martyr can die, and which the living might well have envied.

MACKENZIE, SIR ALEXANDER. In the list of those who have explored the wild recesses of North America, and acted as the pioneers of Anglo-Saxon civilization, the name of Sir Alexander Mackenzie occupies a place inferior to none. Originally, however, an obscure mercantile adventurer, we are unable to ascertain the early training through which he not only became such an enterprising and observant traveller, but so excellent a writer in the account he has left of his journey. He is supposed to have been a native of Inverness, and to have emigrated to Canada while still a very young man. The first account we have of him is from himself, in his general history of the fur trade prefixed to the narrative of his travels, when he held a situation in the counting-house of Mr. Gregory, one of the partners of the North-west Fur Company. After he had been in this situation for five years, Mackenzie, in 1784, set off to seek his fortune at Detroit, having been intrusted for this purpose with a small venture of goods, on condition of proceeding to the back settlements or Indian country in the following spring. He accordingly set off on this half-mercantile half-exploratory journey with a party of associates; but on arriving at the scene of enterprise, they soon found themselves regarded as intruders by those Europeans who had established themselves in the country and full pre-occupation of the trade, and who not only opposed their progress, but stirred up the natives against them; and after the "severest struggle ever known in that part of the world," in which one of the partners of the company was murdered, another lamed, and a clerk shot through his powder-horn, by which the bullet was prevented from passing through his body, the jealous occupants at last admitted the new-comers to a share in their trade in 1787.

The acquaintanceship which Mackenzie had acquired of the country and the native tribes, during a residence of several years at Fort Chipewyan, situated at the head of the Athabasca Lake, in the territory of the savages to the west of Hudson's Bay,

and the intelligence, courage, and enterprising character which he had already displayed, pointed him out to his employers as a fit person to be sent out on an exploring expedition through the regions lying to the north-west of their station—at this time still a *terra incognita* to British exploration, and supposed to be bounded by the Arctic Ocean. Upon this Argonautic quest he accordingly set off in a canoe of birch bark, from Fort Chipewyan, on the south side of the Lake of the Hills, on June 3, 1789. His crew consisted of a German, four Canadians, two of whom were attended by their wives, and an Indian chief; and in a smaller boat were the chief's two wives, and two of his young men who were to serve as hunters and interpreters: a third canoe that followed was in charge of one of the company's clerks, and carried also their provisions, clothing, and ammunition, as well as mercantile presents for the Indians along whose territories they would have to pass. This voyage, which continued 102 days, was of a sufficiently eventful character; and the difficulties, dangers, and privations which the party encountered, as well as the courage, wisdom, and perseverance with which Mackenzie encountered and surmounted them, can scarcely be appreciated in the present day, when the districts which he visited have now become familiar, while the wild tenants by whom they were occupied have disappeared. Six days after he had embarked on the Slave River he reached the Slave Lake, that was almost wholly frozen over; and after encamping six days among the ice, that sometimes gave way under them, he once more embarked, and skirting along the edge of the lake, he reached, on the 29th of June, the entrance of the river which flows from its western extremity, afterwards called, in honour of his discovery, the Mackenzie River. On the 15th of July the principal purpose of his search was crowned with success; for after having followed the north-west course of the river, he arrived at the great Northern Ocean, in lat. 69°. After having erected a post at the place of discovery, on which he engraved the latitude of the place, his own name, and the number of persons who accompanied him, he retraced his course, and arrived in safety at Chipewyan Fort on the 12th of September.

After little more than a year of repose at home, or rather a year of active trading, the bold traveller was alert upon a new journey, and one of greater importance than the former, being nothing less than an attempt to reach the Pacific—an adventure which no European in North America had as yet accomplished, or, as far as is known, had even attempted. Again, therefore, he left Fort Chipewyan on the 10th of October, 1792, and proceeded up the Peace River. "I had resolved," he says, "to go as far as our most distant settlement, which would occupy the remaining part of the season, it being the route by which I proposed to attempt my next discovery, across the mountains from the source of that river; for whatever distance I could reach this fall would be a proportionate advancement of my voyage." He set off, accompanied by two canoes laden with the necessary articles of trade, and prosecuted the enterprise partly by water and partly by land. The dangers he underwent were, if possible, still greater than before, not merely from natural obstacles, but the hostility or the blunders of the wild tribes with whom he came in contact; and it is strange, as well as not a little interesting, to read in his narrative, not only of manners that are fast disappearing from the world, but of large Indian communities that have either dwindled into families, or utterly passed away. After nine months of persevering travel his

aim was accomplished, for he had penetrated across the mountains, and through the North American continent, to the shores of the Pacific; and having reached the point of his ambition, he mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed upon a rock on which he had passed the night this short memorial: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three." It was a necessary precaution, as only the day after, when he was upon his return homeward, he very narrowly escaped assassination from the natives. He arrived at the fort on the 23d of August, 1793, and thus takes leave of his readers: "Here my voyages of discovery terminate. Their toils and their dangers, their solitudes and sufferings, have not been exaggerated in my description. On the contrary, in many instances language has failed me in the attempt to describe them. I received, however, the reward of my labours, for they were crowned with success."

After he had returned to Fort Chipewyan, Mackenzie appears to have devoted himself, for a time at least, to that profitable trade in furs which his enterprises had so greatly tended to enlarge and benefit. He also prepared for the press his narrative, which was published in London in 1801, with the following title: "*Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years 1789 and 1793. With a Preliminary Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Fur Trade of that Country. Illustrated with Maps, &c.*" The value of his exertions was so justly appreciated, that soon after the publication of this work he received the honour of knighthood. From this period we so completely lose sight of Sir Alexander, that we know neither his after history nor the period of his death; but from a biographical volume of living authors, published in 1816, we ascertain that he was still alive at that date.

MACKENZIE, CHARLES FREDERICK. This amiable prelate and missionary, who combined the accomplishments of a scholar with the religious devotedness of an apostle, was the youngest son of Colin Mackenzie, Esq., of Portmore, Peebleshire, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir William Forbes, Bart., of Pitsligo, Aberdeenshire. He was born at Marcus Cottage, Peebleshire, on the 10th of April, 1825. In 1834 he was sent to the Edinburgh Academy; and from this, after six years of a classical education, he was removed to Dr. Cowan's, Grange School, near Sunderland. In 1844 he matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he continued a student during two terms; but being a Scotsman, and therefore not eligible for a fellowship at that college, according to its regulations, he removed to Gonville and Caius College, finding that at Caius there was no such restriction.

It is known to the generality of our readers that the university of Cambridge is famed for its pre-eminence in mathematics, and that the distinguished students in that home of scientific learning are so numerous as greatly to diminish the chances of a successful competition. But Charles Mackenzie soon took the first place in his year in mathematics. And still better than the distinction of such success, and the emulation it was calculated to excite, was the weight of his pure religious and moral character, and the influence of his example; and at this time he is thus described by one of his fellow-students: "Sooner than I could have believed it possible, if I had not seen it, he became known and beloved by every one in college. He surprised us by show-

ing that it was possible to be religious without being morose, and to be zealous for the spiritual welfare of others without fanaticism or party spirit. He at once took the lead in every good work, and at the same time joined energetically in all our amusements. He pulled regularly in our boat, and there soon showed some of the best points of his character, in his cheerfulness under defeat, his calmness in success. He never connived at sin, no bad word or bad deed in his presence failed to produce a protest from him, or more generally a kind and friendly remonstrance from him afterwards in private. I feel sure that there is many an old college friend, and many a one too who could hardly call himself an acquaintance, who could tell you how grateful he still feels for some such word of advice kindly given in season by Mackenzie."

The same amiable simplicity and uprightness, combined with the same intellectual superiority, continued to distinguish him during the rest of his career at college, and in 1848 he graduated as second wrangler. On the occasion of winning this high university distinction, he gave utterance to an expression which for the present excited much mirth, but was long afterwards tenderly and affectionately remembered by many who had joined in the laugh. When the ovation followed which usually welcomes the successful candidates for college distinctions, and when he and the other honour-men of the year were thanked for the credit which their exertions and success had conferred upon their college, Mackenzie replied, that "he did not see that they deserved any thanks, for that they had only done what was natural under the circumstances." Such an unusual reply from the hero of a triumph! But, as his biographer has justly observed, "This was indeed the key to all his subsequent acts of Christian self-devotion, and to the humility and oblivion of self which was so conspicuous throughout his brief but bright career. What others admired as heroic self-denial, appeared to him only 'natural under the circumstances,' and in no way meritorious or out of the common course of things."

Soon after taking his degree Mr. Mackenzie was elected to a fellowship in his college, and was ordained on his fellowship by the Bishop of Ely. After this he resided in the college as lecturer until 1854. This entrance into the work of active life only redoubled his earnestness in doing good, and brought his many excellent qualities into more conspicuous notice; and their effect was such, that no man of the age was supposed to have exercised such a beneficial influence upon the university of Cambridge. Such an example given by a young man—a gentleman, and a highly accomplished scholar—and who, withal, like the apostle of the Gentiles, "made himself all things to all men," that he might allure them to righteousness—had its natural effect upon the characters of his fellow-students; and while they loved the man, and felt him to be one of themselves, they learned to love those principles which had elevated him to his superiority, and strove to be like him. In this manner the "little heaven" diffused its leavening process throughout the whole university. While he resided in the college, and discharged his scholastic duties, he served the curacy of Haslingfield, a village in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, where his ministrations were highly valued by his parishioners. In Cambridge itself he also reorganized and placed the system of voluntary chaplains in the Aldenbrooke Hospital upon a more satisfactory footing—a labour of love for which he is still gratefully remembered in the city. But all this he felt to be not enough while anything more effective, although

more laborious and self-denying, remained to be done; and having heard a sermon preached by the Bishop of New Zealand upon the necessity and duty of missions to the heathen, Mr. Mackenzie resolved to become a missionary. Here however his friends interposed, and by representing to him the field that lay before him in Cambridge, and the success that had hitherto attended his efforts, they prevailed upon him to remain at college. His purpose, however, although postponed, was not abandoned; and in consequence of a sermon preached by Bishop Selwyn, his missionary zeal blazed out afresh, and with greater ardour than before. He now felt that while there were many at Cambridge who could enter his place and fulfil its duties, there were comparatively few who had the power and will to devote themselves to the service of the church in foreign lands. With many the missionary service was thought too humble for the alumnus of a university; with not a few it was an extinction of their clerical ambition and hopes of preferment; with all it was an exile from country and from civilized existence, and exposure to the privations of savage life, with the additional risk of martyrdom. But just because others would not embrace such a life, Mackenzie would adopt it. However scorned or however rejected, the duty was as imperious to convey the gospel to savages and the heathen, as to the rich, the great, and the civilized; and to him that was enough. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1854 he went out to Natal, as Archdeacon of Pieter-Maritzburg under Bishop Colenso, and there remained until 1859. It is worthy of note, that during these five years he supported himself at his own charges, and applied his small stipend to the maintenance of another clergyman in the colony.

Such a position as that of an archdeacon in a newly opened colony, and with few but boors and savages to compose his precarious congregations, would to most men have been enough, especially if they could retreat from the enterprise without the positive loss of honour. The country, the society, and the modes of life were little adapted to one who had lived in college halls with reputation, and to whom the prospect of high preferment in the church at home had been opened; and in 1859 Mr. Mackenzie returned to England. But it was not in disgust at the task he had undertaken, or with the purpose of exchanging it for more congenial work in Britain: on the contrary, this preliminary foretaste of missionary labour had only inspired him with the resolution to go more thorough in the enterprise, and to become wholly and entirely a missionary. His return was therefore for the purpose of offering himself as the conductor of a mission to the Zulu Caffres, a wholly savage population, and that of the rudest kind. It was not the offer of an ignorant enthusiast, but of one who well knew the nature of the task, and had deliberately counted the cost. There were circumstances, however, which for the present had opened up such a tempting field in another quarter as to make a mission to the Zulus inexpedient. Dr. Livingstone had returned from one of his wonderful African explorations; had visited Oxford and Cambridge; and impressed the two universities with a conviction of the advantages of settling a mission somewhere in the centre of Southern Africa, the country he had just explored, and which seemed so favourable for such an attempt. This enterprise appeared so hopeful, that committees were formed in the two universities and in London, for originating this new mission; and the opportune arrival of Archdeacon Mackenzie in England suggested the idea that here was the right man as well as the right

place for him. The three committees unanimously invited him to lead this arduous undertaking, to which the archdeacon cordially assented. This was at the commencement of November, 1859. As funds were necessary before operations could be commenced, Mackenzie during the next eleven months devoted himself to the work of collecting them; and wherever he went during an anxious and laborious tour in England, Scotland, and Ireland, his evangelical devotedness and amiable character recommended his appeals even to the hearts of the most indifferent. All being in readiness for embarkation, Mackenzie performed a solemn and affecting religious public service in the stately and venerable cathedral of Canterbury, and accompanied with a small staff of missionaries, lay and clerical, he set sail upon the great work of evangelizing Central Africa on the 6th of October, 1860. Still young in years, it was anticipated that a lengthened career would be granted him; and from such earnest self-sacrifice, talents, and apostolic piety, how fair was the prospect of success to such a mission! Little did his numerous friends and well-wishers know that a grave already awaited him in Africa, and that his death and example were to encourage those followers whom his life could not aid.

Having arrived at Capetown on the 12th of November, Mackenzie was consecrated bishop on January 1, 1861, the feast of the Circumcision, by the metropolitan of Capetown, assisted by his two suffragans, the Bishops of St. Helena and Natal. Having no defined territory for his diocese, the title of the new prelate was "Bishop of the Mission to the Tribes dwelling in the Neighbourhood of the Lake Nyassa and River Shiré." On January 12, 1861, he sailed for the Zambesi, and arrived off Kongone on February 7, where he joined company with Dr. Livingstone, whose advice and direction were necessary in establishing the proper site of the mission. To settle this important matter a careful examination had to be made, and the next six weeks were spent in company with Dr. Livingstone in a minute exploration of the river Roovooma, in the hope that it might lead to some opening into the interior of the country, by which the toil and danger of a land journey might be saved. But no such opening being found, the mission on the 1st of May crossed the bar of the Kongone mouth of the Zambesi, and on the 8th of July they arrived at Dakanamoyé, a village on the river Shiré, about 200 miles above the confluence of that river and the Zambesi. Still following Dr. Livingstone as their leader, the missionaries were conducted by him about sixty miles into the interior of the country, to the heart of the Manganja highlands, where he settled them at a village named Magomera, and leaving to their charge a party of natives whom he had rescued from slaves, who might form a nucleus of their mission. And now Bishop Mackenzie had found a resting-place in his pilgrimage—but it was only that he might die in peace. All was fair and promising, and he had commenced his beloved missionary work with his wonted earnestness, when it was brought to a sudden close by his untimely death on the island of Mulo, at the confluence of the Ruvo and Shiré, on January 31, 1862, when he was only thirty-five years of age.

MACKENZIE, GEORGE, first Earl of Cromarty, a distinguished political and literary character, was born in the year 1630, being the eldest son of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, one of the senators of the College of Justice. He succeeded his father in 1654, and acted a conspicuous part in the

irregular warfare carried on at that period by General Middleton against the forces of Cromwell. After the Restoration, when Middleton received an earldom, and was appointed to the direction of Scottish affairs, Sir George Mackenzie became his principal confidant, and had a prominent share in the transactions connected with the celebrated *billeting act*, which ended in the common disgrace of the earl and Sir George. The latter consequently remained unemployed throughout the whole administration of the Duke of Lauderdale. He afterwards obtained that promotion to which his extraordinary talents entitled him. In 1678 he was appointed justice-general for Scotland, and in 1681 a lord of session, and lord-register. In 1685 James II. created him Viscount of Tarbat, by which name he is best known. Though an active and unscrupulous agent of the two last Stuarts, he had no objection to continue in employment under the system of things established at the Revolution. But King William, to whom he lost no time in paying his respects, did not think proper to employ him till 1692, when his lordship was restored to his office of lord-register.

Here the evil habits he had contracted under the late government appear to have still clung to him. The spirit which induced Charles II. to say, that, though Lauderdale was complained of by the *people*, he did not seem to have done anything contrary to the interests of the *sovereign*, was what animated this veteran instrument of arbitrary authority. Having been accused of falsifying the minutes of parliament for private objects, he does not appear to have paid the least regard to the truth or falsity of the charge: in his defence, addressed to Mr. Carstairs, he dwells only on the malice which animated his accusers, and on the constancy of his own attachment to the king. He found it necessary, however, to retire upon a pension of £400 a year. In a subsequent letter he is found petitioning for a remission, and in such terms as give a curious idea of the state of moral feeling among politicians in that age:—"I wish," says he, "to have a very general remission sent me, because I see faults fish't in by others upon as great grounds. If it comes, let it contain *treason, perduellion, and a general of all crimes*; though, on all that's sacred, I know not myself guilty, nor do I fear anything on this side Irish witnesses or evidence." At the accession of Queen Anne this able statesman was made secretary of state for Scotland; an office which he resigned in 1704 for that of justice-general. In 1703 he was elevated to the dignity of Earl of Cromarty. Having resigned the justice-generalship in 1710, he retired some years after to his seat of New Tarbat, in Ross-shire, intending, without any apparent regard to his advanced age, to live there in an economical manner for six years, in order that he might be subsequently enabled to reside in London. The design was almost at the very outset interrupted by death; his lordship expiring, August 17, 1714. He has an elegant obelisk erected to his memory in the neighbourhood of Dingwall.

The Earl of Cromarty, notwithstanding the faults already alluded to, is acknowledged to have been a good-natured man, "possessed of a great measure of polite learning and good parts, and master of an extraordinary gift of pleasing and diverting conversation, which rendered him one of the most entertaining companions in the world. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, and reckoned among the ablest members of that learned body; in the *Philosophical Transactions* many papers of his lordship may be seen. His other publications, arranged in chronological order, are:—1. *A Vindication of King Robert III. from the Imputation of Bastardy*, Edin.

1695, 4to.—2. *The Mistaken Advantage of Raising of Money*, Edin. 1695, 4to.—3. *Letter to the Earl of Wemyss concerning the Union with England*, 1706, 4to.—4. "Friendly Response to a Letter concerning Sir George Mackenzie's and Sir John Nisbet's Observations and Response on the Matter of the Union," 1706, 4to.—5. "*Synopsis Apocalypticæ*; or a Short and Plain Explication of Daniel's Prophecy, and of St. John's Revelation in Concert with it," 1707, 4to.—6. "Historical Account of the Conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and of Robert Logan of Restalrig against King James VI.," 1713, 8vo.—7. "A Vindication of the same from the Mistakes of Mr. John Anderson, Preacher of Dumbarton, in his Defence of Presbytery," 1714, 8vo.

MACKENZIE, SIR GEORGE, a celebrated lawyer and state officer, and perhaps the first Scotsman who wrote the English language in a style approaching to purity, was born at Dundee, in 1636. His father was Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, and his mother Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Dr. Peter Bruce, principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. His progress at school was so rapid, that in his tenth year he was master of all the classical authors usually taught in schools. He afterwards studied Greek and philosophy in the universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, and civil law in that of Bourges in France; and, in January, 1659, before the termination of his twenty-third year, entered as an advocate at the Scottish bar.

In 1660 he published his "*Arctina*, or Serious Romance," in which, according to his kind biographer, Ruddiman, he gives "a very bright specimen of his gay and exuberant genius." His talents must have been early observed and appreciated, for in 1661, his third year at the bar, he was selected as one of the counsel of the Marquis of Argyle, then tried by a commission of parliament for high-treason. On this occasion he acted with so much firmness, and even boldness, as at once established his character. As the counsel for Argyle were appointed by parliament, they presented a petition under form of protest, that in the defence of their client they might not be made responsible for every expression they might utter, but that a latitude and freedom of expression, suitable to the extent and difficulty of the charges they were called upon to canvass, might be allowed them. This being peremptorily refused, Sir George and his associates took such steps, in consequence, as subjected them to the imminent risk of a charge of treason: "it is impossible to plead for a traitor," said the young lawyer, "without speaking treason!" an antithesis certainly more bold than true, but calculated to make a considerable impression upon the multitude. The counsel only escaped from the consequences of their rashness by the special mercy of the court.

The purely literary labours of this eminent person appear to have been chiefly executed during his earlier years. His "*Religio Stoici*," or a short Discourse upon Several Divine and Moral Subjects," appeared in 1663. Two years afterwards he published his *Moral Essay upon Solitude*, preferring it to public employment, with all its appendages, such as fame, command, riches, pleasures, conversation, &c. This production was answered by the celebrated Evelyn, in a *Panegyric on Active Life*. "It seems singular," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "that Mackenzie, plunged in the hardest labours of ambition, should be the advocate of retirement, and that Evelyn, comparatively a recluse, should have commended that mode of life which he did not choose."¹ But it







is probable that each could write most freshly on circumstances disconnected with the daily events of his life, while speculative ingenuity was all they cared to reach in their arguments. "You had reason to be astonished," says Evelyn, writing to Cowley, "that I, who had so much celebrated recess, should become an advocate for the enemy. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and there is no person who can do more honour, and breathe more after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but as those who praised dirt, a flea, or the gout, so have I public employment, and that in so weak a style compared with my antagonists, as by that alone it would appear that I neither was nor could be serious." In 1667 Mackenzie published his *Moral Gallantry*, one of the reflective treatises of the period, intending to prove the gentlemanliness of virtue, and the possibility of establishing all moral duties on principles of honour—a theory supported by arguments which, had any of the nicer metaphysical minds of the succeeding age thought fit to drive to their ultimate principles, they might have found to be somewhat inimical to the author's hearty Church of England feelings, or even the principles of Christianity. But Mr. Mackenzie was not a metaphysician, and religion required to be plainly spoken in terms of Presbyterianism or Papistry, before it attracted his legal attention. To this production he added a *Consolation against Calumnies*. The fiery course of politics which he had afterwards to run, made a hiatus of considerable extent in the elegant literary pursuits of Mackenzie; but after his retirement from public life he wrote another work which may be classified with those just mentioned—*The Moral History of Frugality*; nor in this classification must we omit his *Essay on Reason*. Mackenzie had associated himself with the elegant wits of England, and his opportunities enabled him, if he was inferior in the actual bullion of genius to many of his countrymen who had gone before him, to give it a more elegant, or at least fashionable form. It is probable that any direct imitation, on the part of Mackenzie, may have been from the writings of Cowley, who, in the youth of the ambitious Scottish author, was the acknowledged leader of refinement in English composition. From his opponent Evelyn he may also have derived facilities in composition; but it is probable that the best tone he assumed was imparted by the colloquial influence of Dryden. Of Mackenzie that great man has left an interesting memorial:—"Had I time, I could enlarge on the beautiful turns of words and thoughts, which are as requisite in this as in heroic poetry itself. With these beautiful turns I confess myself to have been unacquainted till about twenty years ago, in a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie. He asked me why I did not imitate, in my verse, the turns of Mr. Waller and Sir John Denham, of whom he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, these two fathers of our English poetry, but had not seriously enough considered their beauties, which give the last perfection to their works. Some sprinkling of this sort I had also formerly in my plays, but they were casual and not designed. But this hint, thus seasonably given me, first made me sensible of my own wants, and brought me afterwards to seek for the supply of them in other English authors." This is given by Dryden in his *Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire*, prefixed to his Juvenal, published two years after Mackenzie's death. Mackenzie is characterized by the *Edinburgh Review* as having been in his style not exempt from Scotticisms: "but he is perfectly

free from those, perhaps, more disagreeable vices, into which more celebrated Scottish writers have been betrayed by a constant fear of Scotticism. He composes easily and freely, and his style is that of a man who writes his native language." Meanwhile, along with his elegant prose, he found time and inclination to dabble in poetry. Sometime during his early years at the bar, he wrote *Celias' Country House and Closet*, a poem in English epics, and written in a manner more nearly akin to the style of Pope and his contemporaries, than that which flourished in the author's own time. Such a passage as the following will enable the reader to comprehend at once the merit of the work, and, taking into consideration the political life of the author, its artificial feeling:—

"O happy country life, pure as its air;
Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care;
Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,
And are at once secure and innocent.
No passion here but love: here is no wound,
But that by which lovers their names confound
On barks of trees, whilst with a smiling face
They see those letters as themselves embrace."

Country life, and love in the midst of it, were standing characteristics of the fashionable poetry of the period, and the stormy politician, anxious, like Richelieu, to distinguish himself in song, must submit to them as absolutely as the love-sick swain, to whom they are a natural habit. The author seems to have been apprehensive that the fruit of his more elegant studies would not give the world a favourable opinion of his professional attainments. "The multitude," he says in the conclusion to his *Religious Stoic* "(which, albeit, it hath ever been allowed many heads, yet hath never been allowed any brains), will doubtless accuse my studies of adultery, for hugging contemplations so eccentric to my employment. To these my return is, that these papers are but the parings of my other studies, and because they were but parings I have flung them out into the streets. I wrote them in my retirements, when I wanted both books and employment; and I resolve that this shall be the last inroad I shall ever make into foreign contemplations."

Let us now turn from his literature to the political and professional advancement which interfered with its progress, or at least changed its course. Soon after the Restoration he was appointed a justice-depute, or assistant to the justiciar or chief-justice; a situation, the duties of which were almost equivalent to that of an English puisne judge of the present day, in criminal matters. He must have received the appointment very early in life, as in 1661 he and his colleagues were appointed to repair "once in the week at least to Musselburgh and Dalkeith, and to try and judge such persons as are ther or therabout delated of witchcraft;" and the experience in the dark sciences obtained by him in this occupation, provided him with much grave and learned matter for his work on the criminal law of Scotland. Within a few years after this period (the time is not particularly ascertained) he was knighted. In 1669 he represented the county of Ross, where the influence of his family was extensive, in parliament. During that year the letter of Charles, proposing the immediate consideration of a plan for an incorporating union of the two kingdoms, was read in parliament. Sir George, an enemy to everything which struck at the individual consequence and hereditary greatness of the country in which he held a stake, opposed the proposition. He tells us, in his amusing memoirs of the period, that when the commissioner proposed an answer, closing with the king's proposals, and entitling him to the election of the commissioner, he

moved that the parliament should have a day for the consideration of so serious a matter, as there might be questions about succession to be discussed, "whereupon the commissioner rose in a great passion, and told that he consented that the parliament should deliberate upon the letter now read till to-morrow; but that he understood not how any member of parliament could be so bold as to inquire into the succession, upon a supposition that his majesty, and all the present royal line, should fail." Next day Sir George came prepared with a speech on the subject. Of this somewhat interesting effort he has given us a transcript, which is generally understood to be the earliest authentically reported specimen of legislative eloquence in Scotland. It is compact, clear, accurate, well composed, without flights of ardour, and therefore destitute of the burning impetuosity which afterwards distinguished Fletcher and Belhaven. On the whole, it appears, in its present form at least, to have been composed in the closet. His reasoning, when the aim is considered, was prudent and cautious—he considered and doubted "whether it was suitable to our honour to advance in this union three steps before England met us in one: and that we have done so in this letter appears from this, that to treat of a union is one step; the second is to name commissioners; the third is to appoint their quorum, time, and place of their meeting: all which are several steps, because they behoved, if they had been concluded in parliament, to have had several votes and conclusions." He also doubted "whether it were fitter for his majesty's service, and the intended treaty, that the nomination of the commissioners should be referred to his majesty, or rather that they should be nominated in parliament." His speech gave great offence to those who had peculiar grounds for objecting to long harangues. "About the close of his discourse he was interrupted by the Earl of Tweeddale, who said, that such long discourses were intolerable, especially where they intended to persuade the parliament not to comply with his majesty's desires—which interruption was generally looked upon as a breach of privilege—and it was desired by Duke Hamilton, that the Earl of Tweeddale should go to the bar; but the gentleman who was interrupted declared that he had not been interrupted, but had finished his discourse; and, thereupon, that motion took no further effect."

Sir George sought distinction in his course through parliament by popular measures. In 1669 an act had been passed compelling merchants to make oath as to their having paid duties on their merchandise. "The commissioner had that day said that the stealing of the king's customs was a crime, which was to be provided against; whereupon Sir George Mackenzie replied, that if it was a crime, no man could be forced to swear for it; for by no law under heaven was it ever ordained that a man should swear in what was criminal. This, and all other passages of that day, joined with Sir George owning the burghs, in which it was alleged he had no proper interest, made his grace swear, in his return from the parliament, that he would have that factious young man removed from the parliament; to effectuate which, he called a council of his favourites, and it was there contrived that his election should be quarrelled, because he held only lands of the Bishop of Ross, but not of his majesty, and so was not a free baron. But they were at last diverted from this resolution by the register, who assured them that this would make the people jealous of some close design to overturn their liberties, which, as they believed, that gentleman defended upon all occasions; and that he would glory in his exclusion, because it

would be believed that they could not effectuate their intentions if he were allowed to keep his place in parliament." Such is his own account of his parliamentary conduct—it may be correct in point of fact, and he has abstained from any mention of the motives. He opposed the act of forfeiture against the western rebels, insisting that no man ought to be found or proved guilty in absence. His account of the opposition of the advocates on the subject of appeals, along with his somewhat suspicious conduct towards his rival Lockhart, have been already detailed.¹ Sir George Mackenzie would have gone to the grave with the character of a patriot, had he not been placed in a position where serving a king was more beneficial than serving the people. On the 23d of August, 1677, he was named king's advocate on the dismissal of Sir John Nisbet. The object of the change was a subject of deep and well-founded suspicion. Sir George states that his precursor, "a person of deep and universal learning, having disobliterated my Lord Hatton, he procured a letter to the lords of session, ordaining them to make inquiry into his having consulted *pro et con.* in the case of the lord-chancellor and Lord Melville, concerning the tailzie of the estate of Leven," and Sir George amiably represents himself as having persuaded Nisbet to stand to his defence. Wodrow observes that he was appointed, "some say upon a very sordid reason;" and Burnet distinctly states that it was for the purpose of prosecuting Mitchell, who had been pardoned four years before for the attempted murder of Sharpe: at all events this was his first duty in his high office—it was one which on the whole required some address. Mackenzie had prepared himself by having been counsel for Mitchell when he was previously tried. "He was a very great instrument," says Wodrow, "in the hands of the Presbyterians, and was scarce ever guilty of moderating any harsh proceedings against them, in the eyes of the prelates themselves."

As the trial of the Earl of Argyre in 1661 was the first important political case in which Sir George had tried his powers as a defender, so was that of his son, in 1681, the first which exercised his abilities as a state prosecutor. In the father's case he had to resist the oppressive fictions of the crown lawyers, but all he suffered was amply repaid on the son. After this celebrated trial he appears to have obtained, as part of the spoil, a gift of the barony of Bute, ratified by the parliament of 1681.² On the recapture of the earl after his escape, Mackenzie was one of those who objected to a new trial, and he accordingly recommended his suffering on his former sentence; he is alleged to have done so from the probability that, owing to the extreme injustice of the sentence, his heirs might probably be restored to their heritage. If such was indeed his motive, no man was ever more improvident of his own fame, or disinterested in sacrificing it for others; but Mr. Laing has shrewdly observed, "No doubt Sir George at the Revolution would assume that merit with Argyre's son, when they sat together in the convention parliament. But he was the man who procured, when king's advocate, that illegal sentence on which he moved for Argyre's execution."³ Meanwhile his professional ingenuity had been employed in the case of the lawburrows, by which a legal form, useful in the defence of the subject against lawless aggression, was, by adding to its natural power the weight of the royal influence, made an engine of oppression. It would be a vain task to enumerate the minor state

¹ In the life of SIR GEORGE LOCKHART.

² *Acts*, viii. 679.

³ *History*, ii. 154.

prosecutions which in this eventful period gave full employment to this active servant of government—most of them are well known, and they were at any rate numerous enough to stamp him in the minds of his opponents with a character which must live with his name—"The blood-thirsty advocate." In the year 1680 he tried the celebrated Cargill, who, among other acts of inefficacious spiritual authority, had pronounced sentence of excommunication on the lord-advocate. When the indictment was read, bearing, in the ordinary terms, that the accused "having cast off all fear of God," &c., the clerk was interrupted by Cargill, who said, "The man who hath caused this paper to be drawn up hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from my infancy; but that man, I say, who took the holy Bible in his hand, and said it would never be well with the land till that book was destroyed, I say, *he* is the man who hath cast off all fear of God." In 1684, after the escape of Sir Hugh Campbell, it being felt necessary that Baillie of Jerviswood should suffer, Mackenzie's energies were exercised on the occasion; and he gained the gratitude of the court by doing what was wanted. Fountainhall has a characteristic note about his proceedings at this period. "Sir William Scott of Harden, fined in 1500 lb. sterling for his ladie's being at a conventicle, and being at one himself. It was said the king's advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, got a previous gift of this fine for journeys to London."¹ Sir George found it necessary to attempt a vindication of his acts, under the title of *A Vindication of the Government of Charles II.*, which, Lord Woodhouselee calmly observes, "will fully justify his conduct in the breast of every man whose judgment is not perverted by the same prejudices, hostile to all government, which led those infatuated offenders to the doom they merited."² Sir George was a calm and thinking man, and his vindication bears the aspect of candour; but it is deficient in conclusiveness. "No age," he says, "did see so many thousands pardoned, nor so many indemnities granted as was in his time: which, as it must be principally ascribed to the extraordinary clemency of the kings he served, so it may be in some measure imputed to the bias which Sir George had to the merciful hand." Sir George leaves out of view that it is possible for one lord-advocate so far to exceed another in the number of his prosecutions as both to acquit and sacrifice more than the whole number accused by his brethren. It was not those who were forgiven, but those who were not forgiven, that fix upon the reign of Charles II., and also upon his Scottish advocate, the indelible character of oppression and bloodthirstiness. It must at the same time be allowed that the acute mind of Sir George Mackenzie was never asleep to practical improvements in jurisprudence, although the lust of power was sufficient to subdue his efforts, or turn them into another course. While he wielded the sword of persecution himself, he did much to unfit it for the use of others. He countenanced and cherished a principle, which called for the examination of all witnesses in criminal cases in presence of the accused, instead of the secret chamber of the privy-council. A frightful fiction of the law of both countries, by which no evidence could be led by a prisoner in opposition to the assertions of the libel made by the prosecutor, as representing the king, was removed by Sir George forty years before it ceased to exist in England; and he put a stop to the system of permitting the clerk of court to be inclosed with the

king for the purpose of assisting him. This was done with a view to preserve the independence of jurymen; but let it be remarked, that in his work on criminal law he advises the total abolition of trial by jury.

In 1686 Mackenzie showed that he had a feeling of conscience, and that his religion, if entirely political, was not accurately squared to personal aggrandizement, by suffering himself to be dismissed for not agreeing to the Catholic projects of James II. In 1688, however, he was restored, on the advancement of his successor Dalrymple to the presidency of the Court of Session.³ The Revolution terminated his political career. At this feverish moment of struggle and disappointment he could so far abstract his mind from politics as to perform the greatest public service which is even now connected with his name, by founding the Advocates' Library. The inaugural speech which was pronounced on the occasion is preserved in his works. The institution has flourished, and redeems Scotland from the imputation of not possessing an extensive public library. After the Revolution Sir George threw himself into the arms of the university of Oxford, the fittest receptacle for so excellent a vindicator of the old laws of divine right. He was admitted a student on the 2d of June, 1690; but he did not long live to feel the blessings of the retirement he had praised, and for the first time experienced. He died at St. James's on the 2d May, 1691. He was still remembered in the national feeling as a great man, and his funeral was one of unusual pomp. He lay several days in state in the abbey of Holyrood House, whence his body was conveyed to the Grayfriars' Churchyard, attended by a procession, consisting of the council, the nobility, the College of Justice, the College of Physicians, the university, the clergy, and many others.

Sir George wrote several works of a more laborious cast than those to which we have referred. His *Institute of the Law of Scotland* is well arranged, but, in comparison with the profoundness of Dalrymple, is meagre, and its brevity makes it of little use. His *Laws and Customs in Matters Criminal* is full of useful information, and is the earliest arrangement (though not a very clear one) of our criminal code. His *Observations on the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency, with the Science of Heraldry as Part of the Law of Nations*, is esteemed by heralds. When Stillingfleet and Lloyd made their critical attacks on the fabulous history of Scotland, Sir George, who seemed to consider it a very serious matter to deprive his majesty of forty ancestors, wrote in 1680 *A Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland*, in which he comes forward as his majesty's advocate, and distinctly hints to the contemners of the royal line, that, had they written in Scotland, he might have had occasion to put his authority in force against them. These works, along with the observations on the acts of parliament, and some other minor productions, were edited by Ruddiman, in two handsome folio volumes, in 1722. His *Memoirs*, or account of his own times, certainly the most interesting of all his works, though promised at that time, was withheld through the timidity of his friends. When long lost sight of, the greater part of it has of late years been recovered to the world. It is full of graphic pictures of the state of the times; and, if not so descriptive in character as Clarendon or Burnet, is often more lively in the detail of incident, and more acute in perceiving the selfish motives of the actors.

¹ Fountainhall's *Notes*, 70.

² *Life of James*, i. Ap. 12.

³ Fountainhall, 267.

MACKENZIE, HENRY, one of the most illustrious names connected with polite literature in Scotland. He was born at Edinburgh in August, 1745, while the citizens were preparing, by ineffectual fortifications, for the dreaded attack of Prince Charles Stuart, then collecting his army in the Highlands.¹ The nativity of Mr. Mackenzie was fixed by himself at a public meeting which he attended late in life upon the venerable alley denominated *Liberton's Wynd*, now removed in order to admit of a bridge for the connection of the High Street with the southern districts of the city. His father was Dr. Joshua, or (as his name is spelled in the *Scots Magazine* for 1800, where his death is recorded), Josiah Mackenzie, an eminent physician. Dr. Mackenzie was, we believe, a native of Fortrose, upon the Moray Frith, but had removed in early life to Edinburgh, where he acquired an extensive practice as a physician, and distinguished himself in the world of letters as author of a volume of *Medical and Literary Essays*.² The mother of the author of the *Man of Feeling* was Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr. Rose of Kilravock, a gentleman of ancient family in Nairnshire.

After being educated at the high-school and university of Edinburgh, Mr. Mackenzie, by the advice of some friends of his father, was articled to Mr. Inglis of Redhall, in order to acquire a knowledge of the business of the exchequer, a law department in which he was likely to have fewer competitors than in any other in Scotland. To this, though not perfectly compatible with the literary taste which he very early displayed, he applied with due diligence; and in 1765 went to London to study the modes of English exchequer practice, which, as well as the constitution of the court, were similar in both countries. While there, his talents induced a friend to solicit his remaining in London, and qualifying himself for the English bar. But the anxious wishes of his family that he should reside with them, and the moderation of an unambitious mind, decided his return to Edinburgh; where he became, first partner, and afterwards successor, to Mr. Inglis, in the office of attorney for the crown.

His professional labour, however, did not prevent his attachment to literary pursuits. When in London he sketched some part of his first and very popular work *The Man of Feeling*, which was published in 1771, without his name, and was so much a favourite with the public, as to become, a few years after, the occasion of a remarkable fraud. A Mr. Eccles of Bath, observing the continued mystery as to the author, laid claim to the work as his own, and, in order to support his pretensions, transcribed the whole with his own hand, with an appropriate allowance of blottings, interlineations, and corrections.

So plausibly was this claim put forward, and so pertinaciously was it adhered to, that Messrs. Cadell and Strachan, the publishers, found it necessary to undeceive the public by a formal contradiction.

Though Mr. Mackenzie preserved the anonymity of the *Man of Feeling* for some years (probably from prudential motives with reference to his business), he did not scruple to indulge, both before and after this period, in the literary society with which the Scottish capital abounded. He informs us in his *Life of Home* that he was admitted in boyhood as a kind of page to the tea-drinkings which then constituted the principal festive entertainment of the more polished people in Edinburgh: and his early acquaintance with Hume, Smith, Robertson, Blair, and the rest of the literary galaxy then in the ascendant, is evidenced from the same source. He was an early intimate of the ingenious blind poet Dr. Blacklock; and at the house of that gentleman, as we have been informed by a survivor of the party, then a youthful boarder in the house, met Dr. Johnson and Boswell when the former was passing through Edinburgh on his journey to the Hebrides. To quote the words of our informant—"Several strangers had been invited on the occasion (it was to breakfast); and, amongst others, Dr. Mackenzie, and his son the late Mr. Henry Mackenzie. These gentlemen went away before Dr. Johnson; and Mrs. Blacklock took the opportunity of pronouncing a panegyric upon the father and son, which she concluded by saying, that though Dr. Mackenzie had a large family, and was married to a lady who was his son's step-mother, nevertheless the son lived with his own wife and family in the same house,³ and the greatest harmony obtained among all the parties. On this Dr. Johnson said, 'That's wrong, madam;' and stated a reason, which it were as well to leave unchronicled. This settled Mrs. Blacklock's opinion of the doctor. Several years ago, on calling to remembrance the particulars of this breakfast with Mr. Henry Mackenzie, he said there was another reason for Mrs. Blacklock's dislike: she had filled no less than twenty-two cups of tea to Dr. Johnson at this breakfast; which, I told Mr. M., was too many, for Mrs. Blacklock had appointed me to number them, and I made them only *nineteen*!"⁴

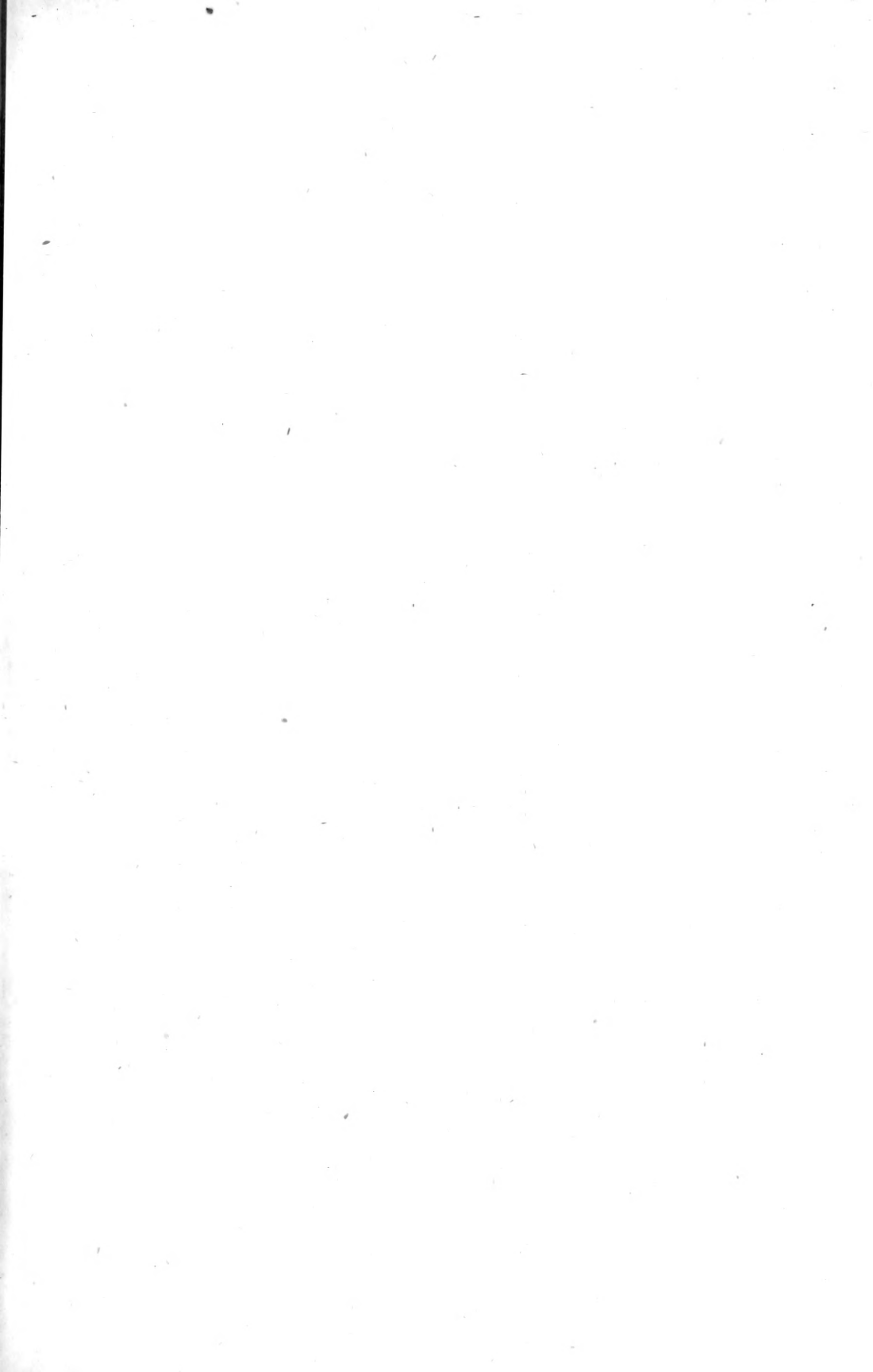
Some years after the publication of the *Man of Feeling*, Mr. Mackenzie published his *Man of the World*, which was intended as a counterpart to the other. In his former fiction he imagined a hero constantly obedient to every emotion of his moral sense. In the *Man of the World* he exhibited, on the contrary, a person rushing headlong into misery and ruin, and spreading misery all around him, by pursuing a happiness which he expected to obtain in de-

¹ Sir Walter Scott, in the memoir of Mr. Mackenzie prefixed to his novels in Ballantyne's *Novelist's Library*, states that his birth took place "on the same day on which Prince Charles landed." This, however, is incompatible with the fact of Mr. M. having been born in August, as the prince landed on the 25th of July. We may here also mention that the original source of the memoir itself was not, as implied by Sir Walter, a Paris edition of the *Man of Feeling*, but a publication entitled *The British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits*.

² "We have heard that some of Harley's feelings were taken from those of the author himself, when, at his first entrance on the dry and barbarous study of municipal law, he was looking back, like Blackstone, on the land of the Muses, which he was condemned to leave behind him. It has also been said, that the fine sketch of Miss Walton was taken from the heiress of a family of distinction, who ranked at that time high in the Scottish fashionable world. But such surmises are little worth the tracing; for we believe no original character was ever composed by any author, without the idea having been previously suggested by something which he had observed in nature."—Sir Walter Scott, in Ballantyne's *Novelist's Library*.

³ Their residence was in one of the floors of a tall house at the junction of the Cowgate and Grassmarket, either above or below a floor occupied by Mrs. Syme, the maternal grandmother of Lord Brougham.

⁴ Our correspondent's introduction to this anecdote may be deemed worthy of the reader's notice. "I was twice in company with Dr. Johnson, when he came to Edinburgh, on his journey to the Hebrides. Being then a boarder in Dr. Blacklock's, my request to be present at the breakfast given to Dr. Johnson was readily granted. The impression which I then received of him can never be effaced; but it was not of an unpleasant nature. He did not appear to me to be that savage which some of my college companions had described him: on the contrary, there was much sauvage and kindness in his manner and address to Dr. Blacklock. The blind poet generally stood in company, rocking from one side to another; he had remarkably small white hands, which Dr. Johnson held in his great paws during the most part of the time they conversed together, caressing and stroking them, as he might have done those of a pretty child." It is necessary to mention that the great moralist was, by Boswell's showing, in one of his gentlest moods on this occasion.







fiance of the moral sense. His next production was *Julia de Roubigné*, a novel in a series of letters, designed, in its turn, as a counterpart to the *Man of the World*. "A friend of the author," says Sir Walter Scott, "the celebrated Lord Kames, we believe, had represented to Mr. Mackenzie in how many poems, plays, and novels, the distress of the piece is made to turn upon the designing villany of some one of the *dramatis personæ*. On considering his observations, the author undertook, as a task fit for his genius, the composition of a story, in which the characters should be all naturally virtuous, and where the calamities of the catastrophe should arise, as frequently happens in actual life, not out of schemes of premeditated villany, but from the excess and over-indulgence of passions and feelings in themselves blameless, nay, praiseworthy, but which, encouraged to a morbid excess, and coming into fatal and fortuitous concurrence with each other, lead to the most disastrous consequences. Mr. Mackenzie executed his purpose; and as the plan fell in most happily with the views of a writer whose object was less to describe external objects than to read a lesson to the human heart, he has produced one of the most heart-wringing histories which has ever been written. The very circumstances which palliate the errors of the sufferers, in whose distress we interest ourselves, point out to the reader that there is neither hope, remedy, nor revenge."

In 1777 or 1778 a number of young men of literary taste, chiefly connected with the Scottish bar, formed themselves into an association for the prosecution of their favourite studies, which came to bear the name of the Mirror Club. An account of this fraternity, of its members, and of the way in which they conducted their meetings, has already been given under the article WILLIAM CRAIG, being derived from the oral information of Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, the latest survivor of the society.¹ Of the Mirror Club Mr. Mackenzie was readily acknowledged chief; and accordingly, when it was resolved to issue their literary essays in a small weekly paper, resembling the *Spectator*, he was appointed to undertake the duties connected with the publication. The *Mirror* was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, in the shape of a small folio sheet, price three halfpence, and terminated on the 27th of May, 1780, having latterly been issued twice a week. Of the one hundred and ten papers to which the *Mirror* extended, forty-two were contributed by Mr. Mackenzie, including "La Roche," and several others of the

most admired of his minor pieces. The sale during the progress of the publication never exceeded 400 copies; but this was more than sufficient to bring it under the notice of a wide and influential circle, and to found the reputation it has since enjoyed. When re-published in duodecimo volumes, a considerable sum was realized from the copyright, out of which the proprietors presented £100 to the Orphan Hospital, and treated themselves to a hogshead of claret, to be drunk at their ensuing meetings.

The *Lounger*, a work of exactly the same character, was commenced by the same writers, and under the same editorship, February 6, 1785, and continued once a week till the 6th of January, 1787; out of the hundred and one papers to which it extended, fifty-seven are the production of Mackenzie. One of the latter papers the editor devoted to a generous and adventurous critique on the poems of Burns, which were just then published, and had not yet been approved by the public voice. As might have been expected, Mackenzie dwells most fondly on the Addresses to the Mouse and the Mountain Daisy, which struck a tone nearest to that prevailing in his own mind.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Mr. Mackenzie became one of the members; and amongst the papers with which he enriched its *Transactions* are an elegant tribute to the memory of his friend Lord Abercromby, and a memoir on German tragedy; the latter of which bestows high praise on the *Emilia Galotti* of Lessing and on the *Robbers* by Schiller. For this memoir he had procured the materials through the medium of a French work; but desiring afterwards to enjoy the native beauties of German poetry, he took lessons in German from a Dr. Okely, who was at that time studying medicine in Edinburgh. The fruits of his attention to German literature appeared further in the year 1791, in a small volume, containing translations of the *Set of Horses* by Lessing, and of two or three other dramatic pieces. But the most remarkable result of his studies in this department was certainly the effect which his memoir produced on the mind of Sir Walter Scott, then a very young man. It gave a direction to the genius of this illustrious person, at a time when it was groping about for something on which to employ itself; and, harmonizing with the native legendary lore with which he was already replete, decided perhaps that Scott was to strike out a new path for himself, instead of following tamely on in the already beaten walks of literature.

Mr. Mackenzie was also an original member of the Highland Society; and by him were published the volumes of their *Transactions*, to which he prefixed an account of the institution and the principal proceedings of the society. In these *Transactions* is also to be found his view of the controversy respecting Ossian's poems and an interesting account of Gaelic poetry.

Among Mackenzie's compositions are several political pamphlets—all upon the Tory side; the first being *An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of 1784*, in which he strongly defended the views of his friend Mr. Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville. At the time of the French revolution he wrote various tracts, with the design of counteracting the progress of liberal principles in his own country. These services, with the friendship of Lord Melville and Mr. George Rose, obtained for him in 1804 the lucrative office of comptroller of taxes for Scotland, which he held till his death.

In 1793 Mr. Mackenzie wrote the life of Dr. Blacklock, prefixed to a quarto edition of the blind poet's works, which was published for the benefit of

¹ Sir William Macleod Bannatyne was born January 26, 1743 o.s., and died November 30, 1833, in his ninety-first year. He was the son of Mr. Roderick Macleod, W. S., whose sister, Lady Clanranald, for protecting Prince Charles in his wanderings, was made prisoner, and kept for some time in confinement in London. The "young Clanranald," who led out his clan in 1745, and took the town of Dundee, was therefore cousin-german to Sir William. The venerable subject of this note passed advocate January 22, 1765, and was the intimate friend of the first Lord Melville when at the bar, and of several other eminent persons in that profession, with whom he used to meet regularly for mutual improvement in forensic and legal business. His contributions to the *Mirror* were five papers, which are pointed out in the latest edition. On the resignation of Lord Swinton in 1799 he was raised to the bench, where he performed the duties of a judge till 1823. On his retirement he received the honour of knighthood. The remainder of his life was spent by Sir William in a cheerful and hospitable leisure at his residence in Whiteford House, near the bottom of the Canongate, where he was for many years the only surviving specimen of the old town gentleman. Sir William was full of anecdote and information respecting the political history of Scotland during the last century, and showed, in conversation with the present writer, as intimate an acquaintance and as lively a recollection of the secrets of the Walpole and Bute administrations, as could be displayed by any living man respecting that of Mr. Canning or the Duke of Wellington.

his widow. Mr. Mackenzie's intimacy with Blacklock gave him an opportunity of knowing the habits of his life, the bent of his mind, and the feelings peculiar to the privation of sight under which Blacklock laboured. In 1812 he read to the Royal Society his *Life of John Home*, which was some years after prefixed to an edition of that poet's works, and also published separately. At the time he read this paper to the society he also laid before them, in connection with it, some *Critical Essays*, chiefly relative to dramatic poetry, which have not been published.

Mackenzie was himself a dramatic writer, though not a successful one. A tragedy written by him in early life, under the name of the *Spanish Father*, was never represented, in consequence of Mr. Garrick's opinion, that the catastrophe was of too shocking a kind for the modern stage; although he owned the merit of the poetry, the force of some of the scenes, and the scope for fine acting in the character of Alphonso, the leading person in the drama. In 1773 Mr. Mackenzie produced a tragedy under the title of the *Prince of Tunis*, which, with Mrs. Yates as its heroine, was performed with applause for six nights at the Edinburgh theatre. Of three other dramatic pieces by Mr. Mackenzie, the next was the *Shipwreck or Fatal Curiosity*, which might be described as an alteration of Lilly's play under the latter of the two names. The comedies entitled the *Force of Fashion* and the *White Hypocrite*, both of which were unsuccessful, complete the list. Mr. Mackenzie's grand deficiency as a dramatic author was his inability to draw forcible characters. His novels and tales charm by other means altogether; but in the drama, striking characters, and a skilful management of them, are indispensable.

In 1808 Mackenzie published a complete edition of his works in eight volumes. From that period, and indeed from one considerably antecedent to it, he might be said to have abandoned literature, though, to use his own affecting image, as employed at one of the meetings of the Royal Society, the old stump would still occasionally send forth a few green shoots. The patronage of the government was unfortunately extended in a somewhat improper shape, in as far as the office bestowed upon him, though lucrative, required unremitting personal labour. He was thus unable, even if he had been willing, to cultivate literature to any considerable purpose. Such leisure as he possessed he spent chiefly in healthy recreations—in shooting particularly, and angling, to which he was devotedly attached, and the former of which he had practised in early life on the ground now occupied by the new town of Edinburgh. He thus protracted his days to a healthy old age, until he finally stood amidst his fellow-men, like Noah amongst his descendants, a sole surviving specimen of a race of literary men—all of whom had long been consigned to the dust. His recollections of the great men who lived in his youth were most distinct and interesting; but it is to be regretted, that with the exception of what he has given in his *Life of Home*, he never could be prevailed upon to commit them to paper. The sole physical failing of his latter years was a slight deafness, which, however, seemed only to give him the greater power of speech, as, by a natural deception of the mind, he probably conceived that what was inaudible to himself was so, or ran the risk of being so, to his hearers also. At length, after a comparatively brief period of decline, he died, January 14, 1831, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

By his wife, Miss Penuel Grant, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, Bart., and Lady Mary Ogilvie, Mr. Mackenzie had eleven children, the

eldest of whom was a judge of the Courts of Session and Justiciary—and a younger, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, one of the members of the privy-council.

As a novelist and essayist, Mackenzie still ranks in the first class, though perhaps rather by a reflection of his former fame, than through any active or sincere appreciation of his writings by the present generation. It is perhaps unfair to judge of the intellectual efforts of an author by any other age than his own, seeing that, as Johnson well remarks, the most of men content themselves if they only can, in some degree, outstrip their predecessors. Yet it is impossible to overlook that Mr. Mackenzie's works are not of a kind to retain the highest degree of popularity beyond the age in which they were written, and that they have been surpassed by many later writers, who, from the greater competition which they had to contend with, have not attained nearly so high an eminence. Mr. Mackenzie lived in an age, when to attain certain proprieties in language, was looked upon as almost the *summum bonum* of authorship of any kind; men had not yet become sufficiently at ease about the vehicle of their thoughts, to direct their attention solely, or even chiefly, as they do now, to the sense which is conveyed. Hence we find in his works a faultless sweetness and delicacy of diction, which, however, is only a mannerism, though not exactly that of an individual; while the whole scenery, incidents, and characters, instead of being taken directly from nature, are little more than a vivification of what have been the stock of fictitious writers from the commencement of the art. The *real life* with which Mr. Mackenzie was acquainted, must have been in a great measure the same from which Sir Walter Scott afterwards fashioned his immortal narratives; but this to Mackenzie Fashion had forbidden, and he had not the force to break through the rules of that tawdry deity. He was content to take all his materials at second-hand, to grapple only with that literary human nature, which, like certain dresses on the stage, runs through all books from perhaps some successful model of antiquity, without ever gathering a spark of the genuine article of the living world in its course. Dexterously, we allow, is the mosaic composed, and beautiful is the crust of sentiment in which it was presented. As works of art, the novels and minor stories of Mackenzie are exquisite; but, nevertheless, they could never have attained so great a celebrity, if they had not appeared at a time when mere art was chiefly regarded by the public, and when as yet men esteemed nature as something not exactly fitted for drawing-room intercourse.

While we thus with great deference express an unfavourable opinion of his merits as a writer of fiction, we allow to Mr. Mackenzie the highest credit as a moralist, and also as a composer of language, which is to be esteemed as no mean accomplishment, and depends more upon native gifts than is generally supposed. The moral sense of Mackenzie was in the highest degree pure, tender, and graceful; and has imbued his writings with a character for which they can hardly ever fail to be esteemed. "The principal object of all his novels," says Sir Walter Scott, "has been to reach and sustain a tone of moral pathos, by representing the effect of incidents, whether important or trifling, upon the human mind, and especially on those which were not only just, honourable, and intelligent, but so framed as to be responsive to those finer feelings to which ordinary hearts are callous." The sweet collocation of the words in which all these efforts are made, combines to render the effect, to an extraordinary degree, soothing, refining, and agreeable.

MACKINNON, COLONEL DANIEL. This brave soldier, who acquired high military reputation in the Peninsular war and at Waterloo, was born in 1791, and was second son of William Mackinnon, chieftain of the ancient clan of that name in the western Highlands of Scotland. This chieftainship, however, had dwindled into a mere lairdship, in consequence of the abolition of the patriarchal government in the Highlands, and Daniel, whose energies a century earlier might have been wasted in some petty feud or *spreagh*, was reserved to be one of the honoured heroes in a great European warfare. At the early age of fourteen he entered the army as ensign in the Coldstream Guards, and quickly won the esteem of his brother-officers by his activity, cheerfulness, and kind disposition, which was further increased when he had an opportunity of showing his valour in the field. His first service, however, was nothing more than a little harmless marching and countermarching; for his regiment, which was ordered to Bremen in 1805, to co-operate with the Prussians and their allies, never came in sight of the enemy. After its return, the Coldstream regiment, in 1807, was sent with the armament against Copenhagen, where the land-service was not in requisition. Two years more elapsed of mere warlike parade, which, however, was brought to an end when Mackinnon embarked with his regiment for the Peninsula in 1809, after he had attained in it the rank of lieutenant.

The military life of an officer so young as Mackinnon, and holding such a subordinate rank, can be nothing else than a record of personal daring and hairbreadth escapes; he obeys the commands and fulfils the wishes of his superiors, through every difficulty and at whatever risk, and thus establishes his claim to be a commander in turn. Such was the case with the subject of this brief notice. He was appointed aide-de-camp to General Stopford, who commanded the Guards, and had thus an opportunity of distinguishing himself through the whole course of that terrible and eventful war from 1809 to 1814. And these opportunities were neither shunned nor neglected, so that the bivouac and the mess-table were enlivened with tales of his personal prowess and daring. On one occasion his supreme contempt of danger partook of the ludicrous. While our army was passing a defile, and debouching from it, there was one spot in which part of the troops were exposed to a very heavy fire. But in this post of peculiar peril, Captain Mackinnon was found performing the duties of the toilet, and lathering and shaving his chin as coolly as if he had been fifty miles from the scene of action. No sight was better calculated to animate dispirited soldiers; they rushed immediately to the onset, and drove the French before them. No wonder that the soldiers loved and were ready to follow an officer who, let the risk be what it might, was ready to encounter or abide his full share. But he was equally endeared to his brother-officers by his overflowing kindness and invincible good nature, so that, during the whole of these trying campaigns, in which patience was tempted to the uttermost, he never gave offence, or adopted a subject of quarrel.

After having taken part in every battle from Talavera to Toulouse, the peace of 1814 released Mackinnon from active military duty. It is pleasing also to add, that his services had been appreciated, for he was at once raised from the rank of captain to that of lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstream regiment. Relying upon the promise of a lasting peace, he returned to England, but was suddenly roused, like many of his brethren upon leave of absence, by the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, and the astounding events that followed in quick succession. Napoleon

was once more upon the throne of France, and a fresh war was inevitable. Knowing this, Colonel Mackinnon hurried to Ramsgate to join his regiment, now quartered in Brussels, but not finding the expected vessel ready to sail, he threw himself, with another officer, into an open boat, and reached Ostend in time to join in the engagements of the 16th and 17th of June, and finally in the great battle of Waterloo.

Of the many hundreds of episodes that constitute this great military assize of the nations, out of which so many volumes of history and biography have been constructed, and amidst the *millé* of wonderful charges and brave deeds that occurred every moment, and over every part of the field, we must limit our attention to a thousandth part of the great event, and attend exclusively to the movements of Mackinnon. Amidst the fire, he had three horses shot under him. In one of these volleys by which he was successively brought down, he was himself shot in the knee, his sword flew from his hand, and in falling he alighted upon a prostrate French officer, who was wounded like himself. Mackinnon immediately took possession of the Frenchman's sword, with an apology for using it, as he had lost his own, mounted a fresh horse, and continued to charge at the head of his regiment, until he was detached with 250 of his Coldstreams, and 1st regiment of Guards, for the defence of the farm of Hougoumont. This was the key of Wellington's position, and Mackinnon was ordered to defend it to the last extremity. And well do the records of Waterloo testify how faithfully this command was obeyed. For a considerable period the whole interest of the conflict was converged round this farm and its outhouses, the possession of which was of the utmost importance to Napoleon, so that mass after mass of French grenadiers was hurled against it in rapid succession, with golden promises to the first who entered; but as fast as they approached the walls, the close steady fire from within tore their ranks into shreds, and strewed the ground with the dead and wounded; and as fast as they fell back, Mackinnon and his little band sallied from their defences, piled up the dead bodies in front of the doors as a rampart, and hurried back to their posts to await the fresh inundation of fire and steel that came sweeping down upon them. Again and again was this manœuvre successfully performed, but in the midst of imminent peril, by which the brave band of defenders was reduced to a handful. Still, the utmost efforts of Napoleon upon this point were defeated, and Hougoumont was saved. At last the farmhouse was relieved, and Mackinnon with his party joined the British army, now assailants in their turn. But the wound which he had previously received in his knee from a musket-shot, and which he had disregarded during the whole of the action, now occasioned such pain, accompanied with loss of blood, that he fainted, and was carried off the field in a litter to Brussels, where he was treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness. The wound was healed, but the buoyant activity which had hitherto made exercise a necessary of life to him was broken. As for the sword which he had appropriated to his own use at such a curious crisis, he not only used it gallantly in the defence of Hougoumont, and through the whole action, but ever afterwards wore it on field-days and parade, as a fair trophy of Waterloo.

Thus, at the early age of twenty-four, the military career of this intrepid soldier was closed by the return of universal peace—not, however, without a ten years' service, and having won by his merits a rank which few soldiers so young are privileged to occupy. He still continued to hold his commission in the

army; and a majority in the Coldstream having become vacant, he was induced to purchase it, by which he obtained the rank of a full colonel in the service, and the ultimate command of the regiment.

From the foregoing account it could scarcely be expected that Colonel Mackinnon should also obtain distinction in authorship. Entering the army at the raw age of fourteen, when a stripling's education is still imperfect, and returning to domestic life at a period when few are willing to resume their half-conned lessons, and become schoolboys anew, we are apt to ask, how and where he could have acquired those capacities that would enable him to produce a well-written book? But this, by no means the easiest or least glorious of his achievements, he has certainly accomplished. Soon after the accession of William IV. his majesty was desirous that a full history of the Coldstream Guards should be written, and he selected no other than the gallant colonel of the regiment to be its historian. Such a choice, and the able manner in which it was fulfilled, show that Mackinnon must have possessed higher qualities than those of a mere swordier however brave, and that he must have cultivated them with much careful application after his final return to England. For this, indeed, if nothing more than recreation had been his motive, there was an especial inducement, arising from his wound received at Waterloo, by which he was prevented from more active enjoyments. Although such a task required no small amount of historical and antiquarian research, the origin of the Coldstreams dating so far back as the year 1650, he ably discharged it by his work in two volumes, entitled *The Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, published in 1833, and dedicated by permission to his majesty. In this work he has traced the actions of this distinguished brigade in England and Scotland during the wars of the Commonwealth, Restoration, and Revolution; its services in Ireland, in Holland, and upon the Continent; and finally in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo; and while he has shown a thorough acquaintanceship with the history of these various wars, his work is pervaded throughout not only with the high chivalrous magnanimity of a British soldier, but the exactness of a careful thinker, and the taste of a correct and eloquent writer.

The rest of Colonel Mackinnon's life may be briefly summed up, as it was one of peace and domestic enjoyment. After he had settled in England he married Miss Dent, the eldest daughter of Mr. Dent, M.P. for Pool, a young lady of great attractions, but who brought him no family. With her he led a happy and retired life, surrounded by the society of those who loved him; and cheered, as we may well think, by those studies which he turned to such an honourable account. It was thought that, from his strong robust frame and healthy constitution, he would have survived to a good old age; but the sedentary life to which his wound confined him, proved too much for a system so dependent upon active and exciting exercise. After having scarcely ever felt a day's illness, he died at Hertford Street, May Fair, London, on the 22d of June, 1836, being only forty-six years old.

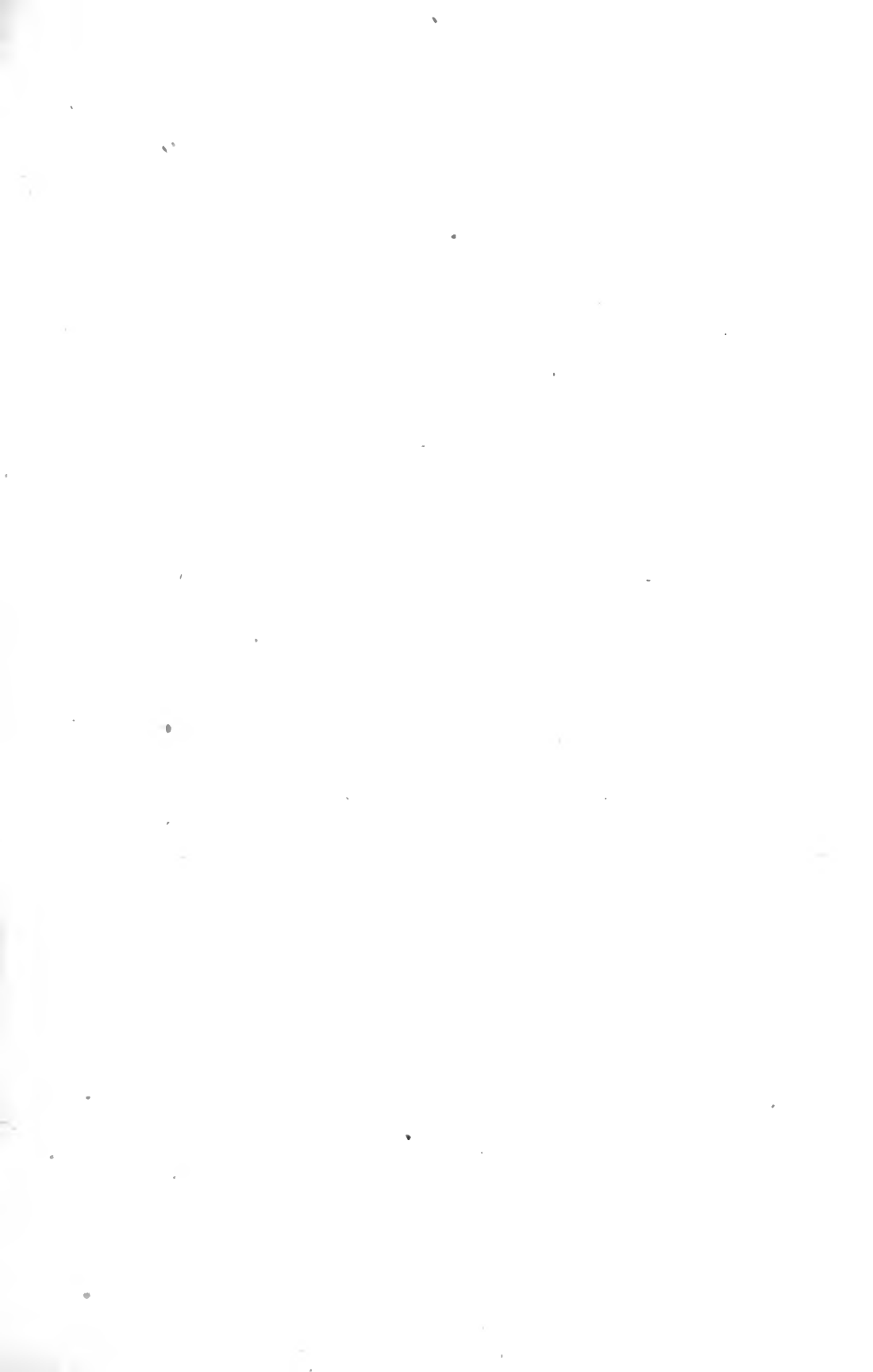
MACKINTOSH, SIR JAMES, a distinguished historian and statesman, was born on the 24th of October, 1765, at Alldowrie, the residence of his grandmother, situated on the banks of Loch Ness, about seven miles from Inverness. He was in his own person, being the eldest of three children, the representative of the Killochy branch of the family of Mackintosh (a property which they acquired in the

fifteenth century), and was the eleventh in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, the tenth chief of the clan, who was one of the leaders in the celebrated battle of Harlaw, fought in 1411. The lairds of Killochy, as the eldest branch of the Mackintoshes extant, were always captains of the watch (a feudal military appointment) to the chief of the clan, and acted in this capacity in all the hostilities in which he happened to be engaged.

John Mackintosh of Killochy, father to the subject of this memoir, held a commission for several years in Campbell's Highlanders, and was wounded in the Seven Years' war in Germany. He was afterwards a captain in the 68th regiment, and served with this corps for a considerable time in Gibraltar and other places abroad. He was a man of amiable manners and disposition, and much esteemed by all who knew him. Sir James' mother, Marjory Macgilivray, who died at Gibraltar while he was yet a child, was a daughter of Alexander Macgilivray, Esq., of the state of Carolina.

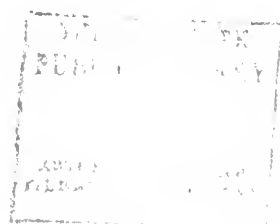
From a very early period of life Sir James discovered a singular propensity to reading—a passion which his father, who had been himself accustomed to an active life, and who desired that his son's pursuits should be of a more stirring kind, endeavoured, but in vain, to subdue. Little foreseeing the eminence to which this studious disposition was one day to raise him, he twitted the boy with his sedentary and monotonous life; telling him, with the view of rousing him to an interest in what was passing around him, that he would become a mere pedant. His attachment to books, however, was too deeply seated in his nature to be removed by such sarcasms, and his father's opposition had the effect only of driving him to do that by stealth which he had done before openly. He rose at midnight when the family had retired to rest, lighted his candle, and pursued his solitary studies unmolested till the approach of morning.

In consequence of his father's being much abroad, the care of young Mackintosh devolved chiefly upon his grandmother—a woman of superior endowments, and to whom he was in a great measure indebted for his early mental discipline. When of sufficient age to leave home, the future historian and statesman was sent to the academy of Fortrose, then the most distinguished seminary in that part of Scotland, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Stalker, one of the masters. Here young Mackintosh rapidly acquired a marked superiority over all his schoolfellows, and his future fame was shadowed forth in a local reputation which gave to "Jamie Mackintosh" the character of a prodigy of learning and talent. His master entertained a similar opinion of him, and, as a proof, devolved upon him, while yet a mere boy, nearly the entire management of the classical department of the school. At this period too he began to discover that talent for oratory and declamation by which he so eminently distinguished himself in after-life. The eloquence, however, on which latterly "listening senates hung" was at this period poured out from the top of the grave-stones in the churchyard of Fortrose, on which the young orator used to mount in moments of enthusiasm, and declaim from Shakspeare and Milton to a wondering, gaping, and admiring audience of his schoolfellows. The political opinions which distinguished Mr. Mackintosh throughout his life were also very early formed. He was said by a lady, a relative of his own, to have been "born a Whig," but he certainly was not this by inheritance, for his friends and connections were all staunch Tories and Jacobites, and they did not view without regret and sorrow the apostasy of this scion of the house of









Killochy. The youthful fancy, however, of the heir to that venerable title had been captivated by the descriptions of the democracies of Greece and Rome, which he found in his favourite classics, and he formed opinions of his own on the subject of political freedom with but little reference to the creed of his family. Pym, Hampden, and Algernon Sidney were the objects of his idolatry; their example excited him, and their writings imbued him with those political principles which "grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength." The Utopian notions, however, which so often misled men of weak minds, had no such effect on Mr. Mackintosh. He saw the necessity of sobering down all such fanciful theories to the level of real life. He was above all impressed with the necessity of circumscribing his ideas of political freedom by the great outlines of the British constitution. In his own impressive and figurative language, he desired, that the light which might break in on England should be "through well-contrived and well-disposed windows, and not through flaws and breaches, the yawning chasms of our ruin."

The singular talents which young Mackintosh discovered while at Fortrose, and the extraordinary proficiency which he made in his studies, determined his friends to bestow upon him a university education, and he was accordingly, through the kindness of a relative, placed in King's College, Aberdeen, under Mr. Leslie. He here also attended the lectures of James Dunbar, LL.D., professor of moral philosophy, and Mr. William Ogilvie, professor of humanity. While at Aberdeen he formed an acquaintance and intimacy with the late Rev. Robert Hall of Leicester, which continued throughout their future lives. They were inseparable while at college, and a biographical sketch of his deceased friend was amongst the last literary efforts of Mackintosh. It was intended for the new edition of Mr. Hall's works, published by Dr. Gregory.

Having acquired a complete knowledge of Greek and mathematics, Mr. Mackintosh, who had now determined on adopting the medical profession, repaired to Edinburgh to complete his education at the university of that city. Here he attended the lectures of Dr. Cullen and Professor Black, preparatory to his taking the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and applying himself to regular practice in that profession. He also joined the well-known literary club called the Speculative Society, instituted in 1764, in which he became a keen debater, and distinguished himself by the boldness of his opinions, and the ability and eloquence with which he expounded and maintained them. Amongst his associates at this period were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Gillies, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Moncrieff, and the Earl of Lauderdale; and amongst the number of his friends, the illustrious author of the *Wealth of Nations*, who early discovered, and warmly encouraged, the promising talents of the young orator.

It was at this period that Mr. Mackintosh's mind became seriously directed towards general literature, and to moral, political, and speculative philosophy, the result of his studying, which he did with the most serious attention, the works of Robertson, Smith, Clark, and Brown, who were then in the zenith of their fame. Having received his medical degree, although he had now determined to abandon that profession, to which indeed he had never been attached, he set out for London in the year 1787, in company with the eldest son of Sir James Grant of Grant, who had about this period become knight of the shire for the county of Moray. Undetermined as to his future pursuits, he lingered idly about the

metropolis for some time, made a short visit to the Continent, and finally returned to study law, having fairly parted with physic. In the year following, viz. 1788, he succeeded, by the death of his father, to the estate of Killochy, now worth about £900 per annum. Method and economy, however, were not at this period amongst the number of Mr. Mackintosh's virtues, and notwithstanding this handsome accession to his means, he soon found himself involved in such pecuniary difficulties as compelled him to part with his patrimonial inheritance for the very inadequate sum of £9000. Still but loosely attached to his professional studies, he now directed his attention to the science of politics, and in 1789 published a pamphlet on the *Regency Question*, in which he asserted the constitutional right of the heir-apparent to supply his father's place in the circumstances which then gave rise to the discussion. Pitt's theory, however, prevailed, and thus the first published literary essay of Mr. Mackintosh was found upon the losing side. Hitherto he had attracted but little public notice, and had been foiled in his attempt to obtain political celebrity. Both of these, however, were awaiting him, and on no distant day. In 1791 he published his celebrated work entitled "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, or a Defence of the French Revolution and its English Admirers, against the Accusations of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke; including some Strictures on the late Production of Monsieur de Calonne," an octavo volume of 379 pages. This work he sold, while yet but partly written, for a trifling sum; but the merits and success of the production induced the publisher to depart from the original contract, and to give its author triple the sum stipulated for. The first two editions were disposed of within four months; and a third appeared in the end of August, 1791. The extraordinary talent which this work displayed, procured Mr. Mackintosh an extensive and illustrious circle of acquaintances, in which were, amongst others, Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Fox, the Duke of Bedford, and his celebrated antagonist Burke himself, who, soon after the appearance of the *Vindiciæ*, opened a correspondence with him, and it is said succeeded in changing and modifying to a considerable extent many of the opinions of its author.

Mr. Mackintosh now (1792) entered himself as a student of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1795 was called to the bar by that society; but did not for several years thereafter attain any considerable practice. He attended the courts, however, and went the Norfolk circuits, but without much improvement to his business.

With the view of enlarging his income, which the want of professional success kept within narrow bounds, he, in the year 1798, announced his intention of delivering a course of lectures on "The Law of Nature and of Nations." A suspicion of his motives in a political point of view raised some obstacles in the way of this attempt; but these being effectually removed by his introductory lecture, which was printed under the title of *A Discourse on the Law of Nature and of Nations*, and which drew the most flattering eulogiums from both Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, he was permitted to proceed, and delivered his course in Lincoln's Inn Hall to a large and respectable audience. These "Discourses" are allowed by all to comprehend nearly every excellency which human sagacity and human intelligence can bring to bear on such subjects; profundity and felicity of thought, high intellectual power, and chaste and elegant language.

After the general election of 1802 Mr. Mackintosh was retained as counsel in several controverted cases,

and acquitted himself with great ability before committees of the House of Commons, but still without attracting much public notice as a barrister. Next year, however, a case was put into his hands which at once gained him the highest professional reputation. This was the defence of M. Peltier, editor of *The Ambigu*, a French journal, for a libel against Bonaparte, then first consul of France, and at that time at peace with this country. The trial took place on the 21st of February, 1803, in the Court of King's Bench. Mr. Mackintosh stood alone and unsupported in the defence of Peltier, against an array of talent on the opposite side which nothing but a strong confidence in his own abilities and intellectual resources could have enabled him to encounter. His principal antagonists in this case were Mr. Perceval, at that period attorney-general, afterwards prime minister, and Mr. Abbot, afterwards Lord Tenterden. Mr. Mackintosh's pleading on this celebrated trial was one of the most masterly efforts of the kind which had ever been witnessed. It was one continued strain of powerful, impressive, and classical eloquence. His whole energies were concentrated in the effort, and the whole stores of his vast and retentive memory, and of his elegant and felicitous fancy, were brought forth and mingled with the current of his eloquence, imparting to it a richness which great and original minds only can produce. His speech on this occasion was declared by Lord Ellenborough to be "the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." A still more flattering compliment was paid the orator by Madame de Stael, who translated the speech into French, in which shape it was circulated throughout Europe.

Mr. Mackintosh was at this period professor of general polity and the laws in the East India College at Hertford, an appointment which the reputation he had acquired from his *Lectures on the Law of Nature and of Nations* had obtained for him; but the splendid display of talent which he had exhibited in his defence of Peltier procured him much more powerful patronage, and opened up to him prospects more commensurate to his deserts. He now attracted the notice of the government, and was offered in the same year the recordership of Bombay. This appointment he accepted, though not without some hesitation, and before setting out he received the honour of knighthood. He remained in Bombay for seven years, discharging the grave and important duties of a chief judge with uprightness, integrity, and ability, and qualifying the severity of the law with judicious clemency and mercy. A remarkable and beautiful instance of this occurred during his recordership in Bombay. Two young natives were brought before him, tried and convicted of having conspired to waylay and murder a Dutchman from Cochin. The penalty attached to the crime by the law was death. Some circumstances in the case, however, afforded Sir James an opportunity of extending mercy to them so far as to save their lives, and he availed himself of it. The prisoners were in the meantime withdrawn from the bar, and during this interval came to a resolution, between themselves, of murdering their judge when they should be called up to receive, as they expected, sentence of death, and for this purpose they provided themselves with knives. The design of the ruffians was most providentially discovered in sufficient time to prevent its being carried into effect. The sequel, a story worthy of the best days of Rome, will be best told in the address of Sir James to the culprits, when they were brought again before him to receive the commuted sentence. "I was employed," he said, "in considering the mildest judgment which public

duty would allow me to pronounce on you, when I learned from undoubted authority that your thoughts towards me were not of the same nature. I was credibly, or rather certainly informed, that you had admitted into your minds the desperate project of destroying your own lives at the bar where you stand, and of signalizing your suicide by the previous destruction of at least one of your judges. If that murderous project had been executed I should have been the first British magistrate who ever stained with his blood the bench on which he sat to administer justice. But I could never have died better than in the discharge of my duty. When I accepted the office of a minister of justice, I knew that I ought to despise unpopularity and slander, and even death itself. Thank God I do despise them; and I solemnly assure you that I feel more compassion for the gloomy and desperate state of mind which could harbour such projects, than resentment for that part of them which was directed against myself. I should consider myself as indelibly disgraced, if a thought of your projects against me were to influence my judgment." He then passed sentence on them to be imprisoned for twelve months, the exact amount of punishment he had originally proposed.

During his residence in India, Sir James contributed a number of valuable papers to the *Asiatic Register*, and supplied Dr. Buchanan with a large quantity of material for his voluminous works on India. His return to England was hastened by a severe illness. He left Bombay in November, 1811, retiring from the recordership with a pension of £1200 per annum.

In July, 1813, a little more than twelve months after his arrival in his native country, he was elected, through the interest of Lord Cawdor, as representative for the county of Nairn; an occasion which called him to visit the friends and the scenes of his youth; and no man could be more feelingly alive to associations, which the contemplation of objects familiar to our boyhood, and from which we have been long absent, is calculated to produce. In 1818 he was elected for Knaresborough in Yorkshire, through the influence of the Duke of Devonshire, and was re-chosen at the subsequent elections of 1820, 1826, 1830, and 1831. He was also elected lord-rector of the university of Glasgow in 1822, and again in 1823. Sir James was now become a person to whom a national importance was attached; one of the marked and elevated characters of the country, who had acquired a conventional right to take an active and prominent part in the management of her affairs; and, in consequence, he was appointed in 1828 one of his majesty's privy-council, and on the formation of Earl Grey's administration in 1830 he was made on the 1st December a commissioner for Indian affairs.

In parliament Sir James took a prominent part in all questions connected with foreign policy and international law, but more especially distinguished himself in the discussions on the alien bill, the liberty of the press, religious toleration, the slave-trade, the settlement of Greece, reform in parliament, and on the right of our colonies to self-government. But a question still more congenial to his philanthropic disposition than any of these, devolved upon him on the death of Sir Samuel Romilly. This was the consideration of the best means of amending the criminal law—a code which he had always thought much too sanguinary, and therefore but ill adapted for the ends to which all laws ought to be directed. He thought with Goldsmith, that "a man might see his last crime without dying for it; and that very little blood would serve to cement our security."

His speeches on this subject are full of the most enlightened and statesmanlike views, and combine, in a wonderful degree, all the beauties of eloquence with profound reasoning and just and noble sentiment. So beautiful, indeed, are they, and so powerful the arguments which form their framework, that it excites a feeling of surprise in the reader to find that they did not instantly accomplish their object. They appear irresistible, and seem to comprehend every argument on the point at issue which human ingenuity could devise. As chairman of a committee of the House of Commons on the criminal law, in 1819, Sir James Mackintosh introduced six bills in the course of May, 1820. But three only of these were at the time persisted in, and in the commutation of punishment bill, seven of the eleven offences which it was intended to commute were expunged in the House of Lords, four only being suffered to remain.

Sir James Mackintosh, as already noticed, was in politics a Whig, and all his votes and speeches in parliament were in favour of the opinions and sentiments of that party; but he was perhaps one of the most tolerant of politicians, the natural mildness and benevolence of his disposition never failing to mingle largely in whatever character he assumed, whether author, statesman, or judge. In all he was the same—amiable, forbearing, and conciliating.

One of Sir James' last speeches in parliament was on the bill relating to anatomical dissections, in which he strenuously advocated the propriety, nay necessity, of affording to the profession every facility for obtaining subjects for the dissecting table. His speech on this occasion was remarkable for all that elegance of diction and cogency of argument which distinguished his rhetorical effusions; and indicated, besides, a love of science on the part of the speaker, and a zeal for the welfare of mankind, worthy of a great statesman and of a great philanthropist.

Great as Sir James Mackintosh certainly was as an orator, he was yet greater as an author, and the fame which he derives from the latter character stands on still higher and firmer ground than that on which the former is rested. The *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, published when the author was only in the twenty-sixth year of his age, is an eloquent and powerful political treatise. On all the grand points on which he meets Mr. Burke—the expediency and necessity of a revolution in France—the character of the national assembly—the popular excesses which attended the revolution, &c.—it may be safely assumed, that he obtains the mastery in truth and cogency of argument. It ought to be remembered, that the French revolution had not at this time put on its worst aspect. The great change which had taken place promised to regenerate France, and to renovate civil society; and Sir James Mackintosh, like his master Fox, in his exultation at the dawn of so bright a prospect, could not foresee that it would terminate in bloodshed and tyranny.

Both works are written in a style too ornate and artificial. The rich and fertile genius of Burke, and his vast and multifarious stores of learning, crowded his pages with illustrations from all sources—from history, philosophy, and poetry—and he was not over-solicitous as to their being apposite and correct. On the other hand, Sir James Mackintosh, fresh from his books and burning with zeal, was also ambitious of display, and chastity and purity of diction were neglected by both. Such a contest, however, so splendid a specimen of the literary *duello*, on so magnificent an arena, may not again occur for a considerable length of time. The defence of Peltier is also a masterly performance; but the dissertation

in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his "Life of Sir Thomas More" in Dr. Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, are perhaps the most finished of the acknowledged productions of Sir James Mackintosh. The two volumes of his abridged *History of England* serve rather to show the views he took of certain points of English history, and the philosophy he was able to bring to the task, with his habitual carelessness in minor details, than his talent at composing a connected, consecutive work. These two little volumes,¹ however, contain some striking passages and disquisitions. But in the opinion of Mr. Campbell, who knew Sir James Mackintosh intimately, they were merely the expansion of the prefatory matter which he intended for a great historical work on the affairs of England since the Revolution, and which he had contemplated for several years, and in part written, but was too much impeded in his progress, both by his parliamentary duties and the infirm state of his health, to bring to a conclusion. His labours were, nevertheless, given to the world in 1834, in the form of a disquisition on the causes of the revolution of 1688, exemplifying in its style an excellent dogma of the author, that history ought to be written with feeling, but without passion. He also contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* in its earlier days. An edition of his works, in three volumes (with the exception of the *History of England*) was published in 1846, containing his ethical and historical dissertations, a number of essays on political and literary topics, reviews, and other contributions to periodical publications, and speeches on a variety of subjects delivered at the bar and in parliament.

After what has been said of Sir James Mackintosh's public life and character, it is almost unnecessary to add, that in private life he displayed all the domestic virtues, and all the better qualities of human nature. He was mild, benevolent, generous, humane, and unaffected. Ready at all times to succour the unfortunate and the distressed, he bestowed on all who sought it that assistance which their circumstances required; whether it was his time, his purse, or his advice; and to all three, if desired, the applicant was welcome. The most pleasing characteristic of Hume—that almost infantine simplicity which his friends remarked in his intercourse with them—mingled also in the character of Mackintosh, contrasting finely with its nobler parts. His conversational powers were of the very first order, and never failed to delight all who had the good fortune to enjoy his society. His person was well formed, and above the middle stature. His countenance was intelligent, and exhibited a pleasing compound of grave and gay expression, indicative of a readiness to sympathize with either of these feelings, as chance might direct their appeals to him.

Sir James was in an indifferent state of health for some time previous to his death, but that melancholy event was finally brought on by an accident. While at dinner, about the beginning of March, 1832, a portion of the breast of a fowl, with a fragment of bone in it, which he had attempted to swallow, stuck in his throat, and though afterwards extracted without producing any immediate serious consequences, the accident completely unsettled his general health. His debility from that hour daily increased, till the 30th of May, when he died, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, at his house in Langham Place, having anticipated and met the hour of his dissolution with a firmness and resignation worthy of his past life. He was buried at Hampstead.

¹ The greater part of a third volume was written by Sir James: he breaks off at the era of the Bartholomew massacre.

Sir James Mackintosh was twice married; first in 1789, to Miss Catherine Stewart of Gerrard Street, Soho, sister to the Messrs. Stewart, formerly proprietors of the *Morning Post*, by whom he had issue a son, who died in infancy, and three daughters—viz. Mary, married to Claudius James Rich, Esq., of Bombay—Maitland, married to W. Erskine, Esq.—and Catherine, married to Sir W. Wiseman, Bart. Mrs. Mackintosh died in 1797. He was afterwards married to Catherine, daughter of J. B. Allen, Esq., of Cressella, in Pembrokehire. By this lady, who died at Chesne, near Genoa, on the 6th May, 1830, he had one son and a daughter—viz. Robert Mackintosh, Esq., B.A., fellow of New College, Oxford; and Frances, married to H. Wedgewood, Esq., Staffordshire.

MACKNIGHT, DR. JAMES, a learned scriptural commentator, was born on the 17th of September, 1721. His father, Mr. William Macknight, minister at Irvine, was a native of Ireland, where his ancestors, descended from the family of M'Naughtane, in the Highlands of Scotland, had resided for more than a century. Mr. William Macknight early displayed very popular talents as a preacher; and having, it is said, accidentally officiated in the church of Irvine, sometime after the death of the former incumbent, he gave so much satisfaction to the hearers, that in consequence of a general wish expressed by the parishioners to the patron, he was soon appointed to supply the vacant charge. In this situation he continued during life, universally esteemed for genuine piety, purity of morals, and integrity of character.

Mr. James Macknight, the subject of this memoir, received the rudiments of education at the school of Irvine; and about the age of fourteen was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he studied with great approbation from his teachers, on account of his diligence and proficiency. The notes he then took from the lectures on logic and moral philosophy, before he was sixteen, still remain among his papers, and afford remarkable indications of the same acuteness and soundness of judgment which afterwards characterized his theological writings.

Having completed the usual course of academical discipline at Glasgow, Mr. Macknight went to Leyden, in order to prosecute the study of theology, to which he had shown an early attachment. While he remained in Holland, he had an opportunity of procuring many valuable books, written by foreign divines, which afterwards assisted his own labours in explaining Scripture. After his return to Scotland, having received license from the presbytery of Irvine to preach the gospel, he was chosen to officiate in the Gorbals, a district of Glasgow; a situation which at that time could be held by a licentiate of the church before being ordained to the pastoral function. On this occasion one of the candidates was Mr. Robert Henry, afterwards the well-known historian of Great Britain. It chanced that the gentlemen who were thus placed in competition with each other at the commencement of life, were at last, after an interval of many years, associated as colleagues in the charge of the Old Church parish of Edinburgh.

From the Gorbals Mr. Macknight went to Kilmarnock, in consequence of an invitation from Mr. Fergusson, then minister of that place; and acted for some time as his assistant in the charge of the parish. Here he conducted himself with such propriety, that his character began to be established; and on the death of Mr. Fisher at Maybole, he obtained the vacant living there, with the concurring wish of the heritors and people. Of this charge accordingly he was ordained as minister, on the 10th

of May, 1753. At Maybole Mr. Macknight continued sixteen years, and discharged the duties of the pastoral office with such assiduity and kindness, that, when he left it, he carried with him the affections and regret of all his flock. It may be mentioned as a pleasing evidence of their attachment, that when he proposed accepting a presentation to the living of Jedburgh, many respectable inhabitants of the parish of Maybole joined together in earnestly soliciting him to remain as their pastor; and, in order to obtain his compliance with this request, they offered, not only to augment the value of his income, but to provide him an assistant, should the state of his health render it necessary. This generous proposal, however, he judged it proper, from prudential considerations, to decline.

It was at Maybole, that, amidst his professional occupations in a populous charge, Dr. Macknight composed the first and second of his works. Of the former, indeed, or the *Harmony of the Gospels*, it appears from his papers that the plan had been conceived by him so early as the third or fourth year of his attendance at the university; and from that time he began to collect materials for the publication. The first edition of this book was published in 1756. Although the plan of it differed considerably from that of former harmonies in supposing that the evangelists have not neglected the order of time in the narration of events, the reception it met with from most competent judges was so favourable that the author was encouraged to undertake a second edition, with considerable improvements and additions. This edition appeared in 1763. In the same year was also published by Dr. Macknight another performance of great merit, entitled the *Truth of the Gospel History*, which had been the fruit of the author's studies during the interval between the first and second editions of his *Harmony*. Its object is to illustrate and confirm, both by argument and by appeal to the testimony of ancient authors, what are commonly arranged under the three great titles of the internal, the collateral, and the direct evidences of the gospel history.

By these publications Dr. Macknight soon obtained a high reputation for theological learning. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him (among the first who obtained that distinction in Scotland) the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was in 1769 chosen moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. During the course of the same year he was translated to the parochial charge of Jedburgh, in which he remained about three years, and where he received from his people the most flattering tokens of respect and kindness. In 1772 he was elected one of the ministers of Edinburgh—a preferment for which he was chiefly indebted to the long-continued and steady friendship of the very respectable and highly-esteemed family of Kilkerran. His first charge in Edinburgh was the parish of Lady Yester's, from which he was translated in 1778 to the Old Church, where he continued during the remainder of his life.

Besides performing the ordinary duties of the pastoral function, a minister of Edinburgh, in virtue of his office, is much occupied with public meetings on business of various kinds, especially the management of the different charitable foundations which have long been the boast of the capital of Scotland. On these, accordingly, Dr. Macknight, though he entertained some doubts respecting the good effects of such institutions, bestowed much of his attention; and his judicious counsels of management were undoubtedly productive, at that time, of considerable benefit, in maintaining the strictness of their discip-

line as well as the purity of their administration. Among other objects of such official care, is the fund established by act of parliament for a provision to the widows and children of ministers in the Church of Scotland. As one of the trustees appointed by the act, he had long taken a leading part in conducting the business of this charity; and after the death of Dr. Webster, he was appointed joint-collector with the Rev. Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart.

In the church courts he acted steadily on that system of ecclesiastical policy which for many years had guided the decisions of the General Assembly. At the same time he firmly resisted whatever appeared to him as any infringement on the constitutional law or practice of the church; and accordingly, when some of his moderate friends wished for the abolition of calls, as an unnecessary form in the settlement of ministers, he moved and carried a resolution of the Assembly of 1782 (relative to certain overtures on the subject, then under the discussion of the house), "declaring that the moderation of a call in settling ministers is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this church, and that it ought to be continued;" a resolution which was afterwards converted into a declaratory act, and printed as such in the proceedings of the Assembly for that year.

But what chiefly engaged his mind and occupied his time, after he became a minister of Edinburgh, was the execution of his last and greatest work on the *Apostolical Epistles*; which was published in 1795, in four volumes quarto. Respecting this work, it is perhaps not unworthy of being told, that it was the result of the unremitting labour of almost thirty years; that, notwithstanding his numerous professional avocations, the author, while composing it, was seldom less than eleven hours every day employed in study; and that before it came to the press, the whole manuscript had been written no less than five times with his own hand. At the time of publishing the *New Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, with a Commentary and Notes*, Dr. Macknight was highly indebted to the patronage of the Duke of Grafton; and after the work made its appearance, he received the most honourable testimonies of approbation from many of the bishops and respectable dignitaries of the Church of England, as well as from the ablest divines of all descriptions.

After the publication of this work Dr. Macknight considered himself as having accomplished the greatest object of his life; and wishing to enjoy at the end of his days some relief from the labour of study, he resisted the repeated solicitations of his friends, who earnestly urged him to undertake the illustration of the book of the Acts, on the same plan which he had so successfully followed in explaining other parts of the New Testament. But soon after this period, from the want of their usual exercise, a sensible decline of his faculties, particularly a failure of his memory, was observed by his family. This fact is a striking instance of the analogy between the powers of the body and those of the mind, both of which suffer by inaction; and it furnishes a useful caution to those who have been long habituated to any regular exertion of mind, against at once desisting entirely from its usual efforts; since the effect, in the course of nature, is not only to create languor, but to hasten the progress of debility and failure.

As yet, however (1796), Dr. Macknight's bodily vigour seemed to be but little impaired. In early life he was afflicted with frequent headaches, but after he had reached the age of thirty they seldom returned; and he afforded a singular instance of a sedentary life long continued, with hardly any of

those complaints which it usually induces. This uninterrupted enjoyment of health he owed, under Providence, to a naturally robust make, and a constitution of body uncommonly sound and vigorous, along with regular habits of temperance, and of taking exercise, which he did by walking nearly three hours every day.

Having finished the task he had prescribed to himself as an author, he mingled frequently in the society of his friends, from which, at intervals, he had always received much enjoyment; and long retained the same cheerfulness of temper for which, at the hours of relaxation from severe study, he had been remarkable when in the company of those whom he esteemed. Even after the symptoms of his decline were become visible (1798), his natural sagacity and strength of judgment, as well as his extensive and familiar knowledge of the Scriptures, were still to be discerned in his conversation and public appearances. And so habitual was his anxiety to discharge his duty, that he insisted on officiating for a considerable time after his friends had wished him to withdraw from public labour. It was not, indeed, without much entreaty that he at last consented to accept the services of an assistant.

The disease which terminated his life was the peripneumonia notha, occasioned by an incautious exposure to the severity of the weather, about the end of December, 1799. This distemper, in its progress and issue, resisted the ablest and most assiduous efforts of medical skill. During his illness his mind was composed, tranquil, and resigned; he never complained; and on the morning of the 13th of January, 1800, he expired without a struggle. As in the course of the preceding night he slept but little, the time was employed in hearing passages from the Psalms and Evangelists, which by his own desire were read to him by one of his family. Thus, having spent his life in illustrating Scripture, and exerted the last efforts of his attention in listening with delight to its precious words, he may be truly said to have slept in Jesus.

As a clergyman, the sentiments and conduct of Dr. Macknight were equally characterized by consistency and propriety. In the discharge of every public and private duty of religion, with a constant reliance on divine aid, he was regular and steady. He knew and felt what was becoming in the sacred office which he held; and never departed, on any occasion, from the dignity or decorum of his professional character. Having given himself wholly to the meditation of divine things, he continued in them: in the work of his Master he was steadfast and faithful to the end. His piety was at once sincere, rational, and without ostentation. To be useful in the cause of truth and virtue was his highest ambition; and with all the means of attaining this end which the resources of a well-informed and liberal mind could supply, he united a zeal for the interests of Christianity which terminated only with his life.

When engaged either in private controversy or in the public debates of the church courts, he was always remarkable for speaking strictly to the point at issue. He was likewise distinguished by coolness, discretion, and command of temper; he listened with patience to the arguments of his opponents; and in delivering his opinions he showed himself uniformly open, candid, and explicit. At the same time his talent was rather that of business than of address; he appeared to be better fitted for deciding on the merits of a question in debate, than for soothing the passions or managing the humours of mankind—a qualification rarely possessed but by minds of a superior order.

On various subjects besides those embraced by his profession, his range of knowledge was ample and profound. He perused the writers of antiquity with critical skill; and of his acquaintance with the Greek language, especially the original of the New Testament, his observations on the force of the particles, in his commentary, are a sufficient proof. In the speculations also of metaphysical, moral, and mathematical science, he was a considerable proficient. The fact is, his powers were such as might have been turned with advantage to any department of knowledge or learning.

It may further be noticed, that in conducting the ordinary affairs of life he displayed uncommon prudence and sagacity. He was one of those who are generally attentive to small concerns, but on proper occasions show themselves liberal to a high degree. Of this, different instances occurred in the course of his transactions with his friends; and he was enabled to act on such a principle of generosity, by his usual habits of economy and prudence. Dr. Macknight's external appearance was sufficiently expressive of his character. His countenance was manly and commanding, and his gait remarkably erect and firm.

Dr. Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels* has long been esteemed a work of standard excellence for the students of evangelical knowledge. His *Truth of the Gospel History* has hitherto attracted the notice of the public less than any of his other productions; but it well deserves to be more generally read; since of what it proposes to establish, it contains the most satisfying views that can be suggested by learning, acuteness, and good sense, and is admitted by the best judges to be a performance as useful and instructive as any we have on that important subject. It is, in fact, a kind of storehouse, from which subsequent writers on the same subject have borrowed largely in point of argument and illustration.

The *Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles* is now held in peculiar estimation: and it may be doubted whether the scope of the sacred authors of these writings was ever, in any former age of Christianity, more fully, clearly, and happily stated, than has been done by Dr. Macknight in the general views and illustrations which he has prefixed to the several chapters of the Epistles.

The life of the Apostle Paul, which concludes the fourth volume of the *Translation and Commentary*, is an excellent compendium of the apostolical history, and may be considered as the author's view and illustration of the Acts of the Apostles—the only part of the New Testament writings (besides the Revelation) to which the labours of Dr. Macknight as a commentator were not directed. In all his writings his style, though unambitious of elegance or ornament, is perspicuous and appropriate to the subject.

All Dr. Macknight's works were originally printed in quarto. Of the *Harmony* and the *Epistles* many editions have since been published in octavo. To show the respect which has been paid in England to his various works, the following passage from the *Library Companion* of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin may be quoted. After recommending to the young theologian the works of Lardner, Doddridge, and Watts, Mr. Dibdin says, "Nor let the name of Macknight be forgotten. His works, indeed, are the more exclusive property of the *disciplined theological* student; but the *general* reader will do well to secure his inviting quartos upon the *Gospels* and *Epistles* of the New Testament. In these he will find learning without pedantry, and piety without enthusiasm. In short, no theological collection can be perfect without them. If any man may be said to have exhausted his subject, it is Macknight."

Soon after the time of his being ordained, Dr. Macknight married Elizabeth M'Cormick, eldest daughter of Samuel M'Cormick, Esq., general examiner of the excise in Scotland. Of his family the only one remaining became a clergyman of the Church of Scotland.

MACLAURIN, COLIN, an eminent mathematician and philosopher, was descended from an ancient and respectable family, which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, a solitary but comparatively fertile member of the Hebridean range. His grandfather, Daniel M'Laurin, removed thence to Inverary, and contributed greatly to restore that town, which was nearly ruined in the civil wars. He wrote some memoirs of his own times, and appears to have been a man of superior abilities. John, the son of Daniel, and father of Colin, was minister of the parish of Glendaruel, where he was greatly beloved as a faithful and diligent pastor; he completed a version of the Psalms in *Irish*, which was generally used in those parts of the country where divine service was performed in that language. He married a lady of the name of Cameron, by whom he had three sons. John, the eldest, was for many years one of the ministers of the city of Glasgow, and well known as the author of several essays and sermons; he was also one of the most popular preachers of his day. Daniel, the second son, died at an early age, after having given proofs of surprising genius; and Colin, born at Kilmoddan, in the month of February, 1668. His father died six weeks after, but the loss to the family was not so severely felt as it otherwise might have been, on account of the kind advice and benevolent attention of a worthy uncle, the Rev. Daniel MacLaurin, minister of Kilfinnan, and the careful economy and exemplary virtues of their mother. After remaining in Argyleshire for some time on a small patrimonial estate, which was divided between Mrs. MacLaurin and her sisters, she removed to Dumbarton, for the more convenient education of her children; but dying in 1707, the entire charge of the orphans devolved upon their uncle. Colin, at this time, was nine years old; and although of a delicate constitution, he was remarkable for the quickness of his apprehension and the retentiveness of his memory; he was passionately fond of learning, and pursued his studies with so much zeal and satisfaction, as to be fully qualified to enter the university of Glasgow in two years after his mother's death. He was accordingly placed there under the direction of Mr. Carmichael, an admirable public teacher, who took the greatest pains in superintending his education, and for whom Mr. MacLaurin ever after in life evinced the warmest feelings of gratitude and respect. His proficiency in every branch of elementary learning was so rapid, and his application to study so intense, that his teachers were astonished at the ease and quickness with which he distanced, not only those who were commencing the same class with himself, but those who had the advantage of attending for many sessions before him. His youthful imagination entered with great delight into the beauties of the writings of the ancients, and a taste for classical learning never forsook him during the whole course of his life, notwithstanding the predominant bent of his wonderful genius for the cultivation and improvement of mathematical science. From the time he entered college he kept a diary, in which he carefully noted down the beginning and success of every particular study, inquiry, or investigation, his conversations with learned men, the subjects of those, and the arguments on either side. This was found

among his oldest manuscripts, and in it might be read the names of the celebrated Mr. Robert Simpson, Dr. Johnson, and several other gentlemen of learning and worth, who all seemed anxious who should most encourage our young philosopher, by opening to him their libraries, and admitting him into their most intimate society and friendship. His genius for mathematical learning discovered itself so early as twelve years of age, when, having accidentally met with a copy of *Euclid* in a friend's chamber, he became master in a few days of the first six books without any assistance; and having accomplished this extraordinary enterprise, his predilection for the science of quantity was determined for life. He now made an extraordinary progress, as we very soon after find him engaged in solving the most curious and difficult problems.

At fifteen years of age Mr. Maclaurin took his degree of Master of Arts, having passed through the *curriculum* or public course of lectures appointed by the university, which must be attended before this honour can be gained. The subject he selected for his *thesis* was the "Power of Gravity," and this, according to the custom of the times, it was necessary for him to defend publicly. It may be necessary to observe, for the information of those who are unacquainted with the manner in which such disputations were conducted in Scotland, that the candidate was left free to select for this ordeal any literary or scientific subject he thought proper. The depth and boldness of the topic proposed by young Maclaurin at once revealed what kind of studies had engaged his attention while at the university, and excited the wonder and admiration of all present. In most instances the subjects of disputation were of a trifling kind, and adapted chiefly to afford the candidate an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity and acquaintance with the mood and figure of the school of logic. But the mind of our youthful philosopher disdained to stoop to anything puerile or commonplace, and the sublimity of his subject showed at once the nature of his studies and the depth of his erudition. At that time the philosophy of Newton was comparatively unknown, and even men the most distinguished in science were slow to comprehend the great and important truths it contained. None but those profoundly skilled in geometry could fully comprehend his doctrines, and that of itself excluded many from the study; whilst others were bound in the trammels of the scholastic jargon of Aristotle or the imaginary vortices of Des Cartes. When, therefore, young Maclaurin chose the "Power of Gravity" as the subject of his thesis, it was a presupposition that he was fully acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Newton's discoveries, and upon this occasion he acquitted himself to the wonder and delight of his auditors. He afterwards illustrated the same subject in a most beautiful manner, in the last two books of his account of the philosophical discoveries of Sir Isaac. There is only one instance more in the whole range of literature, that we are acquainted with, of such extraordinary and precocious talent where a predisposition for mathematical science was anything like so strong, and that is in the person of Pascal—whom Bayle calls the Divine—nearly at the same age, though not exceeding that of our youthful philosopher. He, too, by the force of his irresistible genius, in secret and by stealth, may be said to have invented a system of geometrical science, which, to keep him in ignorance of, his father had sacrificed both fame and fortune. It might be invidious to compare the philosophic acquirements of these great men in after life, further than their mutual fondness for classic literature, in which they both proved themselves

elegant writers. They had both a strong sense of religion on their minds, and to those who have perused their works, their most anxious desire must appear to have been to apply the theoretical propositions which were known, or they themselves had demonstrated, so as to promote the real benefit of mankind.

Maclaurin having made such an extraordinary progress in the study of geometry, and having, with little trouble, conquered difficulties which in general are looked upon as so formidable, passed at once to the higher branches of that science; and, instead of being deterred from exertion by the intricacy of the demonstrations which necessarily met him at every step as he proceeded in the investigation of difficult propositions, his energies seemed to acquire new life and vigour to enable him to surmount every obstacle in his way. Nothing delighted him more than to be engaged in difficult and curious problems; and this much is certain, that in his sixteenth year he had already invented many of the finest propositions afterwards published under the title of *Geometria Organica*.

At the beginning of the session in 1714, immediately subsequent to taking his degree, he entered himself as a student of divinity, but he only attended the college for one year longer, when, becoming disgusted at the dissensions that at that time had crept into the church, he relinquished all ideas of becoming a clergyman, and, happily for science, determined to devote himself to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He quitted the university and retired to his uncle's house, at Kilfinnan, in a sequestered part of the country. That good man having, at all times, acted as a father to him, he determined to wait with patience until some secular employment should occur. In this happy seclusion he continued his favourite researches, still cultivating his mind by a perusal of the best classic authors, for which he had naturally the most refined taste. The sublime scenery amidst which he lived, would, at proper intervals, invite him to wander through the lofty mountains and lonely glens, to consider the numberless natural curiosities with which they abound; and here his fancy being warmed by the grand scenes which presented themselves, he would sometimes break out in an ode, or hymn, on the beauties of nature and the perfection of its Author. Of these, some fragments were preserved by his friends, and although we know not if they were ever published, still they must have possessed considerable interest, as serving to develop the openings and improvements of a mind like that of Maclaurin.

When he was only nineteen years old, in the autumn of 1717, a vacancy occurred in the professorship of mathematics in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. For this he presented himself as a candidate, and carried along with him the most ample testimonials from his friends at Glasgow, where he had distinguished himself so eminently. A very able competitor appeared in the field against him, but after a competition, or comparative trial of excellence, which lasted for ten days, Mr. Maclaurin was declared the successful candidate. Being now fixed in his chair he quickly revived the taste for mathematical learning, and raised it higher than it had ever been in that university. He continued at Aberdeen discharging the duties of his office, and had the happiness to perceive his usefulness increasing, and his popularity as a public professor greatly extended. In the vacations of 1717 and 1719 he went to London, with the view of extending his information, and of being introduced to the illustrious men there. As mathematical knowledge was never in so great re-

quest, nor its professors so much honoured at any period in the history of Britain, his fame had already gone before him; but, independent of that, he was furnished with letters of introduction from Professor Simpson and Dr. Clark to the first philosophers of that or any other age. It was this first journey to London that laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes in life. Besides Dr. Hoadly, then Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Samuel Clark, and several other eminent men, he became acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, who not only patronized him as a young man of genius, and possessed of a singular turn of mind for mathematical investigation, but seems to have formed for him a stronger degree of attachment than he was ever known to exhibit towards any one of the numerous candidates for his patronage. This kind preference Mr. Maclaurin ever after considered the greatest honour and happiness of his life. Long before he meditated his journey to London he was an enthusiastic admirer of the philosophy of Newton, and of the almost superhuman genius of its inventor. To him he therefore submitted his treatise on the *Power of Gravity*, which he brought with him in manuscript to London, and on its receiving the sanction of him who had done more to extend the boundaries of mathematical science than almost all mankind, Mr. Maclaurin's triumph was complete. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society when only twenty-one years of age, two of his papers were, about the same time, inserted in the *Transactions* of that learned body, and his book entitled *Geometria Organica* was published with the approbation of their president. In his second journey he became acquainted with Martin Folks, Esq., who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as president of the Royal Society, and with whom he thenceforth cultivated a most entire and unreserved friendship. This great patron of scientific men frequently corresponded with him, communicating to him all his views and improvements in the sciences, and encouraging him to proceed in his philosophical studies.

In 1722 Lord Polwarth, ambassador from the court of St. James' to the congress of Cambray, had been for some time looking out for a proper person to accompany his son, Mr. Hume, on his travels. His lordship was fond of literature and the company of literary men; he had frequent opportunities of observing Mr. Maclaurin's behaviour, who at this time, from his consummate abilities, was admitted into the highest circles of society in London. His lordship being deeply prepossessed in favour of our youthful philosopher, engaged him as companion and tutor to his son. Maclaurin having procured a proper person to fill his place for a time at the college of Aberdeen, and feeling a strong desire to gratify his curiosity by visiting foreign countries, he accordingly with his friend and scholar set out for France, and proceeded at once to the capital, where they took up their abode. After remaining a short time at Paris they visited several of the chief towns in France, and finally fixed upon Lorraine for their residence. Here they had the advantage of a good academy, besides the introduction to one of the most polite courts in Europe. Mr. Maclaurin had now an opportunity of improving that easy and genteel address which was at all times natural to him, and with his graceful person and great erudition he excited the admiration and gained the esteem of the most distinguished persons of both sexes. Here he wrote his essay on the percussion of bodies, which gained the prize of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1724. The substance of this tract is inserted in his *Treatise of Fluxions*.

On leaving Lorraine with his pupil on a tour

through the southern provinces of France, and arriving at Montpellier, Mr. Hume was seized with a fever which quickly terminated his life. This dreadful calamity affected Mr. Maclaurin in the deepest manner, and overwhelmed him with grief. In some letters written on that melancholy occasion he seemed almost inconsolable for the loss of his pupil, companion, and friend, and his sympathy with a family to which he owed great obligations, and which had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this hopeful young nobleman, rendered him unhappy beyond expression. Travelling and all other things being now distasteful, he set out immediately on his return to his profession at Aberdeen.

Having by this time justly earned the distinction of one of the first men of his country, the curators of the university of Edinburgh were desirous of engaging him to supply the place of Mr. James Gregory, whose age and infirmities had rendered him incapable of teaching; but several difficulties retarded the design for some time. A gentleman eminent for mathematical abilities, but whose name is now forgotten, had succeeded in gaining over some of the patrons, who promised him their interest for the appointment, until a recommendatory letter from Sir Isaac Newton completely turned the balance in Mr. Maclaurin's favour. Sir Isaac first addressed Mr. Maclaurin, with allowance to show it to the patrons of the university, and expresses himself as follows:—"I am very glad to hear that you have a prospect of being joined to Mr. James Gregory in the professorship of mathematics at Edinburgh, not only because you are my friend, but principally because of your abilities, you being acquainted as well with the new improvements of mathematics as with the former state of those sciences. I heartily wish you good success, and shall be very glad of hearing of your being elected. I am, with all sincerity, your faithful friend, and most humble servant." In a second letter to the lord-provost of Edinburgh, which Mr. Maclaurin knew nothing of till some years after Sir Isaac's death, he thus writes:—"I am glad to understand that Mr. Maclaurin is in good repute amongst you for his skill in mathematics, for I think he deserves it very well; and to satisfy you that I do not flatter him, and also to encourage him to accept the place of assisting Mr. Gregory, in order to succeed him, I am ready (if you please to give me leave) to contribute twenty pounds per annum towards a provision for him till Mr. Gregory's place becomes void, if I live so long, and I will pay it to his order in London." The town-council, however, with becoming pride, respectfully declined this generous offer, and the business was finally arranged that Mr. Gregory was to retain his salary during life; his family in case of their father's death were secured in it for seven years from the date of Mr. Maclaurin's being inducted as joint professor, who was promised fifty pounds per annum, besides the fees he received from the students attending the class, upon condition of performing all the duties of the office. On the 3d November, 1725, he was introduced to the university, as was at the same time his learned colleague and intimate friend Dr. Alexander Monro, professor of anatomy. The subjects which Mr. Maclaurin introduced into the different courses of lectures on mathematics were very miscellaneous, and the classes soon became unusually numerous, there being upwards of a hundred young gentlemen attending his lectures, who being of different standings and proficiency, he was obliged to divide them into four or five classes, in each of which he employed a full hour every day from the 1st of November to the 1st of June. In the first or lowest class (sometimes divided into two) he taught

the first six books of Euclid's *Elements*, plain trigonometry, practical geometry, the elements of fortification, and an introduction to algebra. The second class repeated the algebra again from its principles, and advanced farther in it, then proceeded to the theory of mensuration of solids, spherical trigonometry, the doctrine of the sphere, dialling, and other practical parts. After this he gave the doctrine of the conic sections, with the theory of gunnery, and concluded with the elements of astronomy and optics. In the third class he went on in astronomy and perspective, prelected on Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, and explained the direct and inverse method of fluxions. At a separate hour he began a class of experimental philosophy about the middle of December, which continued thrice every week till the beginning of April, and at proper hours of the night described the constellations and showed the planets by telescopes of various kinds. All Mr. Maclaurin's lectures on these different subjects were given with such perspicuity of method and language, that his demonstrations seldom stood in need of being repeated. Such, however, was his anxiety for the improvement of his scholars, that if at any time he found they could not comprehend his meaning, or if upon examining them he found they could not readily demonstrate the propositions which he had proved, he was apt rather to suspect that his own expressions had been obscure than their want of genius or attention. He therefore would resume the demonstration in some other method, in order to try if, by presenting it in a different light, he could give them a better view of it. Besides the labours of his public profession, he had frequently many other employments and avocations. If an uncommon experiment was said to have been made anywhere, the curious were desirous of having it repeated by Mr. Maclaurin. On all momentous occasions he was the first to be applied to; and if an eclipse or comet was to be observed, his telescopes were always in readiness. Such was the elegance and amenity of his manners that the ladies took the liveliest interest in his experiments and observations, and were delighted and surprised at finding how easily and familiarly he would resolve the questions they put to him; and to those gentlemen who had been his pupils his advice and assistance were never wanting; nor was admittance refused to any except in his teaching hours, which were devoted to that purpose alone. The ingenious of all ranks courted his acquaintance and friendship, and so pressing were they to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation after his usual avocations were over, that he was obliged to take from the ordinary hours of repose what he bestowed on his scholars and friends, and by persevering in deep and severe study he exhausted his strength and greatly impaired his health. About this time, at the beginning of the year 1728, Sir Isaac Newton died, and his nephew, Mr. Conduitt, proposed to publish an account of his life, for which purpose he applied to Mr. Maclaurin for his assistance, who out of gratitude to his great benefactor readily undertook the task, and finished the history of the progress which philosophy had made before Sir Isaac's time. When the first draught of that work was sent up to London it was shown to some eminent judges, and met with their highest approbation. Among the rest Dr. Rundle, afterwards Bishop of Derry, was so pleased with the design that he mentioned it as particularly worthy of the queen's notice, who, after attentively perusing it, was so highly gratified that she expressed a desire to see it published; but Mr. Conduitt's death having prevented the execution of his part of the proposed work, Mr. Maclaurin's manuscript was re-

turned to him. To this he afterwards added the more recent proofs and examples given by himself and others on the subjects treated by Sir Isaac, and left it in the state in which it now appears. Mr. Maclaurin continued to live single till the year 1733, when he married Anne, daughter of Mr. Walter Stewart, solicitor-general for Scotland to George I., by whom he had seven children.

Dr. Buckley, Bishop of Cloyne, having taken occasion from some disputes that had arisen concerning the grounds of the fluxionary method in a treatise entitled the *Analyst*, published in 1734, to explode the method itself, and at the same time to charge mathematicians in general with infidelity in religion, Mr. Maclaurin entered the lists of disputation with him, eager to defend his favourite study and repel an accusation in which he was most unjustly included. He commenced his reply to the bishop's book; but as he entered more deeply into the subject so many discoveries, so many new theories and problems, occurred to him, that, instead of a vindictory pamphlet, his work, when finished, presented a complete system of fluxions, with their application to the most considerable problems in geometry and natural philosophy. This work was published in Edinburgh in 1742, in two volumes quarto, in which we are at a loss what most to admire—his solid, unexceptionable demonstrations of the grounds of the method itself, or its application to such a variety of curious and useful problems. A society had for many years subsisted in Edinburgh for the advancement of medical knowledge; Mr. Maclaurin, on reviewing their plan of proceedings, and not thinking it sufficiently extensive, proposed to take in all parts of physics, together with the antiquities of the country. This was readily agreed to, and Mr. Maclaurin's influence engaged several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and character to join themselves for that purpose to the members of the former society. The Earl of Morton did them the honour to accept of the office of president. Dr. Plummer, professor of chemistry, and Mr. Maclaurin were appointed secretaries; and several gentlemen of distinction, English and foreigners, desired to be admitted members. At the monthly meetings of the society Mr. Maclaurin generally read some treatise of his own, or communicated the contents of his letters from foreign parts; by which means the society were informed of every new discovery or improvement in the sciences. Several of the papers read before this society are printed in the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Medical Essays*; some of them are also published in the *Philosophical Transactions*; and Mr. Maclaurin had occasion to insert a great many more in his *Treatise of Fluxions*, and in his account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. He was the first who proposed the building of an astronomical observatory and a convenient school for experiments in the university of Edinburgh, of which he drew an elegant and well-contrived plan; and as this work was to be carried on by private subscription, he used all his influence to raise money for that purpose with so much success, that, had not the rebellion intervened in Scotland, the work would have been speedily completed. The Earl of Morton, on visiting his estates in Orkney and Shetland in 1739, wanted at the same time to settle the geography of these islands, which was very erroneously laid down on all our maps, to examine their natural history, to survey the coasts, and take the measure of a degree of the meridian—and for this purpose he applied to Mr. Maclaurin for his assistance; but his domestic affairs not permitting him to undertake the journey, he drew up a plan of what

he thought necessary to be observed, furnished the proper instruments, and recommended Mr. Short, the celebrated optician, as a fit operator for managing them. The accounts Mr. Maclaurin afterwards received of this voyage made him still more sensible of the erroneous geography we had of those parts, by which so many shipwrecks had been occasioned, and he therefore employed several of his scholars, who were then settled in the northern counties, to survey the coasts.

Mr. Maclaurin had still more extensive views for the improvement of geography and navigation over all the surface of the globe. After carefully perusing all the accounts of voyages, both in the South and North Seas, he was of opinion that the sea was most probably to be found open from Greenland to the South Sea by the North Pole; and when schemes for finding out such a passage were submitted to parliament in 1744, he was consulted concerning them by several persons of high rank and influence; but before he could finish the memorials which he proposed to have sent, the premium was limited to the discovery of a north-west passage, and Mr. Maclaurin used to regret that the word *west* was inserted, because he thought a passage, if at all to be found, must lie not far from the pole. Of this he appeared to be so deeply persuaded that he has been heard to say, if his situation could admit of such adventures, he would gladly undertake the voyage, even at his own cost.

Such was the zeal this amiable and celebrated man evinced on every occasion for the public good: the last and most remarkable instance is that which we shall now relate.

In 1745, when the Highland army had got between Edinburgh and the king's troops, Mr. Maclaurin was the first to rouse the friends of the existing government from their security; and though he was aware that the city was not long defensible, or able to resist even the undisciplined and ill-armed host that was advancing to attack it, yet as he foresaw how much might be gained by the insurgents' possessing themselves of the capital, and the king's forces under Sir John Cope being daily expected, he made plans of the walls, proposed the several trenches, barricades, batteries, and all such defences as he thought could be thrown up before the arrival of the enemy, earnestly hoping that the town might thus hold out till relieved. The whole burden, not only of contriving but also of overseeing the execution of this hasty defence, fell to Mr. Maclaurin's share. He was indefatigable in his exertions, employed both night and day in drawing plans and running from place to place; so that the anxiety, fatigue, and cold to which he was thus exposed, affecting a constitution naturally weak, laid the foundation of the disease of which he died. It is not properly connected with our subject to inquire how Mr. Maclaurin's plans were neglected or defeated, or by what means Prince Charles got possession of Edinburgh; but after defeating the king's troops at Prestonpans, he found himself in such strength as to issue several very arbitrary orders, among which was one commanding all who had been volunteers in the defence of the city, before a stated time, to wait on his secretary, to subscribe a recantation of what they had done, and a promise of submission to the new government, under the pain of being deemed and treated as rebels. Mr. Maclaurin had acted too conspicuous a part as a volunteer, to hope to escape their vengeance if he once fell into their hands; he therefore privately withdrew into England before the last day of receiving the submissions, but not before he contrived means to convey a good telescope into the castle, and to supply the garrison with provisions.

Dr. Thomas Herring, then Archbishop of York, hearing that Mr. Maclaurin had taken refuge in the north of England, invited him in the most friendly manner to reside with him during his stay in that part of the country. Mr. Maclaurin gladly accepted the invitation, and soon after expresses himself thus in a letter to a friend:—"Here," says he, "I live as happily as a man can do who is ignorant of the state of his family, and who sees the ruin of his country." The Archbishop of York, of whose talents and goodness Mr. Maclaurin ever retained the highest veneration, held a frequent correspondence with him; and when it was suspected that the rebels might again enter Edinburgh on their retreat from England, he invited his former guest, for ease and security, to his hospitable mansion. While at York it was remarked that Mr. Maclaurin appeared more than usually meagre and sickly; but he at that time, feeling no apprehension of danger, did not consider it necessary to call in medical aid. Having fallen from his horse, however, on his journey southward, and when the Pretender's army entered England, having, on his return home, been exposed to excessive cold and tempestuous weather, he complained upon his arrival of being seriously indisposed. His disease was soon discovered to be a dropsy in the abdomen, to remove which a variety of medicines were prescribed by the most eminent physicians of the day, and three tapings were resorted to, with little or no effect. While suffering under this painful malady, his behaviour was such as became a philosopher and Christian; calm, cheerful, and resigned; retaining his senses and judgment in their full vigour till within a few hours of his death. Then, for the first time, while engaged in dictating to his amanuensis the last part of the last chapter of his *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries*, in which he proves the goodness of God, his amanuensis perceived him to falter. Dr. Monro came in shortly afterwards, and he conversed with him after his accustomed manner, and requested him to account for flashes of fire, as it were, darting from his eyes, though his sight was gradually decaying, so that he could scarcely distinguish one object from another. His hands and feet were already cold, and no pulse could be traced in any part of his body. In a short time he desired to be laid upon his bed, where he breathed his last, on the 14th June, 1746, aged forty-eight years and four months. His wife, two sons, and three daughters, survived him. John, the eldest son, studied the law, and after making a distinguished figure at the bar, was promoted to the bench, 17th January, 1789, under the designation of Lord Dreghorn. He was an excellent scholar, and erected a monument to his father in the Grayfriars' Churchyard, with an inscription which has often been quoted for its simple and expressive eloquence. Lord Dreghorn also published various pieces in prose and verse, which in their day enjoyed some reputation, and have been oftener than once printed.

Colin Maclaurin was not only distinguished by his great genius and learning, but by the qualities of his heart, his universal benevolence, and unaffected piety. Dr. Monro, in an oration spoken at the first meeting of the university after his death (from which much of the foregoing account is taken), draws a sublime and affecting picture of his friend's great qualities, and professes that, after an intimacy with him for so many years, he had but half known his worth, which only disclosed itself in its full lustre when it came to suffer the severe test of that distressful situation in which every man must at last find himself, and which only minds prepared like his, armed with virtue, can bear with dignity.

If we look back upon the numerous writings of



Mr. Maclaurin, and the deep researches he had been engaged in, his patience and assiduity will be equally astonishing with his genius. His favourite studies were mathematics, which he cultivated with wonderful success, influenced by a disinterested love of truth, and aiming constantly at improvement and utility. The further he advanced in the knowledge of geometry and of nature, the greater his aversion grew to perfect systems, hypotheses, and dogmatizing. Without being dissatisfied with the attainments we can arrive at, or the uses which they serve, he saw that there lay infinitely more beyond our reach, and used to call our highest discoveries but a dawn of knowledge, suited to our circumstances and wants in life, in which, however, we ought thankfully to acquiesce for the present, in hopes that it will be improved in a happier and more perfect state. To a view of general utility all his studies were accommodated; and we find in many places of his works an application even of the most abstruse theories to the perfecting of mechanical arts. He had resolved for the same purpose to compose a course of practical mathematics, and to rescue several branches of the science from the bad treatment which they often meet with in less skilful hands. But all those designs were frustrated by his death, unless we may reckon as a part of his intended work the translation of Dr. David Gregory's *Practical Geometry*, which he revised and published, with additions, in the year 1745. In his lifetime, however, he often had the pleasure to serve his friends and country by his superior skill. Whatever difficulty occurred concerning the construction or perfecting of machines, the working of mines, the improvement of manufactures, the conveying of water, or the execution of any public work, Mr. Maclaurin was at hand to resolve it. He was likewise employed to terminate some disputes of consequence that had arisen at Glasgow concerning the gauging of vessels; and for that purpose presented to the commissioners of excise two memorials containing rules (by which the officers afterwards acted), with their demonstrations. But what must have given his philanthropic mind a higher source of pleasure than anything else of the kind, were the calculations he made relative to that wise and humane provision which is established by law for the children and widows of the Scottish clergy, and of the professors in the universities, entitling them to certain annuities and sums upon the voluntary annual payment of a certain sum by the incumbent. On the contrivance and adjustment of this scheme Mr. Maclaurin bestowed great labour, and contributed not a little to bring it to perfection.

To find that his knowledge rendered him thus eminently useful to a late posterity must have been a delightful enjoyment. But what still more endeared his studies to him was the use they were of in demonstrating the being and attributes of the almighty Creator, and establishing the principles of natural religion on a solid foundation, equally secure against the idle sophistry of Epicureans and the dangerous refinements of modern metaphysicians. To this use Mr. Maclaurin frequently applied them; and he was equally zealous in the defence of revealed religion, which he would warmly undertake, whenever he found it attacked, either in conversation or writing. How firm his own persuasion of its truth was, appears from the support which it afforded him in his last hours.

Among Mr. Maclaurin's productions, besides the articles already specified, was a paper sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, in the year 1740, on account of which he shared the prize of the Academy with the celebrated D. Bernouilli and

Euler, for resolving the problems relating to the motion of the tides from the theory of gravity—a question which had been given out during the former year without receiving any solution. Having only ten days in which to draw up this paper, he had not leisure to transcribe a fair copy of it; so that the Paris edition of it is incorrect. Afterwards, however, he revised the whole and inserted it in his *Treatise of Fluxions*. His contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions* may be seen in different volumes of these collections, from No. 30 to No. 42, both inclusive, and treat on the following subjects:—"Of the Construction and Measure of Curves,"—"A New Method of Describing all Kinds of Curves,"—"On Equations with Impossible Roots,"—"On the Description of Curves; with an Account of further Improvements, &c."—"An Account of the Annular Eclipse of the Sun at Edinburgh, January 27, 1742-3,"—"A Rule for finding the Meridional Parts of a Spheroid, with the same exactness as of a Sphere,"—and "Of the Bases of the Cells wherein the Bees deposit their Honey." These papers conclude the list of our author's writings which were published during his lifetime. After his death the friends to whose judgment he submitted the disposal of his MSS., gave directions for publishing his *Treatise of Algebra*, and his *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*. The first of these works, which appeared in 1748, though it had not the advantage to be finished by his own hands, is yet allowed to be excellent in its kind; containing in one volume octavo, of a moderate size, a complete elementary treatise of the science of algebra, as far as it had been hitherto carried. Subjoined to it by way of appendix is a Latin tract, "*De Linearum Geometricarum Proprietatibus Generalibus*," which appears to have been, in our author's judgment, one of the best of his performances, and in which he employed some of the latest hours that he could give to such studies, revising it for the press as his last legacy to the sciences and the public.

MACNEIL, HECTOR, a poet and miscellaneous writer, was born at Rosebank, near Roslin, in the year 1746. His father had been in the army, where he was patronized by the Duke of Argyle, and had mingled in the best company; but, having offended his patron by selling out without his advice, he was left afterwards to his own resources. He took a farm at Rosebank; but some imprudences, and the habit of living in a style above his income, completely ruined his prospects. As his family was then large, it became necessary that the sons should, as soon as possible, be made independent of him. The only expectation for Hector was from a cousin, who carried on a mercantile concern in Bristol. The father, therefore, confined his education to the mercantile branches, dreading from his own example the effect of more refined and classical instruction. The youth discovered excellent parts, with an elegance of taste which seemed to mark him for a different destination from that intended. At the age of eleven he had written a species of drama, in imitation of Gay. His master earnestly entreated to be allowed to give him some of the higher branches; but on this his father put a decided negative. The attachment, however, of the teacher to his pupil, induced him to impart secretly some elements of this forbidden knowledge. From the father, meantime, young Macneil received many anecdotes of the world, and was taught to cherish a high sense of honour and the feelings of a gentleman.

As soon as he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent off to his cousin at Bristol. On his way

he spent some months at Glasgow, where he completed himself in several branches of his education. His cousin was a rough, boisterous, West India captain, who could not estimate the genius of Macneil, but was pleased with some instances of his spirit. He first proposed to Hector an expedition in a slave-ship to the coast of Guinea; but was diverted from it by some female friends, who rightly judged this destination wholly unsuited to the youth's disposition. He was therefore sent on a voyage to St. Christopher's, with the view of making the sea his profession, if he liked it; otherwise, he was furnished with an introduction to a mercantile house. On his arrival, being completely disgusted with the sea, he hesitated not in accepting the latter alternative. It is probably to this period of his life that we are to fix an event of a singular nature which is stated to have entirely altered his prospects in life. His master had married a lady much younger than himself, and of great personal attractions; and young Macneil was upon terms of equal intimacy with both. One day, while he was sitting upon a garden-chair with the lady, and reading with her from the same book, the ardent feelings of one-and-twenty prompted him to express his admiration of her beauty, by snatching a kiss. It proved the knell of his departing fortune. Notwithstanding his instant penitence, and entreaties for forgiveness, the lady conceived it necessary to inform her husband of what had happened; and the immediate consequence was, the dismissal of Macneil, and a termination to the prospects that were brightening around him. He continued for many years in the West Indies, but does not appear to have ever after known what could be called prosperity. At one time, if not during the whole remaining period of his residence in those colonies, this hapless bard had to stoop to the ungenial employment of a negro-driver. While in this situation he became a strenuous advocate for the system of West India slavery, and wrote a pamphlet in its defence. The only thing which he allowed to be necessary to make the condition of slavery agreeable, was an improvement in the moral conduct of the masters: a subsequent age has seen slavery brought to an end before this improvement was accomplished.

When above forty years of age Macneil returned to Scotland, in a wretched state of health, and without having earned even a moderate independence. In these circumstances, notwithstanding that he had many good connections, and still preserved the feelings of a gentleman and a poet, his situation was of a truly deplorable kind. He nevertheless began to exercise the intellectual faculties, which though so early displayed, had been kept in a kind of abeyance during the intervening period of his life. In 1789 he published *The Harp, a Legendary Tale*, which brought him into some notice in the literary circles. In 1795 appeared his principal poetical composition, "*Scotland's Skaithe, or the History o' Will and Jean; over True a Tale*;" followed next year by a sequel, entitled the "*Waes o' War*." Its excellent intention and tendency, with the strokes of sweet and beautiful pathos with which it abounds, render this one of the most admired productions of the Doric muse of Scotland. Except for a simplicity, occasionally degenerating into baldness, which characterizes this as well as other productions of Macneil, *Will and Jean* might safely be compared with the happiest efforts of any other Scottish poet. The enchanting influence of village potations and politics—the deterioration of a worthy rustic character by such means—the consequent despair and degradation of an originally amiable wife—besides the distresses of the Flemish campaign of 1793, and the subsequent restoration of

the ruined family to partial comfort, are all delineated in most masterly style. About the same time Macneil produced the *Links of Forth; or a Parting Peep at the Carse of Stirling*. This is a descriptive poem; but, though not devoid of merit, it is more laboured and less pleasing. He wrote also a number of songs, some of which possess much pathos and delicacy of sentiment. Not being able, however, to find any means of providing a subsistence, necessity compelled him to seek again the burning climate of the West Indies. After a residence there of only a year and a half, Mr. Graham, an intimate friend, died, and left him an annuity of £100, with which he immediately returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy, with this humble independence, the sweets of literary leisure and society. His reputation and manners procured him ready admittance into the most respectable circles; he enjoyed particularly the intimacy of Mrs. Hamilton, authoress of the *Cottagers of Glenburnie* and other esteemed works of fancy. He was then a tall, fine-looking old man, with a very sallow complexion, and a dignified and somewhat austere expression of countenance. His conversation was graceful and agreeable, seasoned with a somewhat lively and poignant satire. Having probably found in his own case, that devotion to the Muses did not tend to promote his success in life, he gave no encouragement to it in others, and earnestly exhorted all who wrote poetry that appeared to him at all middling, to betake themselves to some more substantial occupation. In 1800 he published, anonymously, a novel, or the first part of one, entitled the *Memoirs of Charles Macpherson*, which is understood to contain a pretty accurate account of the early part of his own life. In 1801 his poetical works were collected into two volumes, foolscap 8vo, and passed through several editions. In 1809 he published the *Pastoral or Lyric Muse of Scotland*, in 4to, a work which did not draw much attention. About the same time he published, anonymously, *Town Fashions, or Modern Manners Delineated*; and also, *By-gone Times, and Late-come Changes*. These pieces, like almost everything he wrote, had a moral object; but the present one was tinctured with his feelings as an old man. It appeared to him that all the changes which had taken place in society, the increase of luxury, even the diffusion of knowledge, were manifest corruptions; and all his anxiety was to inspire a taste for the old style of living. Wishing to suit the style to the matter, he affected a very homely phraseology; and as this was not natural to him, he overdid it, and disgusted rather than persuaded. Yet he clung very fondly to these bantlings of his old age, and even rated them higher than the more elegant productions of his earlier life. Their only real beauty, though he was insensible of it, consisted in a few pathetic passages. Our author also wrote, with the same views, and too much in the same style, a novel, entitled the *Scottish Adventurers, or the Way to Rise*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1812. Throughout the earlier years of the century, he contributed many minor pieces, in prose and verse, to the *Scots Magazine*, of which he was at one time editor.

After a long life of penury, aggravated by ill health, Mr. Macneil died of jaundice, March 15, 1818, not leaving behind him wherewithal to defray his funeral expenses.

MACNISH, ROBERT, LL.D. This physician, philosopher, poet, and miscellaneous writer, was born in Henderson's Court, Jamaica Street, Glasgow, on the 15th of February, 1802. As his father and grandfather were both of the medical profession, it

was resolved that Robert should be devoted to the same course; and with this view his education was conducted, first at the private schools of Glasgow and Hamilton, and afterwards at the university of his native city. At the age of eighteen, having passed his examination before the College of Surgeons, he obtained the degree of *Magister Chirurgie* from the college of Glasgow. Being thus qualified to commence the duties of his profession, he went as assistant of Dr. Henderson of Clyth, to Caithness, where he endured for eighteen months the labour of professional visiting over a wide and wild circuit of country. Although he lost his health under such labour, so that at last he was glad to escape to the more genial region of his native city, he seems to have pursued in the Highlands, and with success, those poetical and literary studies from which his after-life derived its chief distinction. Here, also, influenced no doubt by the bleak and scowling scenery, he wandered in thought among the lands of the sun and their scenes of enchantment, by way of pleasing contrast, until he composed the greater part of a poetical tale, of which the locality was an Armida garden at the foot of the Himalaya Mountains, and the actors, Pharem, a mighty Indian magician, and Ima, daughter of the Khan of Shiraz. Besides this lucubration, which he no doubt found beyond his powers to finish, the young dreamer had already tried his strength in authorship in the columns of the *Fuvernus Journal*. The chief of these contributions was "The Tale of Eivor, a Scandinavian Legend," and the "Harp of Salem," a lament over fallen Jerusalem.

On returning from Caithness to Glasgow, Macnish made a journey to Paris, where he resided a year, for the double purpose of recruiting his constitution and continuing his medical education. In the French capital, among other opportunities of improving his taste, he frequented the Louvre, while its vast collection of the treasures of art, the spoils of conquered nations, were as yet unreclaimed; and here he learned to appreciate the beauties of painting and sculpture, without expressing his emotions in that artistic phraseology which is too often the cloak of ignorant pretension. But of all places in Paris, the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise, that city of the dead, became his favourite resort; and it was there that, in all likelihood, he increased that love of strange musing and mysticism which he had commenced in Caithness and among the second-sighted Highlanders. On coming home he became assistant to his father, and completed his medical education at the university of Glasgow, where he took out his diploma of surgeon in 1825. His thesis which he delivered on this occasion, was an essay on the Anatomy of Drunkenness, which he afterwards expanded into his well-known work of the same title.

Before this period, however, Macnish had written articles, both in prose and verse, for the *Literary Mlange*, and for the *Emmet*, periodicals of the Glasgow press. In 1822 also he sent two productions to Constable's *Edinburgh Magazine*, the one entitled *Macvarich the Murderer*, and the other the *Dream Confirmed*. Both were incidents which he had learned in the Highlands, and expanded into regular stories. But in 1825 a more popular and lasting field was opened to him in *Blackwood's Magazine*, of which he afterwards became one of the most distinguished contributors. His first contribution to this periodical was his tale entitled the *Metempsychosis*; and he was encouraged to persevere from its being published in the monthly number as the leading article. This was no small distinction; for it will be remembered by the admirers of this most famed

of magazines, that at the period we mention it was in no want of highly talented correspondents. During the same year were inserted his *Man with the Nose*, and the *Barber of Gottingen*; and in the following the *Adventures of Colonel O'Shaughnessy*, and *Who Can it Be?* articles whose classical style, and rich, racy, original humour, arrested the attention of *Ebony's* readers, who at this time might well be called the reading public, and raised the question of loud and general interest, Who is this "Modern Pythagorean?" the title under which his contributions were published. In 1827, while Macnish was employed in these fugitive but important literary avocations, he was introduced by Mr. Blackwood to Dr. Moir, ever after his fast friend, who loved him like a brother, and lived to commemorate his worth.

It was not only in prose but in verse that Macnish excelled, and had he devoted himself to the Delilah of poetry, we doubt not that he would have been still more highly distinguished in this department of intellectual excellence than he was as a prose writer of essays and tales. But already the field of the Muses had been so overtrodden and bemired, that the best of our bards had escaped from it into the more ample and diversified regions of prose—Scott, Coleridge, Southey, and Moore, who were a-weary of having their kibes trode upon and grazed by the eager ambitious toes of awkward followers and imitators. Macnish, however, had been wont to express his deeper feelings in verse; and an event in 1827 called from him more than one mournful lyric of domestic sorrow. This was the death of his youngest sister, Christian, a child only ten years old, who was drowned on the banks of the Clyde near Glasgow, while crossing a plank laid athwart a small arm of the river.

The life of a man who devotes himself to the settled profession of a physician, and the peaceful occupations of authorship, presents few materials for the biographer. As a physician indeed we have little to say of Macnish, except that his career in this capacity was of even tenor, and was attended with a fair proportion of profit and success in his native city of Glasgow. In his literary capacity every moment of spare time seems to have been fully occupied; and the articles which he contributed, both in prose and verse, not only to *Blackwood's Magazine*, but also to Frazer's, and other less distinguished periodicals, obtained a prominent place in that species of light literature, and made the good folks of Glasgow justly proud of their fellow-citizen. These productions it is the less necessary to particularize, as they have been published in a compact volume under the editorship of his biographer, Delta. It may be merely mentioned in passing, that they are all more or less distinguished by a lively creative fancy, and chaste subdued classical style, reminding us more of the best writers of the Addison and Goldsmith periods, than the slashing, *outré*, and abrupt, though sparkling, tales and essays that form the staple of our modern periodical writing. Among the happiest of these attempts of Macnish, we may particularly specify the *Metempsychosis*, an *Execution at Paris*, a *Night near Monte Video*, and a *Vision of Robert Bruce*. Still Macnish might soon have been forgot by the magazine-reading public, had he not established his literary reputation upon a more secure basis; and it is by his *Anatomy of Drunkenness*, and *Philosophy of Sleep*, two able and substantial treatises, and his *Book of Aphorisms*, that he is now best known and estimated.

The first of these works, which Macnish commenced before he had reached the age of twenty, and during his toilsome sojourn in Caithness, was the

fruit of much reading and research, aided perhaps occasionally by the practical illustrations which he witnessed among the inhabitants of that whisky-smuggling county. Afterwards he matured it into a thesis, which he read before the Medical Faculty in 1825, when he took out his degree, and published it in 1827 in a thin octavo of fifty-six pages. The subject was comparatively an untrodden field, as hitherto the vice of drunkenness had been rather analyzed by the divine and moralist, than anatomized by the surgeon. The novelty of such a work, and the felicity of his style and mode of illustration, excited a deeper interest among the readers than generally falls to theses, the most neglected of all literary productions, so that Macnish was encouraged to prosecute his inquiries. The result was, that the subject grew and improved upon his hands, while each edition was more popular than its predecessor, until in 1834 a fifth edition of the *Anatomy of Drunkenness* was published by its author. Such success upon so unpromising a theme was one of those triumphs which only true genius can accomplish. In this treatise he contemplates the vice in its physiological character, and writes like a learned physician on its origin, growth, and effects upon the constitution. He then expatiates upon its moral character, and illustrates with fearful power, but yet with the utmost patience and gentleness, the influence of this pernicious habit upon the intellectual and moral organization of its victim. And finally, knowing that all this is not enough, and that people will get drunk in spite of every dissuasive, he shows them in what way this crime may be committed in its least odious form, and with the smallest harm, upon the same benevolent principle that he would have applied the stomach-pump to those who had refused to be benefited either by his warnings or instructions. His next work, the *Philosophy of Sleep*, although of a more metaphysical character, fully sustained the reputation which his *Anatomy* had acquired, and rapidly passed into a second edition. These works not only obtained a wide popularity both in Scotland and England, but in America, where they were republished; they were also translated into the French and German languages, an honour exclusively accorded to philosophical treatises that possess unquestionable merit.

In 1833 Macnish published his *Book of Aphorisms*. This little work, which is now almost forgotten, consisted of some fifty dozen fag-ends and quaint remarks, in the fashion of Rochefoucault, or rather of Lord Bacon, but without pretending to soar to the eminence of these illustrious models. It was thought, however, a clever work in its day, among the circle to which it was limited. Another literary task which he executed was an *Introduction to Phrenology*, which he published in 1835. A second edition of this volume, which he had carefully prepared for publication, appeared two years after—but by this time Macnish had finished his appointed round of labour, and was beyond the reach of criticism; and this event, as well as a just appreciation of his character, was so well expressed in the *Phrenological Journal*, in giving a review of the work itself, that we cannot refrain from quoting it as a fitting close to this brief narrative:—

“This work appears breathing with life, spirit, and observation, as if its author were himself ushering it into the world. There is no indication within it, or announcement about it, that would lead the reader to believe that the mind which had conceived it had fled, and that the hand which had written it was cold in death; yet such are the facts! The work was just completed, and the last sheets of the appendix prepared for the press, when, in the

beginning of January, 1837, the gifted author was seized with influenza, which speedily degenerated into typhus fever, and on the fourteenth day after the attack he died. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Macnish's mind was vivacity. Whether he gave way to ridicule and sarcasm, of which he was a master—or to fancy, with which he was brilliantly endowed—or to tenderness and affection, which he felt strongly and could touchingly express—there was always a spring of life about him that vivified his pages, and animated and delighted his readers. This quality abounds in every page of the present work, and invests it with a new and extraordinary interest, when we regard it as the last words of a talented intellect now in the grave.”

MACPHERSON, JAMES, a literary character of celebrity, was born at Ruthven, in the county of Inverness, in the latter end of the year 1738. His family was one of the most ancient in that part of the country, and of high respectability. The earlier rudiments of education he received at home, and afterwards he was sent to the grammar-school of Inverness. At this period he began to discover a degree of talent which induced his family, contrary to their original intention, to bring him up to a learned profession. With this view he was sent, after completing an initiatory course at Inverness, to the university of Aberdeen, and afterwards to that of Edinburgh, where he finished his studies.

Young Macpherson had already begun to exercise his poetical talents; and, while at the university, gave some specimens of his powers in that department of literature, but with very indifferent success. Hitherto, however, he had confined his muse to such short and desultory flights as young men of poetical temperament usually begin with; but, in 1758, he made a bolder essay, by producing a poem in six cantos, entitled the *Highlander*. This work was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, in the year above named. Though not without some excellences, the *Highlander*, as a whole, is an exceedingly poor production, and must be considered so, even with every allowance for the youth of its author, who was yet only in the twentieth year of his age. The public was of a similar opinion with regard to its merits, and it almost instantly sank into oblivion. It must, however, be recorded, to the credit of the poet, that he very soon became sensible of its defects and deficiencies, and made every endeavour to suppress it. About this time, also, he wrote an ode on the arrival of the earl-marischal in Scotland, which he entitled “an attempt in the manner of Pindar.” This ode, though it certainly does not possess much poetical merit, is yet, on the whole, considerably above mediocrity. From this period there is no more heard of Macpherson's poetical compositions, until he appeared as the translator of those singular poems on which his celebrity is founded.

It was intended by his friends that he should, on completing his studies, enter the church; but it is not certainly known whether he ever actually did take orders or not. He is, however, spoken of about this time (1760) as a “young clergyman;” and is described by Hume, the celebrated historian, as “a modest, sensible young man, not settled in any living, but employed as a private tutor in Mr. Graham of Balgowan's family; a way of life which he is not fond of.” The notice of Mr. Hume was thus directed to Macpherson, in consequence of the appearance of a work bearing the title of “*Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language,” the production of Macpherson, and the first presentation

of that literary novelty which was afterwards to attract so large a portion of the world's notice, and to excite so much discussion and dissension in its literary circles.

The *Fragments* were declared to be genuine remains of ancient Celtic poetry; and were, as well from that circumstance as their own intrinsic merit, received with the utmost enthusiasm and delight. Every one read them, and every one admired them; and, altogether, a sensation was created in the world of letters which it had known but on few occasions before. As it was intimated that other specimens of this ancient poetry might be recovered, a subscription was immediately begun, to enable Macpherson to quit his employment as a family preceptor, and to undertake a mission into the Highlands to secure them. With the wishes of his patrons on this occasion, the principal of whom were Dr. Blair, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Carlyle, and Mr. Hume, Macpherson readily complied, and lost no time in proceeding in quest of more "fragments," having been furnished previously to his setting out with various letters of recommendation and introduction from the influential persons just named to gentlemen resident in the Highlands.

After making an extensive tour through the mainland and isles, he returned to Edinburgh, and in 1762 presented to the world the first portion of the results, real or pretended, of his mission. This was "*Fingal*, an ancient Epic Poem in six books; together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal: translated from the Gaelic," 4to. These poems were received with equal, if not yet greater applause, than that which had hailed the first specimen Macpherson had given of Celtic poetry. The demand for the work was immense, and the fame of the translator and saviour, as he was deemed, of these presumed relics of ancient literature was rapidly spread, not only over Britain, but over all Europe. They were almost immediately translated into nearly every language spoken on the Continent; and in each of these translations, Macpherson was alluded to in terms "that might," as he himself says, "flatter the vanity of one fond of fame,"—a circumstance which must have been highly gratifying to him, for he was fond of fame, even inordinately so, and was known to have been under the influence of a violent passion for literary repute from a very early period of his life.

In the following year, viz. 1763, the poem of *Fingal*, &c., was succeeded by "*Temora*, in eight books, with other Poems, by Ossian," 4to. This was also well received, but scarcely with the same degree of enthusiasm which had marked the reception of the preceding poems. A change had taken place both with regard to Macpherson himself personally and his poetry. A suspicion as to the authenticity of the latter was now beginning to steal over the public mind; and the former, from being a modest man, as he was represented to be by Mr. Hume, had become insolent and arrogant. Whether this last was the result of the operation of extraordinary success on an ill-regulated mind, or the effect of frequent irritation from the attacks of the sceptical, to which Macpherson was now certainly subjected, it would not perhaps be easy to determine. It probably arose partly from both. The likelihood that the latter consideration had, at any rate, some share in producing this change of demeanour is considerable, when the nature of Macpherson's disposition, which was ardent, haughty, impatient, and irascible, is taken into account. That such a change, however, had taken place, is certain; and the circumstance derives no little interest from the person

by whom, and the manner in which, it is marked. "You must not mind," says Mr. Hume, in a letter to Dr. Blair on the subject of the poems of Ossian, "so strange and heteroclitie a mortal (Macpherson), than whom I have scarce ever known a man more perverse and unamiable." This was Mr. Hume's opinion of him in 1763; and it will be remarked how oddly it contrasts with that which he expressed regarding him in 1760. That Mr. Hume, however, saw sufficient reason in Macpherson's conduct thus to alter his opinion of him, no man can doubt who knows anything of the character of the illustrious historian, himself one of the most amiable of men.

In 1764, the year following that in which *Temora* appeared, Macpherson obtained the appointment of secretary to Governor Johnstone, then about to set out for the settlement of Pensacola, of which he was made chief. After a short residence in the colony, during which he had assisted in the construction and arrangement of its civil government, a difference arose between Macpherson and the governor, and they parted. The former left the settlement, visited several of the West India islands and some provinces of North America, and finally returned to England in 1766.

He now took up his residence in London, and shortly after resumed his literary pursuits; these, however, as the Ossianic poems were now exhausted, were of an entirely different nature from those which had hitherto employed him. His first public appearance again as an author was in 1771, when he produced a work, entitled *An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4to. This work, he says himself, he composed merely for private amusement. Whatever were the incitements which led to its production, necessity, at any rate, could not have been amongst the number; for Macpherson, if not already comparatively wealthy, was rapidly becoming so by the extensive sale of the poems. Whether written, however, for amusement, or with a view to fame, the author of the *Introduction* had no reason to congratulate himself on the result of its publication. Both the book and the writer were attacked from various quarters with much bitterness of invective, and a controversy regarding its merits and the opinions it promulgated, arose, which was but little calculated to improve the irritable temper of its author, or to add to his happiness. Nor was this treatment compensated by any success to the work itself. It made a sufficient noise; but yielded neither fame nor profit. The former was the result of its author's celebrity; the latter, it is to be feared, of his incapacity.

In an evil hour for his literary reputation Macpherson, with more confidence than wisdom, began a translation of the *Iliad* of Homer. This work he completed, and gave to the world in 1773. Its reception was mortifying in the extreme. Men of learning laughed at it, critics abused it; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts on the part of his friends, particularly Sir John Elliot, it finally sank under one universal shout of execration and contempt. The finishing blow to this production was inflicted by the *Critical Review*, in which it was ably and fatally criticized.

"There is nothing," says one of the most able and elegant of Macpherson's commentators, Dr. Graham, the late learned minister of Aberfoyle, "there is nothing which serves to set Macpherson's character and powers in a stronger light than his egregious attempt to render the great father of poetry into prose, however natural it might have been for him to have made this attempt after his success in doing the same office to Ossian." The temerity of this

attempt will not be deemed a little enhanced by the consideration that Pope's elegant translation was already before the world; nor will the awkwardness of its failure be thought lessened by a recollection of the sentiment its author himself expressed on another occasion, viz. that he "would not deign to translate what he could not imitate, or even equal." This unguarded language was now recollected to his prejudice, and carefully employed by his enemies to increase the disgrace of his failure.

To add to the literary mortifications under which Macpherson was now suffering, he found himself attacked by Dr. Johnson in his celebrated *Tour to the Hebrides*, published in 1773, on the subject of the authenticity of his translations of Ossian. The remarks of the great moralist, as is well known, are not confined, in this case, to an abstract discussion of the question, but include some severe, though certainly not unmerited, personal reflections on the translator. These the latter resented so highly that he immediately wrote a threatening letter to their author, who replied in spirited and still more severe and sarcastic language than he had employed in his published strictures, saying, amongst other humiliating things, "Your abilities since your Homer are not so formidable." To this letter Macpherson wisely made no reply, and is not known to have taken any further notice of it than by assisting M^r Nicol in his *Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour*, printed in 1774. Even of this, however, he is only suspected, there being no positive proof that he actually had any share in that production.

Although thus thanklessly acknowledged, Macpherson still continued his literary labours, and in 1775 published "*The History of Great Britain*, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover," in 2 vols. 4to.

Soon after the publication of this work another favourable change took place in the fortunes of its author, and opened up to him a new source of emolument. He was selected by the government, at this time embarrassed by the resistance of the American colonies to its authority, to defend and give force to the reasons which influenced its proceedings with regard to that country. In the discharge of this duty he wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of the Colonies*, 8vo, 1776. This pamphlet was circulated with great industry, and ran through several editions. He also wrote *A Short History of the Opposition during the Last Session of Parliament*, 8vo, 1779. The merit of this last production was so remarkable, that it was at the time generally ascribed to the pen of Gibbon, a compliment which, however, it is very questionable if its real author appreciated.

About this period Macpherson's good fortune was still further increased by his being appointed agent to the Nabob of Arcot, in behalf of whom he made several effective appeals to the public, and amongst others published "*Letters from Mahommed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the Court of Directors*." To which is annexed a State of Facts relative to Tanjore, with an Appendix of Original Papers," 4to, 1777. He is also supposed to have been the author of "*The History and Management of the East India Company*, from its Origin in 1600 to the Present Times; vol. i. containing the Affairs of the Carnatic, in which the Rights of the Nabob are explained, and the Injustice of the Company proved," 4to, 1779.

It was now thought advisable that Macpherson, in capacity of agent to the nabob, should be provided with a seat in parliament, and he was accordingly returned member for Camelford in 1780, and was re-elected for the same place in 1784 and 1790. He,

however, never made any attempt to speak in the house; so that the cause of the eastern potentate, whatever it may have gained from his influence abstractly as a member of parliament, was nothing forwarded by his oratory. The period, however, was rapidly approaching when this and all other earthly matters were no longer to be of any concernment to him. His health now began gradually to fail, and continued to decline till the year 1796, when he became so seriously ill that it was thought advisable, as all other means were found unavailing, that he should return to his native country, and try the effect of a change of air. He accordingly proceeded to Scotland, but died in the same year, on the 17th February, at his seat of Bellville in the shire of Inverness, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

Macpherson died in opulent circumstances, leaving by his will, dated June, 1793, legacies and annuities to various persons to a large amount. Amongst his other bequests there is one of particular interest from its connection with the celebrated works to which he owes his celebrity, and from its bearing on a circumstance which created one of the most memorable civil wars in the literary world upon record—the question of the authenticity of Ossian's poems. This bequest comprised the sum of £1000, payable to John Mackenzie of Fig-tree Court in the Temple, to defray the expense of printing and publishing Ossian in the original. Macpherson also directed by his will that the sum of £300 should be expended in erecting a monument to his memory in some conspicuous situation at Bellville, and that his body should be carried to London and be interred in Westminster Abbey. This was complied with, and he was buried in Poets' Corner.

The preceding sketch, brief as it is, comprehends nearly all of any interest with which the life of Macpherson presents us, and affords in that brevity another instance of the utter disproportion which is so often found to exist between the bulk of a man's personal history and that of his fame—how much may be afforded in one and the same life to the essayist, philosopher, or moralist, and how little to the biographer.

One point of interest in Macpherson's life, however, and without some allusion to which any account of it would be incomplete, has been hitherto left all but untouched in this sketch, and that purposely; as it was thought better to give it a distinct and separate place at the conclusion than to interrupt the biographical narrative by its earlier introduction. The circumstance alluded to is the celebrated controversy regarding the authenticity of Macpherson's translations of the poems of Ossian—a controversy which, whether its voluminous amount is considered, the extremely opposite and conflicting testimony by which it is supported, or the various and widely-scattered members of which it is composed, cannot be approached without hesitation. The fervour with which it was once attended has long since altogether disappeared, and but little now remains even of the interest with which the mooted point was associated. Few, in short, now care anything at all about the matter, and even though it were desirable, it would be impossible to resuscitate the intense feeling with which it was once contemplated. This apathy, however, singularly contrasts with the violent commotion and furious zeal which the discussion of the momentous question excited in the public mind some seventy or eighty years since. It was then a universal topic of conversation in private circles, while the literary arena was crowded with combatants eager for the contest, and inspired, if their feelings may be judged by their language, with the most cordial hatred to-

wards each other. Fresh champions of the opposite creeds followed each other in endless succession, as their predecessors retired, exhausted or defeated, from the lists. At one moment the authenticity of the poems seemed established beyond all doubt; in the next it was made still more clear that they were the most impudent forgeries that were ever imposed upon the credulity of the literary world. These were the results of the labours of the more active and zealous partisans of the denying and believing factions; but there were others again, who did not strictly belong to either, and these, taking arguments from both sides, succeeded with much ingenuity in involving the question in an obscurity from which it has not emerged to this day.

The Ossianic controversy, like all other controversies, soon became personal, and in nearly every case the discussion of the point exhibited fully as much abuse as arguments. During all this time Macpherson himself, the cause of all this bitterness of spirit and uncharitableness, and the only person who could have allayed it, kept sullenly aloof, and refused to produce that evidence which alone could restore the peace of the literary world, and which he yet declared he possessed. Notwithstanding the celebrity, however, which he was thus acquiring, his situation, in other respects, was by no means an enviable one. By those who did not believe in the authenticity of the poems, he was reviled as an impudent unprincipled impostor; by those who did, he was charged with being a bungling unskilful translator; and by both he was abused for his obstinacy in refusing to come forward with his testimony in the cause in dispute.

Before proceeding to take a nearer view of the Ossianic controversy itself, there will be no impropriety in alluding to certain opinions regarding the subject of it, which have now pretty generally obtained. These are, that it is of little moment whether the poems are genuine or not; and that they are not, after all, worthy in point of merit of the notice they have attracted, or of the discussion and dissension they have created. With regard to the last it is matter of opinion, and must always remain so, since it cannot be decided by any rule of taste. The first again involves a sentiment more specious perhaps than profound; for, besides the consideration that truth is at all times and in all cases better than falsehood, and possesses an intrinsic value which in almost every instance renders it worthy of being sought for, the investigation into the authenticity of the poems of Ossian involves, in the language of the ingenious commentator already named, matter of importance to the "general history of literature, and even that of the human race."

Whatever weight, however, may be allowed to these considerations, it is certain that Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* have lost a very large portion of the popularity which they once enjoyed, and are evidently losing more every day. The rising generation do not seem to have that relish for their beauties, or rather do not see those beauties in them which captivated their fathers, and this can be ascribed only, either to a change in literary taste, or to some defect or defects in the poems themselves, which improved intellectual culture has detected; for it is the result of an opinion formed on their abstract merits as literary compositions, and is wholly unconnected with the question of their authenticity, that now being considered a point of such indifference as to be but rarely taken into account in the decision. The book is now taken up without a thought being wasted on the consideration whether it be the production of Ossian or Macpherson, and

is judged of by its own intrinsic value; and tested in this way, it would appear that it has been found wanting—a result which seems to show that the greatest charm of the poems, even at the time when they were most appreciated, co-existed with the belief that they were genuine relics of antiquity; that it was inseparable from this belief; that it was born of it, fostered by it, and perished with it; that, in short, it lived and died with it, and was exactly proportioned to its strength and its weakness.

Of the controversialists in this celebrated literary war the list is both long and illustrious, and comprehends some of the proudest names of which this country has to boast. Amongst them occur those of Dr. Blair, Dr. Gregory, Lord Kames, Hume, and Dr. Johnson. The most remarkable next to these were, Dr. Smith of Campbelltown, Dr. Graham of Aberfoyle, Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Laing, author of *Notes and Illustrations*, introduced into an edition of Ossian's poems, published in Edinburgh in 1805; Mr. Alexander Macdonald, author of a work entitled "*Some of Ossian's Lesser Poems Rendered into Verse*," with a Preliminary Discourse in Answer to Mr. Laing's Critical and Historical Dissertations on the Antiquity of Ossian's Poems," 8vo, Liverpool, 1805; and W. Shaw, A.M., author of *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*, London, 1781. There were besides these a host of others, but of lesser note. Of those just named, there were six who may be said, generally speaking, to have been in favour of the authenticity of the poems, and five against it. The former were Dr. Blair, Dr. Gregory, Lord Kames, Dr. Graham, Sir John Sinclair, and Mr. Macdonald. The latter Mr. Hume, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Laing, Dr. Smith, and Mr. Shaw.

Here then we are startled at the very outset by the near approach to equality in the amount of intelligence and talent which appears arrayed on either side; nor is this feeling greatly lessened in comparing the evidence adduced by each party in support of their opposite opinions, and in confutation of those of their opponents. Both seem conclusive when taken separately, and both defective when placed in juxtaposition.

Although, however, two classes only of controversialists have been made above, there were actually four, or rather the two given are found on closer inquiry to be again subdivided—of the believers, into those whose opinion of the authenticity of the poems was unqualified, and those again who believed them to be authentic only to a certain extent, while the remainder were interpolations by the translator. Of the former were Blair, Gregory, Lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, and Macdonald. Of the latter was Dr. Graham, and though only one, he was yet the representative of a large body who entertained a similar opinion. Of the disbelievers, again, there were those who utterly denied their authenticity; and those who, entertaining strong doubts, did not yet go the whole length of rejecting them as spurious. Of the first were Dr. Johnson, Laing, and Shaw. Of the last, Mr. Hume and Dr. Smith.

The controversy thus stands altogether upon four separate and distinct grounds. These are, first, an entire and unqualified belief in the authenticity of the poems; second, a belief that they are in part genuine, and in part spurious, including a charge of interpolation and false translation; third, much doubt, but no certainty; and fourth, a thorough conviction of their being wholly forgeries.

The principal arguments adduced in support of the first opinion are—that the poems bear internal evidence of antiquity;—that their originals are or were

well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat large portions of them; that Macpherson's talents, judging by his own original works, *The Highlander; Translation of the Iliad, &c.*, were not equal to the production of poems of such transcendent merit as those ascribed to Ossian; that many credible witnesses were present on various occasions when Macpherson was put in possession of these poems, orally and by MS.; and, lastly, that the originals themselves are now before the world.

With regard to the internal evidence of the genuineness of these poems, it is to be feared that this is a thing more ingenious than sound; and, like the imaginary figures that present themselves in the fire, is more easily described than pointed out. It will, at any rate, scarcely be deemed sufficient proof that the poems in question are ancient, merely because they bear no likeness to any that are modern.

Dr. Blair's celebrated dissertation on this subject, and on the authenticity of the poems generally, is much more elegant, ingenious, and learned, than convincing; and appears, after all, to establish little more, indeed little more seems aimed at, than that the poems may and should be ancient, not that they are. To those who think that the absence of all modern allusion in the poems, and the exclusive use which is made of natural imagery, without one single exception, is a proof of their antiquity, the argument of internal evidence will have no doubt considerable weight; but there are others who see in this circumstance only caution and dexterity on the part of Macpherson, and who in consequence, instead of reckoning it an evidence of his veracity, consider it but as a proof of his ingenuity.

As to the assertion again, that the originals were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat them. This, on inquiry, turns out to mean only that fragments of Gaelic poetry—not entire poems, as given by Macpherson, but certainly, such as they were, of undoubted antiquity—were to be met with in the Highlands. That such were, and probably are, to be found there even to this day is undeniable; but, in the first place, they have been in no instance found in the complete state in which they appear in the translations, but disjointed and disconnected, and, still worse, bearing only in a few instances any more than a resemblance to the English poems. In large portions even this is entirely wanting. The originals, then, in the only sense in which that word ought to be used, cannot with truth be said to have existed in the Highlands. Fragments of ancient poetry, as already said, did indeed exist there, but not the mass of poetry given to the world by Macpherson as the poems of Ossian, and said by him to have been collected in the Highlands. The assertion, therefore, has been made, either with a view to deceive, or without a due consideration of the meaning of the terms in which it is conveyed.

The argument deduced from Macpherson's talents, as exhibited in his original works, to show that he could not be the author of the poems in question is plausible; but the premises on which it is founded are by no means of so incontrovertible a nature as to give us implicit confidence in the conclusion. That a literary man may utterly fail in one or more instances, and be eminently successful in another, is perfectly consistent with experience. It has often happened, and is therefore not more extraordinary in Macpherson's case, supposing him to be the author, and not merely the translator, of the poems ascribed to Ossian, than in many others that could be named. Besides, something like a reason is to

be found for his success in this species of composition, in the fact that from his earliest years he was an enthusiastic admirer of Celtic lore; and that his poetry in particular was one of his constant and most agreeable studies. This argument then can have no great weight, unless it be deemed an impossibility that a man who had failed in one or more literary attempts should be successful in another; an assertion which, it is believed, few will be hardy enough to venture, and which, it is certain, fewer still will be able to make good.

With regard to that part of the controversy where evidence is produced by credible, and in several of the instances certainly highly respectable witnesses, of Macpherson's having been put in possession, in their presence, of various poems ascribed to Ossian, both oral and written;—without questioning the credibility of these witnesses, an important objection may be fairly brought against the nature of their evidence. It is liable to that charge of generality which Mr. Hume thought, and every impartial person must think, ought to be considered "as being of no authority." In no single instance is any particular poem, or any particular part of a poem, distinctly traced by such evidence from its original possessor to the pages of Macpherson's volumes. Not one of them has stated the results of what came under his own observation, in anything like such plain terms as "I saw or heard Macpherson put in possession of the first duan of Cath-loda; I read it over carefully at the time, and I assert that the English poem of that name which he has given is a translation of the same." The witnesses alluded to have said nothing like this. The amount of their evidence is, that it consists with their knowledge that Macpherson did obtain Gaelic poems when in the Highlands. They saw him get some in MS., and they were present when others were recited to him. But here their testimony terminates; and in no case have the poems been further identified in the English dress with those which he procured on these occasions, than as bearing, in some instances, a general resemblance to them. The extent to which Macpherson made use of what they saw him get, or indeed what use he made of it at all, they have not said, because they could not; for although he carried away the originals, they did not, and could not, therefore ascertain, by the only process by which it could with certainty be ascertained—by collation, what he had omitted, or what he had retained; what he had changed, or what he had left unaltered.

We come now to the last proof exhibited in support of the authenticity of the English poems of Ossian, and it is by far the most startling of the whole. It would seem indeed, were it adopted without examination, to set the question for ever at rest, and to place it beyond the reach of all further controversy. This proof is the *Originals* published by Sir John Sinclair in 1806, an evidence which certainly appears at first sight conclusive; but what is the fact? They are not originals, in so far as the written poetry which Macpherson obtained is concerned; for they are all in his own handwriting or that of his amanuensis. The term *original*, therefore, in this case, can only be applied to what he wrote down from oral communication; and it will at once be perceived how much their evidence is already weakened by this limitation of the meaning of the word *original*, as employed by Sir John Sinclair. How far, again, it may be relied upon as applied to the oral communications which Macpherson received, must entirely depend upon the degree of faith which is put in his integrity. He has said that they are the originals, but this is all we have for it, and by many,

we suspect, it will scarcely be deemed sufficient. He had a control over these documents which greatly lessens, if it does not wholly destroy, all faith in them as evidences; while his interest in producing them must lay them open, under all circumstances, to the strongest suspicions. But it is said that it is not likely that he would be at the trouble of going through so laborious a process as this, merely to support an imposture—that, though willing, he was, from his want of skill in the Gaelic language, unfit for the task, and could not have produced poems in that language of such merit as those which he gave as originals—that the Gaelic poems are superior to the English—and lastly, that from impartial and critical examination, the former must have been anterior to the latter. With regard to the first of these assertions it seems to be merely gratuitous, as it rests upon a question which Macpherson himself alone could determine, and can therefore be of no weight as an argument. That Macpherson was greatly deficient in critical knowledge of the Gaelic language, and that he could not consequently produce poems in that language of such merit as those which he represents as the originals of Ossian, is certain, because it is established by the clearest evidence, and by the concurring testimony of several eminent Gaelic scholars; but although he could not do this himself, he could employ others to do it, and it is well known that he was intimate and in close correspondence with several persons critically skilled in the Gaelic language, of whose services he availed himself frequently and largely when preparing his *Translations*. Might he not have had recourse to the same aid in translating from the English to the Gaelic? Dr. Johnson thought so. "I am far from certain," says the sagacious moralist, "that some translations have not been lately made that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work." In truth, the presumption that Macpherson did procure Gaelic translations to be made from the English is exceedingly strong, as will appear from various circumstances yet to be alluded to. At all events it does not seem by any means an inevitable conclusion, that because he was not himself capable of writing what are called the originals, they are therefore original. But the strongest part of the argument in favour of their originality yet remains. It is said that the Gaelic is superior to the English, and that on an impartial and critical examination it appears that the former must have been anterior to the latter. Now the first of these is again matter of opinion, and as such, entitled to no more consideration than opinion generally deserves. To many their merits will appear on the whole pretty equal; to others, the Gaelic will, in some instances, seem the more beautiful; and in some, again, the English. The second assertion, however, is not of this description. It is not founded on opinion, but on an alleged positive internal evidence. It is to be regretted, however, that that evidence had not been pointed out in more specific terms than those employed—that it had not been distinctly said what are those particular circumstances which, on a perusal, establish the relative ages of the Gaelic and English versions; for, on an impartial and critical examination lately made by a person eminently skilled in the Gaelic language, for the express purpose of furnishing information for this article, it does not appear, at least from anything he could discover, that the Gaelic poems must of necessity have preceded the English. They certainly contain nothing that shows the contrary—nothing that discovers them to be of modern composition; but neither do Macpherson's English poems of Ossian. Neither of them betray themselves by any slip or

inadvertency, and this, negative as it is, is yet all that can be said of both as to internal evidence.

What has just been said includes nearly all the leading and direct arguments which have been employed in the defence of the authenticity of Macpherson's translations of the poems of Ossian, and nearly all that can be urged against that belief, with the exception of that which may be deduced from Macpherson's own conduct in relation to the question, and which shall be afterwards referred to.

We come now to consider the grounds of the belief that the poems are in part genuine and in part spurious; including a charge of interpolation and of false translation. What has been already said having necessarily included all the ramifications of the controversy, the consideration of this point need not detain us long, for happily the evidence is not only quite at hand, but of the most conclusive and satisfactory description. That some portion of Macpherson's English poems are genuine, at least in so far as that can be considered genuine of which the utmost that the committee of the Highland Society found themselves warranted in saying, after much and careful inquiry was, that it bore a strong *resemblance* to certain fragments which they themselves had obtained, is beyond doubt. Macpherson, as before said, certainly did gather some scraps of poetry in the Highlands, and as certainly did make some use of them in the composition of his poems. But that he introduced a great deal of his own, that he interpolated, and that he translated falsely the little he got, is equally certain. The fact is incontrovertibly established by Dr. Graham, to whose able work on the subject, entitled *An Essay on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*, we refer the reader for more full information, and is thus confirmed by the committee of the Highland Society, who, after stating in their report that they had "not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title or tenor with the poems published by him," proceed to say, "It (the committee) is inclined to believe that he (Macpherson) was in use to supply chasms, and to give connection, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what, *in his opinion*, was below the standard of good poetry." What immediately follows this sentence, though not relevant to the point immediately under discussion, is too important to be passed over. The committee goes on to say, "To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties it is *impossible* for the committee to determine." Now this means, if it means anything, that the interpolations were such close imitations of the original, that of the whole poems, it was impossible to distinguish which was Ossian's and which Macpherson's; therefore, that the poetry of the latter was as good as that of the former. An admission this that would seem to settle the point of Macpherson's ability to forge the poems, a point so strongly insisted upon by the defenders of their authenticity, by showing that he *was* competent to write them; and in accordance with this it may be asked, if he wrote a part thus excellently, why might he not have written the whole? Dr. Graham, it is true, has, in several instances, detected "Macpherson's bombast," but this only shows that Macpherson has occasionally fallen into an error, which it was next to impossible to avoid altogether in a work written in the peculiar style of Ossian's poems.

There still, however, remains one overpowering

circumstance, which, if there were no other evidence against the fidelity of Macpherson, would probably be held by most unprejudiced inquirers as quite conclusive of the whole question. The *Originals* correspond exactly with the *Translations* in language, and indeed in every point. How can this be reconciled to the fact, admitted by Macpherson himself, that he took certain liberties with the original Gaelic? The *Originals*, when published, might have been expected to exhibit such differences with the *Translations* as would arise from Mr. Macpherson's labours as an emendator and purifier of the native ideas. But they do not exhibit any traces of such difference. The unavoidable conclusion is, that the originals prepared by Macpherson, and published by Sir John Sinclair, were either altogether a forgery, or were accommodated to the *Translations*, by such a process as entirely to destroy their credit, and render their publication useless.

We shall now proceed to take a view of the conduct of Macpherson himself, in so far as it relates to the controversy which he had been the means of exciting, and when we do this we shall find that whether he really was an impostor or no, in the matter of the poems, he pursued exactly the course, with regard to them and the public, which an impostor would have done. He was accused of being guilty of an imposition. He took no steps to rebut the charge. He was solicited to give proofs of the authenticity of the poems. He refused, and for upwards of thirty years submitted to wear the dress of a bankrupt in integrity, without making any attempt to get rid of it. He affected, indeed, a virtuous indignation on all occasions when the slightest insinuation was made that an imposition had been practised; and instead of calmly exhibiting the proofs of his innocence, he got into a passion, and thus silenced, in place of satisfying, inquiry. "To revenge," says Dr. Johnson, speaking of Macpherson's conduct in this matter, "reasonable incredulity by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt."

A suspicion of the authenticity of the poems almost immediately followed the appearance of those published in 1762, and the first public notice taken of it by Macpherson himself occurs in 1763, in his preface to *Temora*, published in that year. He there says, "Since the publication of the last collection of Ossian's poems, many insinuations have been made, and doubts arisen, concerning their authenticity. I shall probably hear more of the same kind after the present poems make their appearance. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of ignorance of facts, I shall not pretend to determine. To me they give no concern, as I have it always in my power to remove them. An incredulity of this kind is natural to persons who confine all merit to their own age and country. These are generally the weakest, as well as the most ignorant, of the people. Indolently confined to a place, their ideas are very narrow and circumscribed. It is ridiculous enough to see such people as these are branding their ancestors with the despicable appellation of barbarians. Sober reason can easily discern where the title ought to be fixed with more propriety. As prejudice is always the effect of ignorance, the knowing, the men of true taste, despise and dismiss it. If the poetry is good, and the characters natural and striking, to these it is matter of indifference whether the heroes were born in the little village of Angles in Jutland, or natives of the barren heaths of Caledonia. That honour which nations derive from ancestors, worthy

or renowned, is merely ideal. It may buoy up the minds of individuals, but it contributes very little to their importance in the eyes of others. But of all those prejudices which are incident to narrow minds, that which measures the merit of performances by the vulgar opinion concerning the country which produced them, is certainly the most ridiculous. Ridiculous, however, as it is, few have the courage to reject it; and I am thoroughly convinced that a few quaint lines of a Roman or Greek epigrammatist, if dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum, would meet with more cordial and universal applause, than all the most beautiful national rhapsodies of all the Celtic bards and Scandinavian scalds that ever existed." This, it is presumed, will be thought rather an odd reply to the doubts entertained concerning the authenticity of the poems; or rather it will be thought to be no reply at all. It is all very well as to reasoning and writing; but, it will be perceived, wonderfully little to the purpose. All that he condescends to say in this rhapsody to the point at issue—the "doubts"—is, that he "has it always in his power to remove them." But he made no use of this power then, nor at any period during his after-life, though urged to it by motives which gentlemen and men of honour have been always accustomed to hold as sacred.

When pressed by the committee of the Highland Society of London to publish the originals, and thus satisfy the public mind as to the authenticity of the poems, Macpherson thus replies to the secretary of that body:—"I shall adhere to the promise I made several years ago to a deputation of the same kind, [in their anxiety to have the question set at rest, they had proposed that another deputation should wait upon him for this purpose,] that is, to employ my first leisure time, and a considerable portion of time it must be to do it accurately, in arranging and printing the originals of the *Poems of Ossian*, as they have come to my hands." The delay here acknowledged, a delay of several years, and the further delay bespoken, as it were, in this extract, between the promise of giving the originals to the world and its fulfilment, will seem to many suspicious circumstances, and will appear rather a necessary provision for getting up a translation from the English, than for the preparation of original documents. Nor is this suspicion lessened by his telling us that they were yet to arrange; a process which it will be thought must of necessity have taken place before they were translated. It seems odd that the translations should be in perfect order while the originals were in confusion. The mere disarrangement of sheets of MS., from passing through the hands of the printer, or from inattention, could scarcely warrant the formidable and cautious provision of "a considerable portion of time."

The fact of Macpherson having interpolated, although it could not have been ascertained by other evidence, would be sufficiently established by his own. When taxed by Dr. Macintyre of Glenorchy with being himself the author of the greater part of the poem of *Fingal*—"You are much mistaken," replied Macpherson; "I had occasion to do *less* of that than you suppose." Thus admitting the fact, and only limiting its extent.

On the whole it seems, on a careful revision of all that has been said on this once famous controversy, beyond all doubt that Macpherson is, in nearly the strictest sense of the word, the author of the English *Poems of Ossian*. The skeleton was furnished him, but it was he who clothed it with flesh, endued it with life, and gave it the form it now wears. He caught the tone and spirit of the Celtic lyre, from

hearing its strings vibrating in the wind. The starting note was given him, but the strain is his own. Whatever degree of merit, therefore, may be allowed to these strains, belongs to Macpherson.

MACPHERSON, MAJOR SAMUEL CHARTERS, C.B. "These memorials tell of a barbarous race won over from dark and cruel rites; and of an important Indian state rendered in the hour of need a mainstay of the empire, when its defection would have involved that of every native power." In this manner a work, entitled *Memorials of Service in India*, introduces, in its first sentence, the philanthropic, high-minded, energetic soldier who now comes under our notice. Although the eulogy is great, the narrative shows how justly and how well it was merited.

Samuel Charters Macpherson was the second son of Dr. Hugh Macpherson, Professor of Greek in the university of Aberdeen, and of the professor's first wife, Anne Maria Charters; and was born at King's College, Old Aberdeen, on the 7th of January, 1806. Being a sickly child, the earlier part of his education was received at home under private tutors; and although his classical training was carefully attended to, his intellectual bias was shown in his favourite studies of botany, chemistry, and geology. Having become a student at the university of Edinburgh, he, at the age of sixteen, attended the class of moral philosophy presided over by the celebrated John Wilson; and as it was impossible for a lively and inquiring mind to be at rest under the lectures of such a professor, he was wont to discuss them in the evening with his tutor, the Rev. Dr. George Tulloch, who on such occasions was catechised, cross-questioned, and puzzled by his eager pupil as he had never been before. "He unconsciously showed great ability," adds Dr. Tulloch; "his talents and capacity were very far superior to those of his contemporaries; and I count it great honour to have aided slightly in developing his reasoning powers, and his love of doing good for its own sake without the least alloy of vanity or self." The next two years were spent by Samuel Macpherson at Trinity College, Cambridge; and although he had outgrown the sickness of his boyhood, and become a tall vigorous young man, he suffered under an increasing delicacy of his eyes, which obliged him to limit his studies, and consequently to fall short of that scholastic distinction which was otherwise within his grasp. But considering the great work of life that lay before him, it was perhaps better that thus it should be. Being unable to pore long and closely upon books, he was obliged the more to study those living volumes with which his college abounded; and by associating with his class-fellows, he acquired that experience of men and their characters, and those ingratiating habits of social intercourse, which books alone cannot communicate, and which availed him so well in India.

Having intended to follow the profession of the law as an advocate at the Scottish bar, Samuel Macpherson, after a stay of two years at the English university, returned to Edinburgh, and commenced the usual course of reading. But the new and voluminous subjects into which he was obliged to enter, and especially the study of political economy and civil law, were too much for him; his eyesight failed, and on consulting with the best surgeons of the day, they gave him little hope that his eyes would endure the necessary application for becoming a successful legal practitioner. He must adopt some profession less dependent upon reading and research; and instead of a lawyer, he resolved to become a soldier. A

cadetship in the East India Company's service having been obtained for him, he set off for Madras early in 1827; and the long trying voyage to India, which often makes the peaceful pugnacious and the benevolent selfish, only served to draw out the natural kindness of his heart. He had secured for the voyage the luxury of a large and airy cabin; but a young cadet having fallen sick, he transferred him to his own comfortable berth, and nursed him during his illness, contenting himself the while with a very sorry crib. In June he arrived at Madras, and soon after was posted to the 8th Regiment of Native Infantry at Jalah.

Time passed on with Ensign Macpherson for nearly three years, the dull monotony of military life in India being only alternated with a long attack of ill health, which obliged him to retire to the hills on leave of absence,—and researches in geology, for which his movements gave him excellent opportunity. But in the summer of 1831 he was not only promoted to the rank of lieutenant, but appointed assistant surveyor-general of the Hyderabad country, 500 miles in length and as many in breadth, "and presenting as many and as varied objects of moral and physical interest as are bounded by similar lines in any portion of Hindostan." It was no wonder that this appointment, so accordant with his scientific pursuits, filled him with joy, and speedily restored him to his wonted health. Besides his qualifications for such an office which he had acquired by his home-studies, he was now a fluent Hindostance scholar, and tolerably well acquainted with Persian. The state of his eyesight, however, still continued to be his principal difficulty, and after he had been more than a year employed in office, he thus good-humouredly alluded to the drawback: "By a curious infelicity of fortune, after having quitted one hemisphere on account of visual incapacity, I find everything conspire to assign more optical power as the best of my faculties in another." His surveys, however, were so well appreciated at head-quarters, that he was in 1835 promoted to the office of surveyor-general of the Nellore district, which lies immediately to the north of Madras, betwixt the sea and the Eastern Ghauts. He had not long resided in this district when the Goomsur war of 1836, in which his regiment, the 8th Native Infantry, had for some time been serving, recalled him from the tent of the surveyor to that of the soldier. It was in the course of this service that he became acquainted with those aboriginal tribes upon whose pernicious rites and customs he was destined to exercise the happiest influence.

These tribes, the Khonds, the Koles, and the Sourahs, who constituted in very ancient times the primitive races of Orissa, had been dislodged by the Hindoos who succeeded them, and driven into the more unhealthy or less productive parts of the country, where they were considered as the serfs of the conquerors, and as such were subject to their usurpations. Against this degradation however they were more or less apt to rebel, and assert their native independence. It was our own story of the Saxon aggression upon the Celt, or the Norman upon the Saxon, exhibited in India with a few oriental variations before the days of William the Conqueror or Malcolm Canmore. Of these tribes, the mountaineers were the proudest and most independent, in this case resembling the Highlanders of Scotland before the union, and were governed by their patriarchal chiefs, who paid little more than a nominal submission to the authority of their foreign rulers. Of the very existence however of such a high-spirited people the British government in India was utterly ignorant, until mere chance brought it into collision with the

Khonds of Goomsur. That zemindary owing certain unpaid arrears of tribute to the East India Company, its rajah, in consequence of the attempts of the latter to enforce payment, retired into the Khond districts above the Ghauts; and when the British troops followed, they were surprised to find themselves among a hostile people of whom they as yet had never heard. Such a collision could not occur without blows, and hence the Goomsur rebellion of 1835. The mountaineers rallied around the son of the rajah, the father being now dead, as devotedly as our own Highlanders rallied around "Prince Charlie," and for this their country was laid waste by the British and their chiefs executed. It was in the last and strongest effort of their resistance in 1836 that Lieutenant Macpherson rejoined his regiment in the camp at Goomsur. After having had his share of a weary military campaign until the close of the year, he was sent to survey a portion of the zemindary in the plains and lower hills; and in the following year he was sent upon another mission of survey into the unexplored part of the country, a service which he alone was judged capable of performing. The territory to be surveyed on this occasion was the northern part of the Khond country from Goomsur to the Mahanuddee.

By this appointment Lieutenant Macpherson was introduced into the sphere for which he was best fitted, and which he so ably and worthily occupied for years. He was now to come into close intercourse with the Khonds, of whom we were still comparatively ignorant. Several British officers indeed who had entered the country were so disgusted with the prevalent barbarism, that they made haste to quit it, without being able to tell anything to purpose either of the region or the people. But such a proceeding would not have satisfied Macpherson. Regardless of self, he was intent not only to perform his professional duties, but to perform them well: but in addition to this, he was anxious to become acquainted with these brave but oppressed and half-savage Khonds, that he might win their confidence and affection, for the purpose of promoting their best interests. For this, too, while he possessed those facilities for daily intercourse with them which few of his countrymen enjoyed, he had that open frankness of disposition and manners, and that clear-ringing sincerity of conversation, which could win irresistibly upon the savage and civilized alike. This his amiable disposition had taught him to cultivate, and in this consisted his power over the Khonds. A curious instance of the effect of his winning manner was afforded soon after his entrance among them, which is thus told by his biographer and brother. "A fierce old chief, the patriarch of Baramullick, called Bagwan Sow,¹ commonly known as 'the Great Sow,' came to his tent to pay him a visit of mere curiosity, full of ill-will and disaffection, and believing himself and believed by all his followers to be one of the most important of living men. He was to call his new-born son after Dora Bissye, the chief (not yet captured) of the insurrection, 'the greatest and wisest man he knew.' His host jokingly said, 'You had better call your next son after me, and then you will have friends on both sides,' a proposal which was received with a snort of indignation. But after passing a week in camp, using his eyes and ears, and enjoying the hospitality of his new acquaintance, the Great Sow was quite another being; and at last he spoke out, saying, 'You are a great and wise people, and know everything; and

we are poor jungle beasts, and know nothing.' So he ended by learning with much pains the name of 'Maak' to call his next son by, a promise which he faithfully kept, adding the name of some Hindu god; and many years afterwards, on hearing that his friend's authority was opposed, he raised his men and marched to his assistance."

Before such a man as Lieutenant Macpherson the whole history, character, and usages of such a people were laid open, and he soon learned to know the Khonds in their strength and weakness, their virtues and their crimes. Their religion also occupied much of his attention, as it was in this that some of their worst faults originated. He characterized it as "a weak incoherent theism, with a subordinate demonology, the reflection of the wants and fears and predominant sentiments of a rude society;" and as many of its fruits were wholly incompatible with humanity and the rule established in British India, he drew up a statement of their religion, and afterwards another, which, with several improvements and additions upon the first, was read before the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1852. The first and most clamant of the crimes inculcated by this creed was the practice of human sacrifice. The victim was sacrificed to the earth-goddess Tari, under the belief that every benefit proceeded from her, and that to receive them or continue to enjoy them it was necessary to propitiate her with human sacrifices, which were her food. A service represented as so necessary of course became prevalent, and the horrid rite was solemnly practised in every district every month of the year. The victims were of three kinds: one class was purchased from some other tribe or race; another were born victims, and sacrificed by hereditary right; a third class were children presented to the doom by their parents or natural guardians; and when the day arrived for their immolation, it was held as a day of public feasting and licentious revelry. Nor were the refinements of cruelty omitted in the mode of sacrifice. Sometimes the victim was torn to pieces by the wild worshippers, who preserved every morsel of his flesh as a charm with which to make their fields fruitful and their households healthy. Sometimes he was roasted to death before a slow fire, his protracted agonies adding value to the rite. Such was the worship and such the devil-sabbaths among a people otherwise simple, industrious, and benevolent. The peculiar atrocities of such a murderous creed excited, when made known, a feeling of universal horror, and the governor-general of India vowed to put an end to the hideous practice. But how was this to be done? If by force, the British troops necessary for the purpose could subsist in these districts only three months in the year. And if more lenient measures had been adopted, and the captives ransomed with money, it is certain that as large, or even a larger, number of victims would have been procured with the purchase-money. The tenacity of the eastern character, especially under persecution, would have laughed such attempts of conversion to scorn; and so long as the heart of the Khond was unchanged, Tari would continue to be worshipped with human sacrifices.

Another evil practice originating in such a perverse creed, was that of infanticide. This practice, which was prevalent more or less among all the Khond tribes, was so predominant among certain of them belonging to the sect of Boora, that no female infant was spared except when a woman's first child was a female, and whole villages containing a hundred houses might be seen without a single female child. This arose from the extreme looseness of the marriage tie, and the extraordinary license accorded to

¹ Sow is a title of honour among this people instead of one of contempt.

female infidelity founded upon the sanctions of their religion. The influence of the Khond women, especially in public affairs, was greater than that which was allowed to their sex even in the ancient forests of Germany. But this liberty was connected with still greater license, by which the former was counteracted and changed into a curse. If a wife was unfaithful to her marriage it was only her paramour who suffered; and at any time, with a few exceptions, she might leave her husband, return to her father's house, and contract a new marriage. A woman might also enter a house and establish herself as its mistress, while the man thus invaded must make her his wife, or entail disgrace on himself and his tribe by refusal. In taking a wife, who must always be from a tribe different from that of the suitor, the bridegroom paid a large price in money and cattle, which was chiefly subscribed by his near relatives, and the branch of his tribe to which he belonged; but the bride's father, instead of enjoying this dowry, was obliged to distribute it among the fathers of his own clan. His case, however, was hard in this respect, that should his daughter leave her husband and return to him, he was obliged to return to the husband the full amount at which she was purchased. These liabilities of each tribe for every member of its community, the debts they occasioned, and the difficulty of a fair partition of the burden, were such, that these Khond marriages have produced three-fourths of the sanguinary quarrels and feuds of the country, which have been pursued with Highland duration and pertinacity. Hence the saying prevalent among the Khonds: "To any man but a rich and powerful chief, who desires to form connections, and is able to make large and sudden restitutions, and to his tribe—a married daughter is a curse. By the death of our female infants before they see the light, the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace."

The British government had first attempted to suppress the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds by force, but the result of two campaigns showed the hopelessness of such a remedy. The next expedient used was moral influence, but this also was inefficient, as it only changed the evil from an open to a guarded and private rite. After a fruitless struggle, Lieutenant Macpherson was appointed assistant to the agent of the governor of Fort St. George in Gunjam, ostensibly for the purpose of road-surveying and road-constructing, but in reality for humanizing the Khonds, with whom his office would bring him into close and frequent contact. By his instructions he was directed, while ostensibly finding occupation in surveying a road, to make the suppression of human sacrifices his principal object. He was to take every opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of such a custom. He was to be careful, however, not to speak of it as exclusively belonging to the Khonds, but as a custom prevailing among barbarous tribes in every part of the world, although repudiated by all civilized people, and equally contrary to the law of God and man. With this commission Captain Macpherson (for he had now attained that rank) commenced his professional labours among the Womunniah Khonds, whom he had never visited before; and although his arrival in the character of a government agent was at first regarded with fear and suspicion, his conciliatory manners so won upon the simple people, that their shyness was soon changed into a universal welcome. Here he found, too, that those tribes among whom infanticide was most prevalent abhorred the rite of human sacrifice; while those who practised the latter condemned the inhuman practice of infanticide. Careful of the chief

object of his mission, while he laid out a government road he cautiously proceeded to break ground in the stubborn soil of the national religion. His arrival was at the close of 1841, and in the following year his means of action were increased by an appointment which constituted him collector, judge, and magistrate of the district. On the 2d of June, 1842, he was thus enabled to report his progress: "I have had the Khonds in to reason with me, tribe by tribe; and the change that has come over their minds, although very far yet from being that which I desire to induce, is very remarkable. How long it will last is also a problem to solve. One cluster of tribes has promised to forego the sacrifice, demanding on our part justice, as it is to be had in the low country; the severest punishment by us of the violation of the agreement:—permission to sacrifice buffaloes, monkeys, &c., with all the ceremonies usual on occasions of human sacrifice; to be permitted to denounce the government to their gods upon all occasions as the cause of this relinquishment of their ancient worship; and the indication to those deities of Baba Khan in particular as the chief persuader—Baba willingly assuming the entire responsibility. Another group has gone away to bring me in their victims, and I am anxiously expecting the completion of their intention. There would have been no difficulty had I sent for them; but their spontaneous delivery is an extraordinary effort, and I am not at all certain that the poor people are equal to it." After seven weeks his doubts on this last head were laid to rest. When the measure was proposed by the chiefs to the people, there was much disputation and demur, but at last they all consented, with the exception of the people of two tracts, who declared that they would not abandon their ancient worship. Little more than four months afterwards (16th October) he writes: "Things are going on, at least, as well as could have been hoped. I have pitted the power of simple justice against that of superstition—not, of course, expecting the former, unaided, to prevail, but the fight is a far better one than anything which I know of human nature would have led me to anticipate. I have had a very anxious time of it, but two of the great months have been got over without an offering, public or secret, in the parts of which I am trying to make conquest. In other respects I have the people entirely with me."

The history of the year 1842, in which such a striking change was effected upon so large a majority of the Khonds, afforded to Captain Macpherson, in its retrospection, matter for satisfaction and wonder. As the public sacrifices were offered by the several tribes in turn, it was easy for those who were now exempt to agree to abstinence from the practice in future. But it was not so with the Mootahs of Courminghia and Calingia, whose turn it was next to make the public offering, and upon whom, therefore, the gentle force of persuasion was brought by Macpherson most earnestly to bear. They told him that they were convinced by his representations; that the opinion of all wise, and good, and great men condemned the rite; and that, for themselves, they abhorred it, and were convinced that no god required it at their hands. And then, too, as the government had promised on their abandonment of human sacrifice to give them the great advantages of protection and peace, they would abandon it, trusting that their gods would acknowledge the weight of the constraining circumstances under which they acted. After they had reached this decisive point, and recovered from the bewilderment occasioned by their decision, they were encouraged by the assurance of Captain Macpherson that his own ancestors had also offered

human sacrifices, but had abandoned them when better instructed, and had since become a great people. "And what gods," they eagerly asked, "did your forefathers adopt after they had relinquished the sacrifice?" Growing at last in boldness, and having thrown their deities overboard, they resolved that the priesthood should follow. Their reasoning on the subject, and the substitute they proposed to adopt in lieu of their spiritual guides, was the most natural which a simple people could adopt. "We can ourselves," they said, "conduct with perfect efficacy every indispensable ceremony of our religion except the great rite—which we have given up: but the priests alone can enable us to cure our diseases and those of our wives and children, by informing us, when attacked, which god is offended, and what is the expiation. Now, had we a doctor who could cure us without a reference to the gods, as we learn that your doctors cure you, all will be well. If we remain dependent on the priests for cure, they will refer all our diseases to the earth-god unpropitiated by human blood, and we must sacrifice or die." Delighted with this solution of the difficulty, "Send us a doctor," they cried with one voice, at a conference of the whole Bara Mootah tribes, "and we will make him a god!" It is perhaps needless to add that their request was complied with.

Our limits do not permit us to give in detail the history of the suppression of human sacrifice among the Khond tribes, or the almost insuperable difficulties experienced by Captain Macpherson in such a philanthropic enterprise. These difficulties also were the more irritating, as they originated not so much in the Khonds themselves, as in the selfish intrigues at head-quarters, by which his powers were limited, his appeals concealed or misrepresented, and a native agent placed among the people, who opposed every effort which Macpherson made to improve them, especially in the suppression of human sacrifices. The district, too, was so unhealthy that a mere stay in it was martyrdom; and while Captain Macpherson was often prostrated by ill health, his company was often on the sick-list to the amount of from fifty to ninety per cent. of their numbers. But while he wrestled with a noxious climate to accomplish a noble but thankless work, his perseverance at last compelled the approbation of his superiors, and procured their full assent to his proceedings. And in 1844 what a triumph had crowned his perseverance! The effect of his two years' labour among the Khonds is thus summed up by his biographer:—"The course of events, then, had been this: a single cluster of the tribes of Goomsur [those of the district of Bara Mootah], moved by the promise, and by the experience of practical benefits conferred, and by—to use the expression officially employed at a later period—"the admirable power of individual character" which Captain Macpherson brought to bear upon them, had unanimously agreed upon his requisitions to give up its human sacrifice, provided that like terms were imposed upon its neighbours. There was no general sickness or failure of crops during the early and critical period, and that cluster of tribes stood firm and true to its compact.

"A second cluster of tribes [those of Athara Mootah] had entered into a similar convention, not at first unanimously; but all had been won over, by delicate and firm treatment, to a perfect adoption of the new system.

"The tribes of the two remaining districts of Goomsur [those of Hodzoghgor and Chokupand] stood out for a time, while the native local agent of the government was suffered to employ, for the main-

tenance of the sacrifice, the influence which he derived from that situation. But upon his removal they gave way, moved by the zealous persuasion of the reclaimed tribes, and by their own experience of Captain Macpherson's administration of justice. Thus the whole of the Khonds of Goomsur were gained."

Another idolatrous monstrosity for the suppression of which he had laboured simultaneously with the suppression of human sacrifice, was infanticide. This enormity was prevalent in a portion of the Khond country, including an area of about 2400 square miles, and possessing a population of 60,000, among whom it was computed that the number of female infants destroyed was from 1200 to 1500 annually. Besides believing that the practice was of divine institution, and therefore not a crime but a virtue, the tribes among whom it prevailed were convinced that it tended to the birth of male offspring, and was the best prevention of those sanguinary feuds which originated in the looseness of the marriage tie among their daughters. It would have been hopeless to extinguish an evil so deeply rooted by prohibitory enactments, and the infliction of pains and penalties; and such a mode of suppression Captain Macpherson had never contemplated. Instead of this, he used the same gentle and persuasive means by which he effected the abolition of human sacrifice. His plan of proceeding, he informs us, was the following:—

"1. To establish the authority of government over each cluster of tribes, by supplying their chief social wants beneficially and acceptably to them—giving them, in the first place, justice and peace; and 2. To attempt to obtain the complete dominion over them, which is necessary to sway them to the changes desired in their religion and their manners, by combining, with the direct authority so acquired, every form of influence which can be created by acting upon their reason, their feelings, their prejudices, their affections, and on the whole circle of their minor interests." A plan thus wisely devised he carried out with equal wisdom. He secured the confidence and love of the people by his upright and benevolent administration, and convinced them how much they would be benefited by the kindness and protection of the Anglo-Indian government. He reasoned with them, and convinced them by argument that infanticide could be justified neither by divine nor human law, and that it added neither to their political strength nor security, but was equally subversive of both. And working upon their obstinate feelings of clanship, from which female infanticide derived such strength, he sought to unite together by marriages those tribes that had hitherto been separated, and to bind them by a common tie to the British government. He accordingly, after long and careful preparation, bestowed fifty-three of the female wards of government saved from sacrifice, in marriage upon the principal men of two of the tribes he had won over, and taught them to value such brides as a connecting link with our government, and a pledge of its favour and protection. Thus the good work was successfully begun, and during the short period from 1842 to 1844, 170 female infants were saved by his interposition.

The next four years of Captain Macpherson's life were years of trouble and disappointment, chiefly arising from broken health, and the misunderstandings and annoyances of government officials, and in 1848 he returned to Britain upon leave of absence. His health being recruited, he returned to India in 1853, and was appointed governor-general's agent at Benares, which in a few weeks after he exchanged for the appointment of the political agency of

Bhopal. Soon afterwards, with the rank of major, which he had attained by brevet, he was promoted by Lord Dalhousie to the important office of political agent at Gwalior. It was a ticklish situation, as Scindiah, the young maharajah, was jealous of his prime-minister Dinkar Rao, an able and upright statesman; while the duty of Major Macpherson as British resident was to advise and aid the latter without interfering with his principal, for the purpose of preserving the tranquillity of the country. The same wisdom and moderation characterized his proceedings which won for him the affection of the simple Khonds, and both rajah and minister approved of his counsels. The effects of this were soon exhibited in the departments of government and the improvement of the country. But still more were they exhibited, when, after a residence of three years at the court of Gwalior, the mutiny in India broke out. In this terrible trial Major Macpherson had such influence on the fickle mind of Scindiah as to confirm him in his adherence to the British. For a month, therefore, after the seizure of Delhi by the mutinous sepoys, the English were enabled to maintain their footing at Gwalior. But on the 14th of June, when the mutiny had become general in Upper India, that part of our eastern army called the Gwalior contingent also broke out into rebellion, and a massacre of the British officers and residents ensued, the horrors of which are too well known to be repeated. At the imminent risk of being murdered in the streets, Major Macpherson made for the palace to prevent Scindiah from being drawn over to the mutiny, but found the maharajah surrounded by his troops under arms, and having a party of British fugitives, for whose protection he had thrown open the palace. Scindiah himself, however, was in sore perplexity, as the rebels expected that he would lead them, or at least supply them with money; and failing these, they had threatened to bombard his palace and city. The major, while providing for the safe conveyance of the British residents to Agra, insisted that he himself should be allowed to remain with Scindiah, who was never more in need of encouragement than at that moment; but as the rebels had determined that the British resident above all others should be sacrificed, Scindiah, consulting his own safety, positively refused him permission to remain. Having no alternative, and perceiving that the Europeans could not be protected an hour longer in Gwalior, Major Macpherson, with the party consisting of thirty fugitives, men, women, and children, commenced their retreat, and through a path beset with dangers reached Agra on the 17th. Indeed, they must have inevitably been massacred on their route, as a strong ambuscade was prepared for their coming, had not the chief of a warlike tribe with a body of well-mounted followers appeared for their rescue. Declaring warmly that he had not forgotten that Major Macpherson had interceded with the government for certain wells and tanks for his people, and that he would spend his life in defence of the party, he escorted them until their safety was insured.

Although the major had thus been compelled to leave Gwalior, his spirit was still present with the dismayed government of the country, and was able to direct their measures even when the storm of mutiny was at the wildest. In parting with Scindiah, who showed at that moment an inclination to join the rebels, or purchase their retreat, Major Macpherson adjured the bewildered and terror-stricken maharajah to remain firm in his alliance with the British government—and instead of getting rid of the mutineers, which would only have sent them to strengthen the disaffection, he exhorted him to detain

them at whatever risk or cost within his territory, until the British were in force enough to crush them, which could not be for three months at soonest. How to detain, and at the same time to control, them was the difficulty, and he was asked the following pertinent question—"Should there be no other means of detaining these rebels against both governments than by taking them into service until the British were strong enough to put them down, would the governor-general approve of the proceeding?" Scindiah was assured that if no other means remained, such a proceeding would be reckoned good service, upon which the rajah promised that the wishes of our government should if possible be executed. This resolution, adopted at the moment by the advice of Macpherson, and persevered in during a long course of danger and trial chiefly through his reiterated appeals transmitted by him from Agra, had a most important influence in impairing the mutiny, and finally in procuring its suppression. These advices, and this line of conduct, by which the major inspired the government of Gwalior to persevere until the danger was over, were also suggested upon his own responsibility alone: he had neither the commands nor the counsels of his superiors to guide him; and the fidelity with which both the rajah and his minister followed out the plan was founded in Macpherson's moral ascendancy, and the implicit trust they reposed upon his wisdom. "Gwalior, while thus continued in his hands, might have been regarded as in one sense the key of India, or rather perhaps as one link of a chain, which could not have given way in any part without ruining our power in India. If the ruler of Gwalior had played us false, or succumbed to the strong adverse elements with which he had to contend, the revolt would almost certainly have been national and general, instead of being local and mainly military; and, instead of its fate being decided by those operations in the easily traversable Gangetic valley, upon which public attention was concentrated, we should have had to face the warlike races of Upper India combined against us in a most difficult country; and, in all probability, those of the south also."¹

The almost supernatural power exercised by a master-spirit, and its influence upon the actions of men, independent of time and place, have been seldom more strikingly exhibited than in the history of Scindiah, and his prime-minister Dinkar Rao, during the course of the mutiny. Although no longer present with them, the major's past lessons and the controlling force of his character elevated the weak changeable rajah into an energetic hero, and the minister into a Cavour of Indian statesmen. This was seen in the firmness with which Scindiah, rejecting the advices of his courtiers, adhered through every danger to the British interests. He detained the contingent at Gwalior for three months, and prevented his own discontented troops from joining the mutineers, although by such a proceeding he daily and hourly endangered his own life. Had but a bugle sounded or single gun been discharged, it would have sufficed as a signal for revolt, and therefore he caused every gun to be watched, and every bugle to be removed to his palace. Even the wheels were removed from the carts, the elephants and camels sent off to distant jungles, and the boats swept from the river, although each proceeding made the danger more completely his own, that he might the more effectually confine the mutinous within his own range; and when they tried every art of cajolery or menace to induce him to join the rebellion, he

¹ *Memoir of Major Macpherson*, by his Brother.

confronted them with a policy more ingenious and threats more formidable than their own. Even when his palace and city were invested, he met the rebels in the field, and by his superior arrangements compelled them to surrender. It was only thus that he could prevent 16,000 well-disciplined soldiers, with excellent artillery and magazines, from joining the mutiny; and when at last he was compelled to let them loose, which was on the 10th of October, and only when the worst of the mutiny was over, he sent them in a direction which was certain to lead them to destruction. These doings, however, were mainly those of Major Macpherson, who daily, from his cell in the fort of Agra, sent words of encouragement and counsel in answer to the rajah's messages of agony or despair. It was only when the danger was over that Scindiah, feeling that he had no further need of his counsellor, sank into his own natural self, and became weak and unstable as he had been before.

With the close of the Indian mutiny the mission and life of Major Macpherson had come to a close also. The heat of Gwalior and the terrible strain of events that had followed on his departure had worn out his health, but still he continued to struggle with his duties, while the prospect of a lieutenant-colonel's pension, to which he would soon have been entitled, and the prospect of returning to Scotland, encouraged him to persevere. But feeling the progress of his sickness accelerated, he proposed, in the beginning of April, 1860, to proceed to Europe, and had set off from Agra to Calcutta for that purpose, but the latter city he reached in a dying state, and at the house of his brother, Dr. John Macpherson of Calcutta, his last hours were spent. He was now done with the world, and while preparing for his great change he desired that some of the paraphrases used in the service of the Scotch church should be read to him, and portions of Scripture. While the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel was being read to him he became unconscious, and on the 15th of April, 1860, he expired.

MAIR, or **MAJOR**, **JOHN**, a celebrated name of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Little of the life of this eminent person is known beyond a few incidental circumstances mentioned in his own works, and some allusions by contemporary scholars. Dr. Mackenzie and other writers not to be depended on have stated, without reference to any authority, that he was born in the year 1469. His birthplace, by his own account, was the parish of North Berwick, and is said to have been at the village of Glegghorn. In the early part of the sixteenth century he became a member of Christ's College in Cambridge.¹ "In this post," says Bishop Nicholson, "he seems to have written his history, which, as he acknowledges, was penned in the year 1518, the seventh of King James V.'s age."² Mackenzie says he left Paris immediately on having written his history, and in the year mentioned we know him to have been in Scotland, as he was then incorporated a member of the university of Glasgow, and bore the titles of Canon of the Chapel Royal and Vicar of Dunlop, while he

is termed "Doctor Parisiensis."³ In 1521 the same authority shows him to have been professor of theology in Glasgow, and one of the "intrans" and "deputati rectoris;" probably performing in the latter capacity the duties now performed, or presumed to be performed, by the assessors of the rector. During that year his well-known work *De Gestis Scottorum* was published in Paris by Badius Ascensius, the same person who afterwards published the history of Hector Boece. He is said by Bayle to have written "*stylo Sorbonico*," a characteristic not intended as a compliment. The Latinity of this work has been censured by scholars; but the matter which it clothes, if not likely to repay a reader of the present age for the labour of perusal, presents us with much contempt of prejudices common to the age; considerable knowledge of the grounds of historical truth, and a mass of curious information, sometimes of that petty and domestic nature which is valuable because it is so generally omitted by others. His notices of the state and value of provisions and of local customs might be valuable to the political economist and antiquary. He has shown much sound sense in rejecting a mass of the fables narrated by his precursors in history, Wyntoun and Fordun, believing the tale of Gathelus coming from Greece to have been invented for the purpose of excelling the English who brought their "Brute" or "Brutus" from Troy, the Greeks being, as all history and poetry must testify, a far more respectable source of ancestry than the Trojans. Of the race of kings, amounting to about forty-five, betwixt Fergus I. and Fergus II., now blotted from the list, he mentions, and that but slightly, only three or four. On this subject Dr. Mackenzie, who wishes to speak favourably of the subject of his memoir, while he has a still higher respect for the antiquity of his native land, remarks, in a tone of chagrin, "In his account of our monarchs, of fifteen kings that he only acknowledges to have been between Fergus I. and II., he mentions not above three or four of them; and it plainly appears," continues the doctor, drawing the proper deduction, "from the whole tract of his history, that it was not drawn out of ancient and authentic monuments, for he cites none of them but from the historians above quoted."⁴ The views of civil liberty inculcated in this work surprise us when we consider the period and state of society at which it was written, and they would certainly at the present juncture be termed philosophically just. If a man of so original a mind as Buchanan may be supposed to have derived his political sentiments from an inferior genius, it is not improbable that the doctrines of kingly power so beautifully illustrated in the dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* may have been imbibed from the doctrines inculcated by Major, under whom Buchanan studied logic. The doctrines of Major are more boldly and broadly, if not justly, laid down than those of Grotius.⁵ Although a churchman, he was likewise peculiarly

¹ He afterwards went to the university of Paris. Mackenzie, who has corrected his life of Major in the preface to his work, on the ground of some communications received from Paris, says he joined the university in 1493, and became Master of Arts in 1496. "Mr. John Harvey," continues this authority, "a Scotsman, and bursar or fellow of the Scots College, being then rector of the university of Paris, he passed through all the honourable places of the faculty of arts, being first procurator and then quæstor; and designs himself thus in the Register, 'M. Joannes Mair, Glegghornensis, Diocesis S. Andree.' He was made Doctor of Divinity in 1508."—Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. ii. Preface vii.

² *Scottish Hist. Library*, 103.

³ According to the records of the university of Glasgow, in the Notes to Wodrow's *Biographical Collection*, printed some years ago by the Maitland Club, it is said that in the year 1518 "Egregius vir dictus Joannes Majoris, Doctor Parisiensis, ac principalis Regens collegii et pedagogi dicti universitatis, Canonicusque capelle regie, ac vicarius de Dunlop," &c., was incorporated along with forty-three others.

⁴ Mede, Caxton, and Froissart are Major's chief authorities.

⁵ One passage is peculiarly striking, and had the effect of published opinions been better known at the period, might have brought persecution on the head of the author: "Populus liber primo regi datus robur, cujus potestas a toto populo dependet, quia aliud jbs Fergusius primus rex Scotia non habuit: et ita est ubi, et ab orbe condito erat communiter." Continuing the train of reasoning he concludes, "Tertio arguitur ad eandem conclusionem probandum: regem et posteros pro demeritis populus potest exautorare sicut et primo instituire." p. 175.

unfettered in his clerical opinions. He condemned the monkish profuseness of David I., that "sair saunt to the crown;" and in a work entitled *Disputationes de Potestate Papæ et Concilii*,¹ he afterwards uncanonically argued the necessity of excluding all spiritual dignitaries from authority in matters temporal. Mackenzie, in his corrected statement, continues, "he remained in Scotland about five years, and taught theology in the university of St. Andrews." At what time he joined that university it would be difficult to discover, but it appears that he was connected with the university of Glasgow until the year 1522, when he receives in the record the several titles already attributed to him, and with the addition of "Theologiæ Professor" and "Thesaurus capellæ regiæ Strevelinensis."² He was, however, assuredly professor of theology in St. Andrews in the year 1525, as Buchanan is said in his life, either written by himself or by Sir Peter Young, to have then studied under him in the college of St. Salvador. The celebrity of his lectures had attracted the poet's attention; and, whether as a pupil of Major or to fulfil his previous intentions, he followed his teacher to France. The connection was the cause of an accusation of ingratitude against Buchanan. Buchanan had afterwards penned an epigram on Major, in which he turned his name to the bitter qualification, "Solo cognomine Major." It is probable that the opportunity of so apt a witticism was the sole motive of Buchanan; but Mackenzie and Christopher Irvine maintained that Buchanan had been fed both in mind and body by the charity of Major, who had procured him a professorship in the college of St. Barbe. "He who had eat his bread," observes the latter, "and lived under his discipline, both in St. Andrews and in the Sorbon, the space of five years, might have afforded him an handsomer character than *Solo cognomine Major*;" and concludes, "but I leave these wretches to the care of the great accuser, and go to my business."³ There appears to be no other foundation for the charge but the inferences which may be drawn from a passage in Buchanan's life, which does not express such a meaning.⁴ Mackenzie states that Major remained in Paris till 1530. Unfortunately little is known of the circumstances of his life during that period, nor will our limits permit an investigation among continental authors, which might provide useful matter for a more extended memoir. We know, however, that his fame was extensive and well supported. He has received high praise from such bibliographical writers as Dupin, Bellarmin, and Vossius. He is alluded to by some of his countrymen with less praise; and Leslie and Dempster, probably displeased at his view of the antiquities of his native country, sneer at the barbarism of his style. Major was probably one of the latest commentators on that universal text-book, the *Sentences of Peter Lombard*. In 1519 he had published *In Libros Sententiarum Primum et Secundum Commentarium*—a work which has passed to oblivion with its subject. In 1521 he published an introduction to Aristotle's *Dialectics*, and in 1529 *In Quatuor Evangelia Expo-*

sitiones *Luculentæ*, being a discussion on the arrangement of the Gospels as to date. Mackenzie mentions that he returned to Scotland in 1530, and taught theology at St. Andrews "till he came to a great age; for in the year 1547, at the national council of the Church of Scotland at Linlithgow, he subscribed, by proxy, in quality of dean of theology of St. Andrews, not being able to come himself by reason of his age, which was then seventy-eight, and shortly after he died."

Anthony Wood has discovered from a manuscript note of Bryan Twyne that Major was at some period of his life at Oxford, but in what house is unknown, "unless," says Bishop Nicholson, "in Osney Abbey, whose melodious bells he commends." If we could suppose Wood to have mistaken a century, the following might apply to the subject of our memoir during the year when he is said by Mackenzie to have gone to France. Speaking of St. John's school belonging to St. John's Hospital, he says, "All that I find material of this school is, that it, with others of the same faculty, were repaired by one John Major, an inceptor in the same faculty, anno 1426."⁵

MAITLAND, SIR RICHARD, of Lethington, the collector and preserver of our early Scottish poetry, and himself a poet of no mean rank, was the son of William Maitland of Lethington and Thirlstane, and Martha, daughter of George Lord Seton. He was born in the year 1496; but his father having perished at the calamitous battle of Flodden, he was at an early period of life deprived of paternal guidance and instruction. After going through the usual course of academical education at St. Andrews, he repaired to France, then the resort of all young Scotsmen of rank, and more especially of students of law. The time of his return is altogether unknown: he is supposed by one of his biographers⁶ to have been absent from his native country during the earlier part of the minority of James V.; or if he did return previous to that period, his name is not connected with any of its turmoils. Before his departure from Scotland he is believed to have been connected with the court of James IV. We are at all events certain that on his return he was successively employed by James V., the regent Arran, and Mary of Lorraine. To his services during the regency of the latter he alludes in his poem on *The Queen's Arryvale in Scotland*:—

Madam, I wes trew servand to thy mother,
And in hir favour stude ay thankfullie
Of my estait, als weil as any other.

A passage in Knox's *History* has attached some suspicion to the good name of Sir Richard at this period of his life. He is alleged to have been instrumental in procuring, for bribes, the liberation of Cardinal Beaton from the custody of his kinsman, Lord Seton. Of his share in the guilt of this transaction, such as it is, no proof exists; while there is something very like direct evidence that he was attached to the English and Protestant party, and consequently, in favouring Beaton, would have been acting against sentiments which the most of men hold sacred. That evidence consists in an entry in the Criminal Record to the following effect:—"Richard Maitland, of Lethingtounne, found George Lord Seytounne as his surety, that he would enter within the castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, when and where it might please the lord-governor, on forty-eight hours' warning; and that the said Richard shall remain a good and faithful subject, and remain within the kingdom,

¹ Printed in the *Vindiciæ Doctrinæ Majorum Scholæ Parisiensis*, &c., of Richerius.

² In the same year "Dominus Decanus Johannes Major" is one of the "auditores computi," and also one of the "intransites," and "deputati rectoris."

³ *Nom. Scot.* 1819, 127.

⁴ *Primo vero ad fanum Andreæ missus est, ad Joannem Majorem audiendum, qui tum ibi dialecticis, aut verius sophisticis, in extrema senectute docebat. Hunc in Galliam æstate proxima secutus, in flammam Lutheranæ sectæ, jam late se propargentem incidit: ac biennium fere cum iniquitate fortunæ collectatus, tandem in Collegium Barbaranum accitus, &c.—Vita Euchi.*

⁵ Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, ii. 766.

⁶ *Biographical Introduction to Sir Richard's Poems*, printed by the Maitland Club, p. xxii.

and have no intelligence with our ancient enemies the English, under the pain of £10,000."¹

We soon after find Sir Richard engaged in diplomatic transactions for the settlement of the borders. In 1552 he was appointed, along with others, to make a division of what was called the debatable land, which division was ratified in the following November;² and in 1559 he was nominated in a commission of a similar nature. The result of the last was the conclusion of the treaty of Upsetlington.

In 1563 he was appointed one of the commissioners to decide on the application of the act of oblivion; and in the month of December of the same year, to frame regulations for the commissaries then about to be established for the decision of consistorial causes.

While he was thus employed he was also rising rapidly in the profession which he had more peculiarly adopted. He is mentioned on the 14th of March, 1551, as an extraordinary lord of session; and about the same period, or soon afterwards, he received the honour of knighthood. Ten years afterwards (12th November, 1561) he was admitted an ordinary lord, in the room of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar; and on the same day his son, William Maitland, was received as an extraordinary lord, in place of Mr. Alexander Livingston of Dunipace. Sir Richard was soon afterwards made a member of the privy-council; and upon the 20th of December, 1562, appointed lord privy-seal, which office he resigned in 1567 in favour of his second son, John, then prior of Coldinghame, and better known by his subsequent title of Lord Thirlstane. When we consider that these appointments were bestowed on Sir Richard in circumstances that seemed to oppose an almost insurmountable barrier to the performance of their duties, they will be considered as the most decided proof of the estimation in which he was held as a good man and an able lawyer. It does not exactly appear whether his health had been impaired by the performance of the duties of his various and important offices—it is only certain that about this period he had become blind. This calamity must have overtaken him before October, 1560, and most probably after his last appointment as a commissioner for the settlement of border disputes, in 1559. The allusion to it in his poem on *The Queen's Arryvale in Scotland* (which must have been written in the latter part of 1561) is clear and unquestionable:—

"And thoch that I to serve be nocht sa abill

As I wes wont, *because I may not see;*

Yet in my hairt I sall be firme and stabill

To thy Hienes with all fidelitie,

As prayan God for thy prosperitie," &c.

The state of the administration of the laws at this period was sufficiently deplorable. The nobles and barons, while they assembled in parliament for the purpose of making statutes, felt no scruple in breaking them, on the most trifling occasions, and then appearing, when called to the bar of justice, surrounded by armed followers. So common, indeed, did this practice become, and so little regulated by the goodness or badness of the cause, that when some of the reformers were cited before Mary of Lorraine, the queen-dowager and regent of Scotland, a large body of their friends assembled to accompany them to Stirling, where the queen then was; and it was not till a promise of pardon (which was in the most unprincipled manner immediately violated) had been given, that they could be prevailed on to dis-

perse. In like manner, when the Borderers or Highlanders extended their depredations beyond their usual limits, it was necessary that an army should be assembled for their suppression; and if the king did not accompany it in person, the command was given to some nobleman of high rank. In most cases the nobles were by far too powerful to fear the most energetic measures of a government which, receiving as yet no support from the people, depended upon themselves for its very existence. Feeling their inability to punish the real criminals, the king and his ministers frequently wreaked their vengeance on some unfortunate individual, who, though far less guilty than his feudal lord, was too feeble to oppose the ministers of the law. In such cases the wretched criminal was prevailed upon by intimidation, perhaps in many cases where the necessary proof of guilt could not be adduced, to "come in the king's will"—a phrase meaning to submit without condition to the royal mercy—or the jury were terrified into a verdict, the nature of which no one can doubt, by the threats of the king's advocate to prosecute them for wilful error, if they did not comply. No one who has looked into the publication of the *Criminal Trials and other Proceedings before the High Court of Justiciary*, by Mr. Robert Pitcairn, will accuse us of over-colouring the picture which we have now drawn. "In truth" (to quote the words of an admirable review of that work, supposed to be one of the last critiques from the pen of Sir Walter Scott), "no reader of these volumes—whatever his previous acquaintance with Scottish history may have been—will contemplate without absolute wonder the view of society which they unveil; or find it easy to comprehend how a system, subject to such severe concussions in every part, contrived nevertheless to hold itself together. The whole nation would seem to have spent their time, as one malefactor expressed it, 'in drinking deep and taking deadly revenge for slight offences.'"³ That the judges themselves, if not exposed to the fury of the more lawless part of their countrymen from the unpopular nature of their office, were not at least exempted from it by its sacred character, the subsequent part of this sketch will sufficiently show.

Setting out of the question the calamitous nature of Sir Richard Maitland's malady, and his country's loss from being deprived of his more active services, his blindness may be supposed to have contributed much to his peace of mind. The transactions of this unhappy period—the murder of Darnley—the queen's marriage with Bothwell—and all the subsequent events of the different regencies—are too well known to require notice here. But although the venerable knight did not engage in these transactions, he was not spared the pain of having his lands ravaged and his property forcibly kept from him. His lands of Blythe were overrun by the border robbers,⁴ as we know by his poem entitled *The Blind Baron's Comfort*, in which he consoles himself for his wrongs, and puns upon the name:—

"Blynd man, be blyth, althocht that thou be wrangit;

Thocht Blythe be herreit, tak no melancholie."

Happy indeed must have been the man who, dismissing from his mind the misfortunes of his lot, could devote it to the pursuits of literature; and who,

² See *Quarterly Review*, No. 88, p. 470.

⁴ This was not the first time that his property had been destroyed or carried off. "Wpon the xiiij day" of September, 1549, "the Inglismen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt it and Leidington, and passed away without any battell, for the pest and hunger was rycht evill amangis tham, quha mycht remayne na langer thairin."—*Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, printed by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, p. 48.

¹ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 338.

² Keith's *History*, p. 58.

estimating the good things of this world at their real value, could at the same time cultivate the temper here exhibited.

It seems to have been about the same time that the king's party took possession of the castle of Lethington, which had been the temporary abode of the secretary Maitland, and a ready justification of this violent measure was found in the conduct of that statesman. After the death of the son the enmity of the regent Morton was transferred to the aged and unoffending father, and his house and lands were still violently withheld from him. Although Sir Richard appears to have requested the intercession of the English court, and for that purpose to have transmitted a representation to Lord Burleigh, the queen, with her usual crafty and cautious policy in regard to Scottish affairs, did not interfere: the document is thus marked—"This must be well considered before anything is done." It was not, therefore, till the fall of Morton that the worthy knight obtained restoration of his lands. He did not, however, droop into despondency during the long period of eleven years that he was thus "wrangit." In that period his poem of *Solace in Aige* is believed to have been written. It concludes thus:—

"Thocht I be sweir to ryd or gang,
Thair is sumthing I've wantit lang,
Fain have I wald
Thaim punysit that did me wrang,
Thought I be auld."

Some attempt seems to have been made by Sir Richard to obtain compensation at least for his losses. There is extant a list of "the guidis tane frae ye ald laird of Lethingtoun of his awin proper geir forthe of Blythe and ye Twlloows;" but it is to be feared that his endeavours were unsuccessful. At a later period of his life he renewed his application for compensation; and, although he obtained an act of parliament recognizing his claims, and rescinding an act made in favour of Captain David Hume of Fishwick, who had possessed Lethington, and intromitted with the rents of that estate, the benignity of his temper warrants our supposing, in the absence of historical evidence, that he did not pursue his rights with any violent or revengeful feelings.

The age and infirmities of Sir Richard now appear to have incapacitated him in a great measure for the performance of his duties as a judge. Throughout his career the conduct of his brother judges towards him was marked by the utmost kindness and sympathy for his distressing malady. As early as January, 1561, they had ordered the macers "to suffer one of the old laird of Lethintone's sonnes to come in within all the barres as oyr prows, doe, and to issue as they doe, for awaiting on his father for the notoriety of his father's infirmity;" and he now (3d of December, 1583) obtained leave to attend court only when he pleased, with the assurance that he "should lose no part of the contribution in consequence of absence." In May, 1584, he was further exempted from the examination of witnesses, "provyding he cause his sone (Thirlstane), or his good-son the laird of Whittingham, use the utter tebletooth for him in calling of matters, and reporting the interloquitors as use it." When he was at last under the necessity of retiring altogether from the bench, it was under circumstances which no less strongly show the public estimation of his character. He was allowed the privilege of nominating his successor—a privilege of the extension of which Lord Pitmedden considers this as the first instance. Accordingly on the 1st of July, 1584, he resigned in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoull, being now, as his majesty's letter to the court expresses, "sa

deblilitat that he is not able to mak sic continual residens as he wald give, and being movit in conscience that, be his absence, for laik of number justice may be retardit and parteis frustrat." At length, after a life, certainly not without its troubles, but supported throughout by the answer of a good conscience and by much natural hilarity, he closed his days on the 20th of March, 1586, at the venerable age of ninety. Living in an age marked, perhaps more strongly than any other in our history, by treachery and every vice which can debase mankind, he lived uncontaminated by the moral atmosphere with which he was surrounded, and has had the happiness—certainly not the lot of every good man—of being uniformly noticed, whether by friends or enemies, by his contemporaries or by posterity, with the highest respect. There is but one exception to this general tribute to his virtues—the accusation, in John Knox's *History*, of his having been bribed to allow Cardinal Beaton to escape from imprisonment. The foundation of this charge is, however, doubtful; for although the candour and accuracy of Knox's history cannot be impeached, it may still be admitted, from the peculiar position of the parties, that the historian's mind was liable to receive an erroneous impression of Maitland's conduct.

The works of Sir Richard Maitland exhibit him in the characters of a lawyer, a poet, and a historian. Of the work belonging to the first of these classes it is only necessary to say, that it consists of "Decisions from the 15th December, 1550, to the penult July, 1565;" being a continuation of the body of decisions known by the title of *Sinclair's Practicks*, and that a copy of it, with the additions of the Viscount Kingston, is preserved in MS. in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. His poetical collections consist of two kinds—those works which were merely collected by him, and specimens of which have long been before the public—and his own poems, the greater portion of which have not been printed till a very late date.

If it be true, as has been often asserted, that the habits and feelings of a people are best known by their poetry, surely the collectors in that department of a nation's literature are entitled to no inconsiderable portion of its gratitude. The labours of Asloan, Maitland, and Bannatyne have especial claims on our attention, as in them are to be found nearly all that remains of the Scottish poetry composed before their times. Of the first, John Asloan—whose collections are preserved in the Auchinleck library, but unfortunately in a mutilated state—little or nothing can be ascertained; and of George Bannatyne a notice has already been given in this Work. Our attention must therefore be directed to the collections of the subject of this memoir.

Sir Richard Maitland appears to have been engaged in forming his collections of poetry before he became blind—probably about the year 1555; and although one of the volumes is dated 1585, it is conjectured that it was the arrangement of them only that could have been the work of his later years. The collections consist of two volumes,—a folio comprehending 176 articles, and a quarto of 96 pieces; the latter in the handwriting of Mary Maitland, Sir Richard's daughter. They are now preserved in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge; but from the regulations prescribed by the founder of that institution, they cannot be consulted except within its walls, and although its officers afford every facility which their duty permits, it must be a subject of regret to every lover of Scottish poetry that they are not in a more accessible situation. It is true, indeed, that in 1784 or 1785

Mr. Pinkerton was furnished by Dr. Peckhard with all the means of consulting them with advantage, and that he published selections from them in his *Ancient Scottish Poems*; but the charges of interpolation which have been brought against him must make his work a subject of doubt and suspicion.

Sir Richard Maitland did not produce any of his own poems at the period when ardour of mind or ambition for distinction may be supposed to prompt men to enter that walk of literature. They were all written after his sixtieth year. They are the tranquil productions of age, and of a mind regulated by the purest principles. The subjects, too, correspond with the age at which they were written,—most of them being of a moral or historical description. By far the most frequent subjects of his poems are lamentations for the distracted state of his native country—the feuds of the nobles—the discontents of the common people—complaints “aganis the lang proces in the courts of justice”—“the evillis of new found lawis”—and the depredations “of the border robbers.” Not the least interesting of his productions are those which he entitles satyres: one of these, on *The Town Ladies*, in particular presents us with a most curious picture of the habits and dispositions of the fair sex in his day, and amply demonstrates that the desire of aping the appearance and manners of the higher ranks is by no means the peculiar offspring of our degenerate age. Sir Richard’s poetical writings were for the first time printed in an entire and distinct form in 1830 (in one 4to volume) by the Maitland Club, a society of literary antiquaries taking its name from this distinguished collector of early Scottish poetry.

It may probably be unknown to most of our readers that a poet from whose mortal sight the book of knowledge was no less shut out than from the eye of the poet of *Paradise Lost*, has also written a poem on the subject of—

“Man’s first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe.”

Except in the subject, however, there is no resemblance between the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and Sir Richard Maitland’s *Ballad of the Creatioun of the World, Man his Fall and Redemptioun*. From the latter poem the following passages are selected:—

“God be his word his work began,
To forme the erth and hevin for man,
The sie and watter deip;
The sone, the mune, the starris bricht,
The day divydit frome the nicht,
Thair cours for to keip;
The beistis that on the grund do mufe,
And fische in to the sie,
Fowlis in the air to fle abufe,
Off ilk kind creat hee;
Sum creeping, sum sleiting,
Sum fleing in the air,
So heichtly, so lichtly,
In moving heir and thair.

The workis of grit magnificence,
Perfytet be his providence,
According to his will;
Nixt maid he man; to gif him gloir,
Did with his ymage him decoir,
Gaif paradise him till;
Into that garding hevily wrocht,
With plesouris mony one;
The beistis of every kynd war brocht,
Thair names he sowld expone;
Thame nemming and kemnyng,
As he list for to call;
For plesing and eising
Of man, subdewit thame all.

In hevily joy man so possesst,
To be allone God thoct not best,
Maid Eve to be his maik;
Bad thame incress and multiple;
And eit of every fruit and trie,
Thair plesour thay sowld taik,

Except the trie of gud and ill,
That in the middis dois stand;
Forbad that thay sowld cum it till,
Or twiche it with thair hand;
Leist plucking or lucking,
Baith thay and als thair seid,
Severily, awsteirly,
Sowld dye without remeid.”

The poem thus concludes:—

“Behald the stait that man was in,
And als how it he tynt throw sin,
And loist the same for ay;
Yit God his promeisss dois performe,
Send his Sone of the Virginie borne,
Oure ransome for to pay.
To that grit God let us gif gloir,
To us has bene so gude,
Quha be his death did us restoir,
Quhairfof we war denude;
Nocht karing nor sparing
His body to be rent,
Redemyng, relieving,
Ws quhen we war all schent.”

The historical writings of Sir Richard Maitland were the productions of an earlier period than his poems. The principal historical work of Sir Richard that has come down to us is *The Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surname of Scytoun*, to the Moneth of November, in the Yeir of God, Jm. Vc. lix. yeiris; collectit, gaderit, and set furth be Schir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, Dochteris Sonn of the said Hous.” This work was printed in 1829 for the Maitland Club. Another of his works bears the following title: “*Heir followis ane Brief and Compendious Tabill or Catholog of the Names of the Kingis of Scotland, France, and Ingland, with the Dait of thair Reignis*; togidder with the Successioun of King Malcolme Caimmoir, and of all Kingis of Scotland sensyn, to the Dait heirof; quham thay mareit; quhat Successioun they had; with quham they war allyat. Collectit, gatherit, and set furth be Sr. Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knyt. The Yeir of God, Jm. Vc. and Three Scoir Yeiris, the xiiij Day of the Moinethe of October.”

By his wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Cranston of Corsby, Sir Richard Maitland had a numerous family. It is said that he had seven sons, three of whom—William, John, and Thomas—rose to eminence; and four daughters—Helen, married to John Cockburn of Clerkington; Margaret, to William Douglas of Whittingham; Mary, to Alexander Lauder of Hutton; and Isabel, to James Heriot of Trabroun.

MAITLAND, SIR WILLIAM, of Lethington. This remarkable statesman, who in his day played many parts, and was “everything by fits, but nothing long,” appears frequently in these pages in consequence of his connection with the principal characters and events of the Scottish reformation and the reign of Mary Stuart. But as such fragmentary features are insufficient to give a full idea of the man, we prefer, at the risk of repetition, to collect these into a single narrative, so that the reader may have a distinct portrait of the notable Maitland of Lethington.

Of the early history of Sir William Maitland little has been recorded. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland, of whom a notice has been already given, and was born about 1525. After completing his education at the university of St. Andrews he visited the Continent, where he studied civil law, and on his return to Scotland was characterized by Buchanan as “a young man of consummate ability and great learning.” He had also embraced the doctrines of the reformers, and was among the few who attended the ministry of John Knox when the

reformer returned from Frankfort to Scotland in 1555. He was among those convertites, however, who endeavoured to reconcile their religious opinions with their political interests by conforming to a certain extent to the outward usages of Popery. Such selfish truckling, however, could find no favour in the eyes of Knox, who attended a meeting of the principal delinquents to reason against it and denounce it. The question at issue was the harmlessness of attendance at the mass, and Knox refuted every argument adduced in favour of the practice. His reasoning was so conclusive, that, at the close of it, Maitland said of the arguments by which his party endeavoured to justify their attendance, "I see perfectly that these shifts will serve for nothing before God, seeing they stand us in so small stead before men." It was resolved that their compliance with the observances of Popery, upon whatever plea of expediency, was sinful and idolatrous.

In the war which afterwards ensued between the lords of the congregation and the queen-regent, Maitland was secretary to the queen. Even in this courtly situation, however, and surrounded by the zealots of the Popish party, he was unable to conceal his Protestant predilections; and finding his life in danger on account of the freedom with which he had expressed his religious opinions, he secretly withdrew from Leith, and joined the lords of the congregation, who at that time were besieging the town. Their attacks, however, had been so ill-concerted and so unsuccessful, that they had altogether lost heart, and in spite of the representations made to them by their new ally of the danger that would ensue on their raising the siege, they retreated to Stirling. Here they were roused from their despondency, and inspired with fresh courage, by the eloquence of Knox, and at his suggestion they sent William Maitland to request assistance from the Queen of England. In his instructions he was directed to represent how the French, by fortifying towns and placing garrisons in Scotland, evidently sought the subversion both of the liberties and Protestantism of the country, and that if they could accomplish this, they would acquire greater facility in effecting the same change in England. Maitland performed his part so effectually that English aid was granted, and the power of the two nations combined soon compelled the French to forego their footing in Scotland.

The next important public movement was for the return of Mary Stuart, the young queen, from France; and previous to this event there was a meeting of parliament to establish the religion of the country upon the principles of the Reformation, to draw up a public confession of faith, and assign a necessary support to the ministry of the infant church. These were the great political questions of the day, and their importance was increased by the well-known fact that their young sovereign was a Papist, and that her powerful uncles the Guises were the devoted champions of the popedom. At this critical period, and while the parliament was sitting, John Knox in Edinburgh preached upon the prophecies of Haggai, in which these momentous subjects were supposed to be involved, and preached with his wonted energy and boldness. But the idea of building up and endowing a new church, especially from the materials of the old, which were already regarded as a spoil for the strongest hand, was distasteful to not a few; and Maitland sneeringly remarked, in reference to the doctrines announced by the preacher, "We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow, to build the house of God." Already the subtle politician was showing his hostility to the reformer. On

the return of Mary to her Scottish throne, the chief leaders among the lords of the congregation were inclined to concede to her the private exercise of her religion, and especially the celebration of the mass, and among these Maitland was conspicuous. After a discussion with Knox and the principal clergy on the question, it was resolved to settle it by a consultation with the church of Geneva, and the reformer himself offered to write the necessary letters for the occasion. But here Maitland interposed, and after expatiating upon the necessity of conveying impartial information on the subject, he offered to write the necessary missives himself. His offer was accepted, and this was all that he wanted: a delay was gained, the missives were not sent, and all ended in a free permission for the queen to enjoy the rites of her own religion.

After the queen's arrival and settlement in Scotland, the third General Assembly of the reformed church was held in December, 1561. But General Assemblies had already become odious to the court as a separate and rival power, and it was alleged that it was unlawful to hold them without the knowledge of the sovereign. It was answered that these very meetings were appointed by the Book of Discipline, which most of them had subscribed with their own hand previous to the queen's arrival; and as for the queen, that she knew there was a reformed kirk within the realm, which had its own government and appointed times for assembling. "The queen knows this well enough," replied Lethington, now the spokesman of the court, "but the question is, whether the queen allows such conventions." He was answered, that if the liberty of the church depended upon the queen's allowance or disallowance, they should be deprived not only of assemblies, but the public preaching of the gospel. "Take from us," added the speaker, who was Knox himself, "the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the evangel; for without assemblies how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept?" His reasoning prevailed with most of the nobles and barons present, and it was agreed to advise the queen, that if she was jealous of anything to be discussed in the assembly, she might appoint persons to attend and hear it.

It was next proposed that the Book of Discipline should be ratified by the queen herself; but Maitland sneered at the proposal, and asked how many of those who had subscribed to it would obey it? It was answered, "All the godly." "Will the duke?" said Lethington, alluding to Chastelherault, the highest peer in the realm. "If he will not," replied Lord Ochiltrie, "I wish he were expunged not only from that book, but from our number and company; for to what purpose shall pains be taken to set the church in order if it be not kept, or to what end shall men subscribe if they never mean to perform?" This home-thrust Maitland endeavoured to parry with a frivolous jest: "Many subscribed *in fide parentum*, as the bairns are baptized." "You think that stuff proper," said Knox indignantly, "but it is as untrue as improper. That book was read in public audience, and the heads thereof reasoned upon divers days, as all that sit here know very well, and yourself cannot deny: no man therefore was desired to subscribe that which he understood not." Maitland was foiled, but he was aware notwithstanding that the queen would never ratify the Book of Policy. The next question to be settled was a provision for support of the reformed ministers out of the church lands and revenues, when it was reluctantly conceded that two parts should go to the late clergy, and the remaining third part be divided between the ministers and the queen. Shocked at

this unjust decision, Knox denounced it in the pulpit, declaring that two parts would be given to the devil, and a third part divided between God and the devil. To this he added, "Ere it be long the devil shall have three parts of the third, and judge you then what God's portion will be." Incensed by this severe truth, Maitland affirmed that the ministers being supported, the queen at the year's end would not get enough to buy her a pair of new shoes. Being appointed along with some other state officials to modify the stipends assigned to the clergy out of the third part of the church property, he took care that the share of the ministers should be of the smallest; and when they complained of a parsimony that reduced them and their families to all but starvation, he pretended to be astonished at their ingratitude. "These men get so much yearly," he said, "and yet they are so thankless, that they have not even said to the queen, 'Gramercie.'" He was reminded that there was no need of such acknowledgment, as they received nothing gratis from the queen; that even her claim to a share of the third part was a usurpation, and had no better right than that of the soldiers to the garments of our Lord when they crucified him; "nay, the partition is not so humane," it was added, "for the soldiers did not take his garments until he was crucified, but the queen and her flatterers parted the spoil while Christ himself is preaching among us."

Soon after the arrival of Mary in Scotland, it was judged necessary to send an ambassador to England; and as Elizabeth had several grounds of offence against the Queen of Scots, the choice of the messenger was an affair of some importance. The duty was, in this case, devolved upon Maitland of Lethington, who gladly undertook so congenial an office. On arriving at the English court he found Elizabeth in a state of high resentment, which the chief object of his message did not tend to soften. It was, that Mary should be declared the heir-apparent and successor of the Queen of England at the next meeting of her parliament. At this Elizabeth fired up, and after a statement of grievances political and personal which she had sustained at the hands of her cousin, but which she was disposed for the present to overlook, she announced that declaration to which she adhered to the very hour of her death. Successor she would declare none. Instantan people regarded more the rising than the setting sun; and confirmed successors were too apt to assume present rule, instead of waiting until the proper time arrived. "I will not be so foolish," she added, "as to hang a winding-sheet before mine own eyes, or to make for myself a funeral feast while I am alive." She thus distinctly announced the great principle of her policy, and Lethington was the man to avail himself of the knowledge. He also obtained, by the very magnitude of his demand, as much as he hoped to get, and more than could have reasonably been expected. Mary was to abstain from using the royal arms of England and the title of Queen of England and Ireland during the lifetime of Elizabeth, or any of her children. On the other hand, Elizabeth engaged that neither she, nor any children whom she might have, would do anything to prejudice the rights of Mary, or impair her title to the succession.

In embracing the cause of the Reformation, Maitland appears to have adopted it on the principle of political expediency as much as from serious conviction: it was a prosperous European movement, in which new but able men might rise to place and power, and supersede the old aristocracy as well as the old religion in Scotland, as they had done in other reformed countries. This may explain not

only his religious zeal, but his diligence to depress the clergy, and make them dependent upon the state, and upon statesmen like himself. For the present he was devoted to the interests of the Earl of Moray, the leading nobleman of the day, who greatly prized the other's political talents, and to the caprices of the queen, to whom he was secretary; but when the time arrived, he showed that he could dispense with the favour of either, and set up on his own account. The time, however, was not yet, and he accompanied the queen and earl in their progress to the north, that ended in the battle of Corrichie. This century was a strange exciting period, in which religious feeling was often displayed by the most unlikely persons, and in very uncongenial enterprises; and there were two men who, before the battle joined, made themselves conspicuous by their public devotion. The one was the Earl of Huntly, who by this rebellious outbreak was seeking to procure the death of the Earl of Moray, and the imprisonment of the queen, for the purpose of compelling her to marry his own son. The hoary sinner, at the sight of the queen's armed array, went down upon his knees, and thus prayed: "O Lord, I have been a bloodthirsty man, and by my means much innocent blood hath been spilt: if thou wilt give me victory this day, I shall serve thee all the days of my life!" The other man of prayer was Maitland, our Scottish Machiavelli. After exhorting the queen's party to call upon God, to remember their duty, and not to fear the multitude of their adversaries, he thus concluded: "O Lord, thou that rulest the heaven and the earth, look upon thy servants whose blood this day is sought, and to man's judgment is sold and betrayed. Our refuge is now unto thee, and our hope is in thee. Judge thou, O Lord, this day betwixt us and the Earl of Huntly. If ever we have sought unjustly his or their destruction and blood, let us fall by the edge of the sword. If we be innocent, maintain and preserve us, for thy great mercy's sake." As is well known, the Huntlys were defeated, and the earl killed.

After this event, in which Lethington had shown himself a stout courageous soldier, he returned to his more congenial occupation, and was sent to the Queen of England, and the family of Guise in France, to treat of his sovereign's marriage. The marriage of Mary was at present the great subject of interest in Scotland; and among the suitors for her hand all were at a loss to guess on whom her choice might fall. It was a matter of great importance, however, to Maitland, who already had got out of favour with the principal nobility, as one who too greatly favoured the queen's wishes, to the injury of the commonwealth. In this case it was necessary for his interests to secure such a king-consort as would strengthen him against his enemies. His choice was already made, and Darnley was the man whom he was labouring to promote to the high office of king-consort. His situation furnished him with opportunities to procure the recal of Darnley to Scotland; and when it was effected he said, "This day I have taken upon me the deadly feud of all the Hamiltons in Scotland, and have wrought them no less displeasure than if I had cut their throats." He alluded to the disappointment of that powerful family, whose chief, should Mary die childless, would succeed to the Scottish throne. But merely one expedient was not enough for the wily secretary; he must have two strings to his bow, so that if one broke he might have recourse to the other; and the second he selected in this instance was the notorious Earl of Bothwell, who, having been denounced as rebel in Scotland, had endeavoured to escape to

France by sea, but had been driven by stress of weather into England, and detained as a fugitive from justice. Elizabeth offered to surrender him to our queen; but the latter, instigated by Maitland, replied that he was no rebel, and desired that he might have liberty to pass whither he pleased. Bothwell was accordingly allowed to go abroad, and there he remained until affairs in Scotland were ripened for his fatal return. After Maitland's commission in England had ended he returned home, and one of his first proceedings was to favour the Earl of Athol, by which the Earl of Moray's influence was impaired, although the cunning secretary still maintained his show of regard for the latter nobleman. It was probably by his influence also, that soon after his return the queen liberated the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the deadliest enemy of Moray, from confinement.

After this an event occurred that gave ample occupation to the busy brain of Maitland. The queen in her return from one of her royal progresses, made some stay in Stirling; and during her absence her French attendants had the hardihood to have mass celebrated in Holyrood House. It was a defiance of the law, which allowed that liberty only to the queen herself, and in the residence where she was present at the time; and as if to make their act more defiant, the celebration, instead of being a private one, was upon a more public scale than when Mary herself was present. It was an insult on the part of foreigners both to the law and religion of Scotland, and a gratuitous provocation to strife and bloodshed. Such an open defiance could not be otherwise than noticed, and several Protestants were sent to the palace to take account of those persons who repaired to the rite. At their entrance the French ladies raised a shriek of alarm, and a hasty messenger was sent to the magistrates to come and save them from instant massacre. When they arrived, which they did in all haste, they found everything quiet in the chapel, and a peaceable man exhorting the worshippers not to transgress the law. The most, however, was to be made of an event which had passed over with such provoking forbearance, and two of the intruders were appointed to be tried "for forethought felony, hamesucken, violent invasion of the queen's palace, and spoliation of the same." As in such a prosecution justice was not likely to be regarded, John Knox, who had been commissioned to watch over the safety of the Protestant cause in Edinburgh, and to write "to the professors in all quarters, when danger appeared imminent, addressed to them a circular on the occasion, announcing the event as it had occurred, and the advantage that would probably be taken of it by the court party and the Papists; and entreating them to be present in Edinburgh on the day of trial, to watch and witness the proceedings. At this time the safety of Protestantism in Scotland stood in union and combination, without which it would have been a rope of sand; and its professors had been made too well aware of the truth of the principle, that the danger of one is the danger of all. On occasions also of peculiar danger, when their lives or liberties had been threatened, they had thus been called together more than once since the Reformation had commenced, without underlying the blame of rebellion or treason. But now the case was altered. The throne was occupied, the great reformer himself had convoked the queen's lieges, and if the act could be found treasonable he might be visited with the penalties of a traitor. And what a triumph for Popery both at home and abroad! The queen would be also revenged upon her enemy, and the court delivered from a formidable

censor. It was resolved by Mary and her advisers that John Knox should be tried for the crime of treasonable convocation; and to give greater weight and safety to such a trial, it was resolved to summon the nobility, that their presence might countenance the condemnation.

Of all the men of power who were thus arrayed against Knox, no one distinguished himself so greatly as Maitland, who was throughout the life and soul of the prosecution. Besides his own personal resentment at the man before whose superiority he had more than once stood rebuked, it was the best of opportunities to win the favour of the queen, and become the director of her councils. Even Elizabeth would look approvingly upon him who had brought the author of the *Blasts* "against the monstrous regiment of women" to shame; and as for the house of Lorrain, their gratitude would be unbounded. It is true that the interests of the Reformation would be sorely endangered; but might not the Reformation be better advanced by gentler measures and more compliant advocates than Knox? Even at the worst, the interests of religion would not long stand in the way of such a thorough politician as Maitland, as his subsequent career testified. His first movement was to persuade the reformer to unconditional submission, by which the odium of further prosecution would be avoided; and having obtained the concurrence of the Earl of Moray, who had begun to be alienated from Knox, they held an interview with the latter, and tried to persuade him to confess his offence, and throw himself upon the queen's mercy. Confident in his uprightness, Knox refused, and declared that he had done nothing but his duty. "But how can you defend yourself," said Lethington, "have you not convoked the queen's lieges?" "If I have not a just cause," replied Knox, "let me smart for it." "Let us hear," said they, "the grounds of your defence, for we would be glad you might be found innocent." The reformer was too wary to fall into the trap. "No," he said, "I am informed by several that I am already condemned, and my cause prejudged; therefore I might be reputed a fool if I should make you privy to my defences." Baffled by this answer, Maitland angrily departed, and Moray followed a short time after.

Four days after this interview the trial came on. The principal lords and crown-officers being assembled, the queen took her seat, and Maitland, who had previously been unable to influence the members of the court against the accused, took his place ostentatiously at one side of the royal chair, where he occasionally whispered into the queen's ear, and smilingly received her answers. She handed him a letter—Knox's circular—and on the question being asked, the latter confessed that both the composition and writing were his, and by the royal command read it aloud. The queen declared it a spiteful and treasonable epistle, and Maitland said, "Mr. Knox, are you not sorry at heart that such a letter hath escaped your pen, and from you hath come to the knowledge of others?" "My lord secretary," said Knox, "before I repent, I must be taught my offence." "Offence!" exclaimed the other; "if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied." "Remember yourself, my lord," said Knox; "there is a difference betwixt a lawful convocation and an unlawful. If I be guilty in this, I have offended often since I came last into Scotland; for what convocation of the brethren has been to this hour to which my pen has not served? But before this time no man laid it to my charge as a crime." "Then was then, and now is now," replied the other, "we have no need of such

convocations as we have sometimes had." After some further debate Knox justified his act as done by the commandment of the kirk, an authority acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as well as by those present. The queen then shifted the ground of the charge. "You shall not escape so," she said; "is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a sovereign of cruelty?" When this had been granted by the lords, she referred to some sentences of Knox's letter upon which her charge was founded. But while many doubted what answer could be made, he showed satisfactorily that it was the persecuting spirit of Popery which he had written against, and not the natural disposition of the queen. "I add, madam," he said in conclusion, "that natures otherwise gentle and meek in appearance may, by wicked and corrupt counsellors, be subverted and altered to a contrary course. Example we have in Nero. Now, madam, I say plainly, Papists and conjured enemies of Christ have your ears patent at all times; assure your grace they are dangerous counsellors, and this your mother found."

Driven from the new ground she had chosen, the queen, after some whispering with the secretary, abandoned the charge of treason, for the less punishable one of disrespect. It was a personal and peevish charge, which she had better have omitted, or at least reported truly. "Well," she said, "you speak here fair enough before the lords; but the last time I spoke with you privately, you caused me weep many tears, and said stubbornly you counted nothing for my weeping." She alluded to her memorable interview with the reformer on the subject of her reported approaching marriage to a foreign prince—an interview of which such ridiculous representations continue to be given to this good hour. Knox in answer rehearsed the particulars of this interview, and every word that had passed on the occasion—referred the correctness of his statement to the testimony of Erskine of Dun, the only witness present on the occasion, and who could easily be cited for the purpose—and showed that in the whole matter he had spoken so temperately and respectfully, that the queen's tears could not be imputed to anything rude or harsh in his behaviour. Mary was silent, and after a whispered conference with the secretary, the latter said, "Mr. Knox, you may return to your house for this night." During the whole of this trial the conduct of Maitland had been not only unjust but impolitic. He had shown a slavish desire to gratify the queen at the expense of the reformer; and he had offended the proud nobles by his display of familiarity with her majesty and influence as a court-adviser and director. The queen having retired to her cabinet, the votes of the nobles were taken, and they all voted as one man that John Knox had not offended. Disappointed and enraged at this decision, Maitland again brought in the queen, placed her in her chair of state, and desired the court to vote anew; but this insulting attempt to overawe and coerce them by the authority of the royal presence was met by the nobles with a storm of indignation. "What, shall the laird of Lethington have power to command us?" they exclaimed. "Shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God? Shall we condemn an innocent man against our conscience for the pleasure of any creature?" They again absolved the reformer, and praised God for his modesty, and plain and sensible answers; while the queen, Maitland, and the courtiers retired, baffled and disappointed.

The antagonism between the court and the church was daily growing in strength. It was not also a merely political, but a religious antagonism, in which two hostile creeds were at issue, and the elements

of contention were gathering for a strife which could only terminate in the entire suppression of Popery or Protestantism. Popery was still powerful in the popularity of the queen, the devotedness of the Catholic lords, and the lukewarmness of the greater portion of the reformed nobles; and matters were so equally balanced between it and the opposite party, that the sudden reverse of an hour might restore its ancient ascendancy. This trimming between the two churches, so dangerous at such a crisis, was odious to the reformed ministers, who declaimed from the pulpit against these disguises in language more honest than courtly. "Once hypocrites were known by their habits," it was thus preached; "we had men to be monks and women to be nuns. But now we cannot discern the earl from the abbot, nor the nun from the noblewoman. But seeing ye are not ashamed of that profession, would to God you had therewith the cowl, the veil, and the rest belonging thereto, that you might appear in your own colours." On hearing this sermon, Lethington declared with a curse that he would thenceforth leave the ministers to shift for themselves, let them bark and blow as much as they pleased. The signs of the times were such, that a skilful politician, throwing himself into the rising party, might rise with it to its utmost height, and in his way to such good fortune he seems to have resolved that his creed should be no obstacle. It was now a favourite assertion at court that there was no idolatry in the mass, and that they who so stigmatized it knew not what they meant—a declaration of apostasy which so deeply stirred the spirit of John Knox, that he denounced it in the pulpit with an earnestness that moved some of its advocates even to tears. But Maitland with a sneer observed, "We must recant, and burn our bill, for the preachers are angry."

This liberty of the pulpit in the sixteenth century was the same as the liberty of the press in the nineteenth: the minister of the former period commented upon public events with the same authority which is used by the journalist in the latter; and when offending individuals complained of this pulpit license in bringing their characters and doings before a congregation, the answer was, "Public offences require a public exposure." To suppress the liberty of preaching, therefore, was the same as to suppress the liberty of printing, and usually followed by similar results. Experience, however, had not as yet taught the danger of suppressing free opinion whether in speaking or writing, and the court-party had resolved to silence this license of the pulpit before a public press existed in its room. They were a formidable array, consisting of Hamilton Duke of Chastellerauld, the Earls of Argyle, Moray, Morton, Glencairn, Marischal, Rothes, the Master of Maxwell, and the principal officers of government. Their feeling was indicated by withholding their presence from the next General Assembly; and when this conduct was complained of, they desired that a deputation from the assembly should be sent to them, through whom they might explain their grievances to the brethren, instead of bringing them before the public meeting. Their wish was complied with, and Knox, aware that he was the chief subject of complaint, accompanied the deputation. As the lords were only to argue and remonstrate, not to command, the highest in talent and scholarship was necessary for such a task, and upon none so well qualified could their choice have fallen as upon William Maitland of Lethington. He opened the proceedings with a speech, gentle, temperate, and ingratiating, comprised under the following heads:—First, How much the kingdom was indebted to God,

by whose goodness it had freedom in a religion not followed by her majesty: Second, How necessary it was that through the kind offices of the church, and especially of its ministers, she should retain the opinion that they sincerely sought her welfare, and laboured to establish the good opinion of her subjects in her favour; and lastly, How dangerous a thing it was that ministers should be noted to disagree one from another in the form of prayer for her majesty, or in doctrine concerning obedience to her authority—"and in these two last heads," he added, coming to the pith of the matter, "we desire you all to be circumspect; but especially we must crave of you, our brother John Knox, to moderate yourself as well in form of prayer for her majesty as in the doctrine you propound concerning her estate, and the obedience that is due to her. Neither shall you take this as spoken to your reproach, but because that others by your example may imitate the like liberty, although not with the same modesty and foresight."

The challenge being thus thrown down, the debate commenced, of which a summary can scarcely convey a clear idea. Knox candidly expressed his opinion that in the present state of rule in Scotland, where idolatry was maintained, the servants of God despised, and wicked men placed in authority and honour, the queen scarcely deserved the praise that was claimed for her; and that as such proceedings usually brought down the judgments of God upon realms and nations, the godly in Scotland ought rather to lament and mourn. "How are you able to prove," queried Lethington, "that God ever stricken a nation for the iniquity of their prince, if the people themselves lived righteously?" Knox quoted the instance of Jerusalem and Judah, that were plagued for the sins of Manasseh, because the people, although not actively joining in his idolatry, yet tolerated it by allowance and permission. In this way all Scotland, and especially they the Protestant nobles, were guilty of the queen's idolatry. Referring this matter to subsequent consideration, Maitland next attacked the reformer's public prayers for the queen, especially in connection with her mass. "You call her," he said, "a slave to Satan; you affirm that God's vengeance hangs over the realm because of her iniquity; and what is that but to raise the hearts of the people against her?" At this an exclamation arose among the courtiers that such a style of prayer could not profit. Knox complained that his language in the pulpit had been wrested for the purposes of censure, and that the worst words he used in his public prayer were the following: "'O Lord, if it be thy good pleasure, purge the heart of the queen's majesty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thralldom of Satan, in which she hath been brought up, and yet remaineth, for lack of thy true doctrine. And let her see, by the illumination of thy Holy Spirit, that there is no means to please thee but by Jesus Christ, thy only Son, and that Jesus Christ cannot be found but in thy holy Word, nor yet received but as it prescribeth: that in so doing, she may avoid the eternal damnation which abideth on all obstinate and disobedient to the end, and that this poor realm may also escape that plague and vengeance which inevitably followeth idolatry maintained against the manifest Word and the open light thereof.' This," he added, "is the form of my common prayer, as ye yourselves can witness: now, what is worthy of reprehension in it I would hear."

Lethington declared in reply that there were three things in this prayer which had never pleased him. "You pray," he said, "for the queen with a condition: 'Illuminate her heart, if it be thy good pleasure.'

Where have you the example of such a prayer?" Knox referred to the example and authority of our Lord himself, who had given us the rule in praying to the Father, "If you shall ask anything according to his will he shall hear you," and who had taught us to pray, "Thy will be done." More than this he could not do so long as she continued in idolatry. Still however Maitland harped upon the authority of precedent, and objected, "You can produce from Scripture the example of none that so prayed before you." "Do you think," said the other, "that the apostles prayed themselves as they command others to pray?" And when the whole company replied that there was no doubt of that, Knox quoted the words of the apostle Peter to Simon Magus, and said, "Here we may clearly see that Peter joins a condition with his commandment, that Simon should repent and pray—to wit, *if it were possible* that his sins might be forgiven him. Simon," he went on, "although he had been a sorcerer, yet joined with the apostles, believed, and was baptized; and although afterwards he sinned through avarice, he humbled himself so far as human judgment could discover like a true penitent. And yet Peter doubts of his conversion. Why then," he asked, "may not all the godly justly doubt of the conversion of the queen, who hath used idolatry, which is no less odious in the sight of God than is the other, and still continueth in the same? yea, she despiseth all threatenings, and refuseth all godly admonitions?" "Why say you that she refuses admonition?" replied Lethington, "she will gladly hear any man." "But what obedience to God," said Knox, "or to his word, ensues to all that is spoken unto her, or when shall she be seen to give presence to the public preaching?" "I think never," answered Lethington, "so long as she is thus treated." "So long then," said the other, "you and all others must be content that I pray so as that I may be assured to be heard of my God—that is, that his good-will may be done, either in making her comfortable to his church, or, if he hath appointed her to be a scourge to the same, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled."

Maitland then advanced to his second ground of complaint. "Where do you find that the Scriptures call any the blind slaves of Satan, or that the prophets of God speak of kings and princes so unreservedly?" To this Knox answered at some length, while his opponent cavilled at each debatable point. After the reformer had proved satisfactorily from Scripture that all are the sons of wrath, the servants of sin, and slaves of Satan, until Christ has set them free, Maitland then asked, "Where will you find that any of the prophets did so treat kings, queens, rulers, or magistrates?" "In more places than one," said the reformer: "Ahab was a king, Jezebel was a queen, and yet what the prophet Elijah said to the one and the other I suppose you are not ignorant." "But that was not cried out before the people," replied Maitland, "to make them odious to their subjects." Knox declared that although Scripture is silent on this point, the denunciation of the prophet does not appear to have been whispered, or uttered in a corner, but spoken before witnesses, as Jehu had referred to it as a thing well known after the death of Jezebel. Thus discomfited, the secretary took refuge in the assertion, "These were singular motions of the Spirit of God, and appertain nothing to this age." In reply, Knox showed that no portion of Scripture was obsolete or of private interpretation, and thus continued: "But now to put an end to this head, my lord, the prophets of God have not spared to rebuke wicked kings as well to their face as before the people and their subjects." In

proof of this, he quoted instances from the Old Testament, where Elisha publicly rebuked his own sovereign Jehoram, and where Jeremiah was commanded to cry aloud in his denunciations both against the sovereigns of Judah and its inhabitants. "And therefore," he added in conclusion, "you ought not to think it strange, my lord, although the servants of God tax the vices of kings and queens as well as other offenders, and that because their sins are more hurtful to the commonwealth than are all the sins of inferior persons."

In this singular discussion, of which we have only attempted a summary, Maitland had evidently the worst of the argument. Learned and cunning in intellectual fence as he was, which would have made him a dangerous antagonist for ordinary theologians, he was no match for the clear and weighty logic of John Knox. Two of his heads of complaint were already scattered to the winds, and only a third remained: but would it be safe to propound it? It concerned the duty of subjects to their kings; and the maintenance of this part of the argument must have recourse to the doctrine of downright absolutism, which had never found favour in Scotland, and was not likely to be palatable to the nobles who were umpires to the debate. Maitland, who during the latter part of the lengthened controversy had been leaning upon the Master of Maxwell, complained of weariness, and shifted this part of the argument, which he declared to be the chief head, to the management of Mr. George Hay, one of the reformed ministers. Knox was contented with the change, and commended Hay for his learning and modesty; but he solemnly adjured him in such an important affair to speak according to his convictions, and not for the display of forensic dexterity. At this admonition Hay refused the debate, which therefore once more devolved upon Maitland. To the unwelcome task he addressed himself with a show of cordiality, declaring that he was better prepared upon this head than the other two; and this he soon evinced by his subtle arguments—his perplexing sophistries—and the array of authorities from the most learned of Europe in support of his positions—a collection which he declared had cost him more toil in gathering during these seven years than the reading of any commentaries. He commenced by calling in question two propositions which John Knox had announced in his preaching. The first was, that the reformer had made a difference betwixt the ordinance of God and the persons who were placed in authority, and had affirmed that men might resist the persons, and yet not offend God's ordinance. The second was, that subjects were not bound to obey their sovereigns if they commanded unlawful things; but that they might resist their sovereigns, and were not always bound to suffer.

This opened up the whole argument of the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the people. Maitland was strong in the spirit of the age, which still ran in favour of absolutism, while Knox in his replies embodied those principles which, however startling at the time, are now established axioms in the British constitution. On this account it is interesting to contemplate these two men as the most distinguished representatives which the age could furnish of their respective opinions; the one contending for a doctrine of government which had thousands of years for its authority—the other advocating those new principles which were still strange to Europe, but under which every kingdom successively has since been more or less regenerated. On the one hand, Maitland contended for those absolute dogmas which

were afterwards developed and brought into act by the Stuarts; while Knox was the personification of that noble Puritan spirit which resisted the tyranny of Charles I., and drove James II. from his throne. After this explanation it is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of this part of the controversy. It is enough to state that Maitland was driven from all his defences by the superior reasoning of Knox, and that the lords who had chosen him for the advocate of their cause were disappointed.

Having had enough of theological disputation, Lethington abandoned this kind of distinction, and allowed the Scottish reformation to proceed at its own pace. Other matters also were in hand that were more immediately connected with his own political and personal interests. In these, however, he only appears by fits, and at distant intervals. One of these reappearances was occasioned by the undue favour of the queen towards David Rizzio, by which his office at court was superseded, and his influence diminished; and to remedy this, he suggested to the Earl of Morton the proposal of putting the foreigner to death. Morton demurred at the proposal, upon which Maitland endeavoured to stir up such a feud between him and Rizzio as would provoke the earl into action. In the affairs of Darnley, for whose promotion he had laboured, he now appears to have taken little concern, probably foreseeing how little he could profit by such a course, and on account of the dislike into which the king-consort had fallen with the queen. When Darnley perished, and Bothwell took his place, Maitland, who found his life in danger from Bothwell's violence, forsook the queen's party, and joined the lords who were leagued against her. He still, however, kept the door open for a return to his former friends should circumstances make it expedient; and, finding the time ripened for his purpose in consequence of the strong sympathy expressed for Mary during her imprisonment in Lochleven, he rejoined her party, and wrote to her, offering his assistance. It was a letter characteristic of the style of the period, showing how available his services might be, from the apologue of the little mouse that gnawed asunder the net, by which the captive lion was set free. Nor did he confine his services to mere professions; for when the queen escaped from Lochleven, one of the chief plotters and devisers of her escape was no other than himself. At the battle of Langside he was arrayed among the barons who fought against her; but, true to his plan of double-dealing, he obtained at the following parliament remission for many of the queen's party who had been at the battle, but had not afterwards submitted to the government. In consequence of his advice a few only were condemned; and this lenity, instead of conciliating, only encouraged the obstinacy of the queen's party and protracted their resistance.

These shifty proceedings, although so cunningly conducted, could not escape the suspicions of the regent Moray, so that when the latter was summoned to England to justify his proceedings against his sovereign, he selected Maitland of Lethington as one of the commissioners by whom he was to be accompanied. It was truly dangerous to take such a man upon such a mission, but the regent was now aware that it would be still more dangerous to leave him behind. When the commissioners of the two kingdoms met at York, the Duke of Norfolk, the head of the English commission in this trial or inquest, astounded the Scottish regent and his party by insisting, as a preliminary, that they should do homage in their young king's name to the supremacy of the English crown. That this obsolete claim

should have been revived on such an occasion would have been absurd, had it not been for the purposes of the duke, either to prevent a trial that might discredit the character of the Queen of Scots, or so to reduce the credit of the regent as to make his testimony of little account. Moray was silent with astonishment, but Lethington answered boldly and promptly: "Let the lands," he said, "of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland, which Scotland of old possessed in England, be restored to her, and she would do homage for these lands, as she had formerly done; but as to the crown and kingdom of Scotland," he added, "it is more free than England had lately been when it paid St. Peter's penny to the pope." By this unexpected outburst of patriotism the speaker showed, that however ready to sacrifice parties, or profit by their contentions, he was not ready to sacrifice his country itself, or subject it to a foreign power. His answer was conclusive, and during the conferences there was no further mention of homage. But notwithstanding this zeal for the independence of his country, a feeling which he shared in common with every Scot, Maitland was no friend to the commission with which he was joined. His familiarity with the Marian party and his correspondence with the queen herself, were well known to the Earl of Moray, who preferred on that account to keep the restless intriguer under his own notice, instead of leaving him behind in Scotland; but Maitland soon showed that he could be dangerous as an assistant in England as well as an enemy at home. While the conference was held at York, he placed himself in communication with the Duke of Norfolk; and on discovering the treacherous designs of the latter, he was now at work to promote them. That unfortunate nobleman, although the highest and most powerful of his class in England, was ambitious of becoming higher still; and the troubles in Scotland, the flight of Mary into England, and the durance to which she was subjected by Elizabeth, had opened a tempting prospect to the most extravagant of his wishes. By deposing his own sovereign, and espousing the Queen of Scots, he would virtually become the king both of England and Scotland; and by the united influence of himself and his royal consort, the Catholic faith in Britain might be restored to its former pre-eminence. Maitland, if he did not originally suggest this ambitious union, at least laboured to give form and consistency to the plan, and while at York scarcely a night passed in which he was not closeted with the duke and his principal adherents, to whom he imparted his own purposes as well as the designs and arrangements of Moray. Frequently, also, he went out with Norfolk into the fields, under the pretext of hunting, but in reality to mature their conspiracy. The first aim of the pair was to throw such obstacles in the way of the commission that the investigation should not proceed, and the guilt of Mary be brought to light; or to raise such troubles in Scotland that Moray should be abruptly recalled. Another was, to convey intelligence to Mary in prison of these arrangements in her behalf, so that she might be prepared to second them when the season for action had arrived; and for the purpose of opening this communication with the royal captive, Maitland communicated the proceedings to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, her confidential correspondent, who in turn imparted them to his mistress. But the bishop was so sanguine, and his plans had so often failed, that Mary had thrown aside his letters as useless, on which account they were read by several, so that their contents were not long in reaching the regent Moray. He was already aware of the intercourse of Maitland with his

enemies, but now he had learned the full amount of his treachery. Accordingly, when there was occasion to send Maitland to London as envoy of the Scottish commissioners at the court of Elizabeth, he was not sent alone; for James Macgill of Rankeillor accompanied him, ostensibly to assist him, but in reality to watch over his proceedings.

We have no further account of the doings of Lethington in connection with the transactions of the commission in England; but it may be that the surveillance now kept over him had made him more watchful and wary. On returning to Scotland with the commissioners, his wily brain appears to have been more restless than ever; and his whole prospects were staked upon the deliverance of Mary, and her restoration to the throne. On this account he laboured to second the designs of Norfolk in Scotland, until they had hopelessly collapsed, and afterwards to rally her scattered party in Scotland for united effort in her behalf. But his matchless cunning, for which he had obtained the name of the Scottish Machiavelli, was opposed by the wisdom and sagacity of the regent Moray. One of Maitland's devices was to obtain from some of the nobles of his party a band for his protection against the powerful Earl of Morton, with whom he was at variance; but the secret purpose of the application was to unite them for the restitution of Mary. He also drew over to the queen's party the brave Kirkcaldy of Grange, to whom the victory of Langside had been chiefly owing, and who was now captain of the castle of Edinburgh. The regent's endurance for one whom he had so greatly favoured and esteemed could last no longer; the difficulties of his position were complicated by the crafty Lethington, under whose exertions the queen's party was growing in strength, and who was now suspected of being the chief contriver of all the plots and conspiracies in favour of Mary both in England and Scotland. Accordingly, while holding a council at Stirling, Moray sent for Maitland, who at that time was at Perth. The arch-conspirator was dismayed by the summons, but remembering the regent's wonted clemency, he ventured upon the journey, taking with him the Earl of Athol as arbiter, should such be necessary. On arriving in Stirling, and assuming his seat at the council as a member, he was accused by Thomas Crawford, a dependant of the Earl of Lennox, of the late murder of Darnley—a convenient accusation at the time, and usually brought forward against the politic and powerful, more especially, as from the mystery of the deed, and the numbers supposed to be accessory to its commission, the charge could be more easily made than refuted. Although Maitland's dark designing character, and the whisper of general suspicion countenanced the charge, Moray did not commit him immediately to prison, but sent him to Edinburgh, and placed him in ward under Alexander Hume of North Berwick. Here, however, he did not remain long, for at night Kirkcaldy of Grange waited upon Hume with a letter forged in the regent's name, requiring him to deliver up his prisoner to Grange; and this being done without suspicion, Maitland was carried up to the castle, where he could safely defy Moray and all his accusers. He even desired that he should be subjected to a trial, and a day was fixed for the purpose; but at the appointed time he appeared with such a force of his friends and supporters, whom he had summoned for the purpose, that not only the court but the city lay at their mercy. The regent finding that preparation had been made for a battle rather than a trial, proceeded no further; and the diet being deserted, Maitland was dismissed unquestioned.

The assassination of Moray having occasioned the election of a new regent, Lethington, who was now the recognized head of the queen's party, endeavoured to delay it. His hope was, that the country being in a state of anarchy for want of a ruler, would be better suited for the success of his plots, and the restoration of Mary to the throne. During this unquiet period he was ill, or pretended to be ill, of the gout, but such numbers daily resorted to him, that his house was called the school, and he the schoolmaster. In this manner he continued to intrigue for the captive queen during the rest of the regency of Moray; and when that distinguished ruler was assassinated, the event was thought so favourable for the queen's party, that Maitland was supposed to have had a share in suggesting and promoting the deed. Of this indeed no evidence appears to have been adduced; but his crafty unscrupulous character, and the influence he was known to exercise upon every public movement, was hastily accepted as sufficient proof of his participation in that foul atrocity. Such was his influence at this time, that he called a meeting in the north which was termed the Council of Balloch: it was attended by the principal nobles who supported the Marian faction; and when the members disagreed among themselves, and were on the eve of dissolving their political partnership, he had influence to keep them together, and hold them steadfast to their principles, by promising that they should receive foreign assistance by a certain period which he specified. At that time the parliament was to meet, and his chief purpose was to prevent it from being held. To obtain this foreign countenance or aid, he wrote letters to the kings of France and Spain, the emperor and the Guises, which he forwarded to Mary for her signature and subscription. But these foreign powers had their own troubles to occupy them, and the expected aid was not sent.

The Marian faction were now so confident that they resolved to hold a convention at Edinburgh, for the purpose of deposing the regent Lennox, the successor of Moray, and taking the government of the kingdom into their own hands. To the capital accordingly they drew together, and were received into the castle, the governor of which, Kirkcaldy of Grange, had been brought wholly over by Maitland to the party of the queen. Hither also came Maitland himself, the head and soul of the party; and having landed at Leith, and being unable in consequence of the gout to travel up to the castle, he was borne to it "sting and ling"—that is, suspended or slung upon poles, in the fashion that beer-barrels were carried, Mr. Robert Maitland supporting his head. On carrying their freight to the castle each of the six received the munificent sum of three shillings Scots, which, says Bannatyne, "they received grudgingly, hoping to have gotten more for their labours." In this lowly fashion the evil genius of the castle entered within its gates as the presiding spirit of its inmates. His first proceeding on his arrival was an onslaught on the liberty of the press. The celebrated George Buchanan had written his severe satire called *The Camelion*, in which the character and deeds of the secretary were painted to the life; and fearing that it had been committed to print, Maitland sent an officer to the dwelling of the royal typographer, Robert Leckprevis, or Lapraik, to seize the obnoxious impression and its printer. But Lapraik, forewarned of the visit and its object, had previously escaped, carrying with him whatever might bring him into trouble. A more serious matter soon occupied Maitland's cares. This was the defence of the castle, by which the queen's party

were enabled to keep their hold of Edinburgh, and maintain themselves against their enemies; for open war had already broken out between both parties, and was raging with all the relentlessness of civil conflict. In this defence Kirkcaldy acquitted himself so bravely, that the stronghold bade defiance to every attack; but his character, hitherto so chivalrous and humane, underwent a sad transformation under the ascendancy of Maitland, a change of which the citizens of Edinburgh experienced the bitter fruits, in reckless cannonades, and their houses wantonly demolished. It was amidst this boom of artillery that each party held a parliament. That in the name of the young king was held at the head of the Canongate, on the outside of the city walls, and at a safe distance from the shot of the castle; while that of the friends of Mary was held in the old place, the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Proscription was the order of the day with both, and after many on either side had been condemned as guilty of treason, both parliaments were prorogued. While they were sitting the church interposed between them in its proper character of peacemaker; and the General Assembly, which was held at Leith, appointed a commission to procure if possible a reconciliation between them. But when they entered the castle and declared their errand, Maitland, who by the silent consent of all present was the authoritative spokesman and president, answered haughtily: "We will make no offers to them who are in the Canongate; for the principals of the nobility of Scotland are here, to whom they in the Canongate are far inferior in that rank. It becometh them rather to make offers to those who are here." He then stated that should they do this, immunity for their past offences would be promised them, otherwise they must look for no offers from his party. When reminded that there was a lawful authority established in the person of the king and his regent, to whom all ought to be obedient, Maitland answered, that the establishment of the king's authority was merely meant as a temporary expedient in a moment of urgent danger, and that no one could justly be king while his mother lived. A long discussion followed, in which Maitland, who was seated before his bed in a chair, showed that neither pain nor sickness had impaired his faculties, and his reasoning in behalf of the proceedings of his party was so dexterous that his friends were at one with him, while the ministers were confounded if not convinced. He wital intermingled it with such strokes of humour as stirred them to mirth rather than resentment. It was a wonderful instance of the power of that man in swaying every mind with which he came in contact, and the Assembly's commission departed as fruitless as it came.

The hope of pacification being frustrated, the relentless civil war was continued. In the meantime John Knox, who was in the last stages of his mortal sickness, yet still continuing to preach, although in a voice so feeble that few could hear him, denounced the crimes of Kirkcaldy, Maitland, and their associates in the castle, with his wonted boldness and freedom. This was an opportunity of reprisal against his old instructor and reprovcr, as well as of setting his character to rights with his old friends the reformers, which Maitland was too politic to neglect, and accordingly he sent to the kirk-session the following letter of complaint:—

"It is come to our ears by credible report that your minister, John Knox, as well publicly in his sermons as otherwise, hath slandered me as an atheist and enemy to all religion in direct speeches: that I have plainly spoken in the castle that there is neither heaven nor hell, and that these are things

devised to make bairns afraid; with other such language tending to the like effect, unworthy to be rehearsed in the hearing of Christian ears. Which words, before God, never at any time proceeded from my mouth; nor yet any other sounding to the like purpose, nor whereof any such sentence might be gathered. For, praised be God, I have been brought up from my youth and instructed in the fear of God; and to know that he hath appointed heaven for the habitation of the elect, and hell for the everlasting dwelling-place of the reprobate. Seeing he hath thus ungently used me, and neglected his duty, vocation, the rule of Christian charity, and all good order, maliciously and untruly lying on me, I crave redress thereof at your hands; and that you will take such order therewith, that he may be compelled to nominate his authors and prove his allegation; to the end, that if it be found true, as I am well assured he shall not be able to verify it in any sort, I may worthily be reputed the man he pointeth me out to be. And if (whereof I have no doubt) the contrary fall out, you may use him accordingly: at least, that hereafter ye receive not every word proceeding from his mouth as oracles; and know that he is but a man subject to vanity, and many times doth utter his own passions and other men's inordinate affections in place of true doctrine. It is convenient that, according to the Scriptures, you believe not every spirit, but that you try the spirits whether they are of God or not."

This letter of mingled complaint and sneering the session did not present to their dying minister until two or three days afterwards; but they sent a formal answer to Maitland requiring him either properly to authorize the presenter of his mandate to conduct the trial, or appeal in his own person, and admit the session as judges in the case. Only four days after this answer had been sent, John Knox ended his earthly warfare. His last hours were occupied with melancholy forebodings of the fate which awaited those in the castle, and a desire that if possible it might yet be averted. As for that severity, he said, which he had used against Kirkcaldy of Grange, with whom he had been so familiar, it was only to bring him to acknowledge his shameful declension, that thereby he might turn him to repentance—and he desired two of the ministers then present to go and tell him that John Knox, now going to die, was the same man that he was before, when he was in full vigour; and willed him to consider the dangerous estate in which he now stood. The reformer then proceeded to answer the secretary's charge. He desired all men to consider his deeds and those of his associates, which testified their denial of a God, or of heaven or hell, where virtue should be rewarded and vice punished. It was not education that made a true Christian, nor brought a man to the true knowledge and fear of God, but the illumination of the soul by God's Spirit; for who was better brought up than Julian the Apostate, and sundry others? As to naming the reporters, which the secretary required, this he declared he would not do, although he could very well have done it. And for that part of his bill, he added, where it was said, he is "a man subject to vanity," and "all are not oracles," &c., he confessed he was but a most vile creature and wretched man; yet the words which he had spoken should be found as true as the oracles which had been uttered by any of the servants of God in times past. For he had said nothing but what was warranted by the Word, to wit, that the justice of God should never be satisfied until the blood of the shedders of innocent blood was shed again, or God moved them to unfeigned repentance—and with that he caused those who were

present to read the ninth psalm. He declared also that Lethington was the chief author of all the trouble raised both in England and Scotland. Then exhorting those present, and commending them to God, they, after prayer, departed with tears.

After this the dying reformer could not speak without great pain; and not the least intense of his sufferings was about the castle, and the coming fate of its brave but misled commander. He would yet try his last appeal to Kirkcaldy; and to David Lindsay, minister of Leith, who visited him, he said, "I have desired all this day to have had you, that I may send you yet to yon man in the castle, whom you know I have loved so dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him that I have sent you to him yet once, to warn him; and bid him, in the name of God, leave that evil cause, and give over that castle. If not, he shall be brought down over the walls of it with shame, and hang against the sun. So God hath assured me." Lindsay, although he thought the message a hard one, delivered it faithfully, and not only Sir Robert Melvil, but Kirkcaldy himself, was moved by the prediction. Even at this moment, perhaps, it might have been available, had not the latter repaired to Maitland for counsel. We may imagine what would be the advice of the gallant captain's Mephistopheles, and how plausibly it was delivered and enforced. Kirkcaldy returned more hardened than ever, and sent a reply, ridiculing the prediction of Knox with a coarse contemptuous epithet. "Well," said the reformer when his messenger returned, "I have been earnest with my God anent the two men. For the one I am sorry that so shall befall him, yet God assures me that there is mercy for his soul. For the other, I have no warrant that ever he shall be well."

Soon after the death of the reformer affairs began to indicate that his predictions would be fulfilled. An agreement was made between the chief nobles of Mary's faction and the government, and nothing held out for the queen but the castle of Edinburgh, which was so closely invested, that its fate was but a question of days or even of hours. The regent Morton was also reinforced from England with skilful soldiers and good artillery, so that the ramparts were demolished piecemeal, and the castle would soon have been a ruin. The particulars of its surrender will be found in our notices of Kirkcaldy of Grange and the Earl of Morton, to which they properly belong. During the protracted siege, the animating spirit of the stubborn resistance was Maitland, who was now playing his last stake, and whose perseverance was so desperate when all means of resistance had failed, that the garrison at length mutinied against his obstinacy, and only reduced him to surrender by the threat of hanging him. The defenders were obliged to yield without conditions, except that their doom should be at the will of the Queen of England, and her will was, that they should be disposed of according to the pleasure of the Earl of Morton. This decided their fate, and Kirkcaldy was publicly executed, consoling himself in his last moments with the dying declaration of Knox, that whatever befel his body there was still mercy for his soul. But as for Maitland, no such consolation awaited him. Having played his last stake and lost it, his spirit was too proud to endure the ignominy of a public execution, and he died in the hands of his captors at Leith, on the 9th of July, 1573. It was generally reported that he had poisoned himself, and Sir James Melvil countenances the report by telling us that "he died after the old Roman fashion, as was said, to prevent his coming to the shambles with the rest." "He lay so long unburied," adds Calderwood, "that the ver-

min came from his corpse, creeping out under the door of the house where he was lying."

Such was the end of a statesman for whose daring no enterprise seemed too difficult, and for whose restlessness no single kingdom was a sufficient sphere. With natural talents of the highest order, and acquirements beyond those of his associates, the guidance of public events was his proper office, and accordingly, his influence as a master-spirit was felt in every great political movement of the day. But these advantages were negated by a love of change that prevented him from any consistent course of action, so that every party in the state he adopted and deserted in turn; and he changed his principles with such facility, that at length he was distrusted and despised by all parties alike, who united against him as a common enemy. It is not surprising therefore that with talents which might have founded or regenerated a kingdom, he produced nothing but confusion and disappointment, and died defeated and dishonoured. Instead of the solemn earnest spirit of the true statesman, he brought into action the stirring and exciting audacity of the gamester; and the game went against him and left him bankrupt. At the end of his career, therefore, he left nothing behind him but the lesson so often repeated and so seldom laid to heart,—that the welfare of communities, and the fate of kingdoms, are too important matters for a mere trial of ingenuity, or to be trusted to the turning of the card.

Of the indifference with which the memory of Sir William Maitland of Lethington was treated, a striking proof is to be found in the fact that no regular memoir of him, so far as we can learn, is known to exist. His name occurs, and his influence is seen, in every great event of the stirring period in which he lived; but no one has written his individual history. The only approach to his biography is to be found in Buchanan's satirical work *The Camelton*, giving a sketch of the principal events in his public life, which work is thus epitomized by the historian Calderwood:—

"In this description it is said, that at the first, when he entered in court, he addressed himself to James, after Earl of Moray, and Gilbert, then Earl of Cassilis. Through their good report and his own feigned behaviour, he was put in credit with the queen-regent. When she sent him to France, he did his own turn;—deceived the queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Within a short time after by moyen [influence] of such as gave him credit, he crept into credit again by another door, and under another colour. Yet, because his new fashion could have no place in respect of the old suspicion, he conveyed himself to Leith, and covered himself with the cloak of religion so long as it could serve; yet never so close but he kept a refuge to some sanctuary of the Papists if the court had changed; as to the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and diverse others whose causes he maintained; and therefore Doctor Cranstone imparted to him largely of the spoil of St. Salvador's College, and was maintained by him. Before the queen's arrival he was contrary to the queen in all her actions, and inclined to her deprivation; after her arrival he applies himself to her and the Earl of Moray. But at length he alone was heard in secret matters and the earl was shaken off, for the earl was not well pleased with many matches attempted by the queen; as with the Prince of Spain, the emperor's brother, the Duke of Anjou. But he changed as he saw the queen change, and followed her appetite. When the queen went to the north, and Huntly should have slain the Earl of Moray by treason, he alone could fear no danger, and would

never believe that the Earl of Huntly would take such enterprises in hand; yet was he one of the readiest to gnaw the bones of the dead, to spoil the quick, and to make his profit at this market. When he went to England after this, he made both Papists and Protestants believe he laboured for them. He practised the marriage of the queen upon Henry Lord Darnley. When the Earl of Moray, for his plainness and austerity, was in a manner cast out of court, he thought to have gotten the credit of all weighty affairs. But Seigneur Davie was preferred before him. Finding himself in a worse case than he looked for, when the queen sought to make some alteration in religion, and some chief lords went out of the country, yet he held the small grip he had in court. He was an instrument to cut off Seigneur Davie. After that he fell from the king [Darnley] and nourished the dissension between him and the queen. When the Earl of Bothwell came into credit, he flattered him and consented to the murder of the king. After the death of the king the Earl of Bothwell sought his death, knowing his inconstancy and falsehood, and desirous to be rid of such a witness. Then he had no other refuge but to lurk about the Earl of Morton's wings. At the parliament held after the taking of the queen, he, with some others, partakers of the murder [of Darnley], would have had her put to death. When that purpose wrought not, he solicited some private men to hang her in her own bed with her belt, that he and his partners in the murder might be out of fear of such a witness. When this counsel was not heard, then he turned himself to flatter the queen, and sent to Lochleven the apologue of the lion delivered by the mouse out of the snare. Some say in writing, for that he perceived he could not greatly profit under the Earl of Moray's government, therefore he sought his overthrow, and her restitution. He maketh a faction among the counsellors and partakers of the king's murder, of men covetous of gear; corrupted my lord of Moray's friends and servants; travailed with Grange the captain of the castle. The regent was advertised divers times of his practices, but loath was he to mistrust any whom he had taken into friendship."

MAITLAND, WILLIAM, an antiquarian writer of some note, is generally represented as having been born at Brechin in the year 1693, though there is reason to suppose the date of his birth to have been somewhat earlier. He does not appear in his writings to have been a man of liberal education. His first employment was that of a hair merchant; in the prosecution of which business he travelled into Sweden and Denmark, to Hamburg, and other places, and appears to have realized considerable wealth. At length he settled in London, and applied himself to the study of English and Scottish antiquities. In 1733 he was elected a member of the Royal, and in 1735 a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, which latter honour he resigned in 1740, on going to reside in the country. His first publication was his *History of London*, which appeared in 1739, and was chiefly valuable for a reason little creditable to the author—namely, its being in a great measure a reduction of the ancient and scarce work of Stow. In 1740 he retired to Scotland; and in 1753 published his *History of Edinburgh*, which is by far the most useful and creditable of all his works. He was not here assisted to any considerable degree by preceding authorities; the volume is chiefly compiled from original documents, and must have been accordingly a work of very great labour. In point of composition it is very deficient. The style is mean,

and the whole tone of the work that of a plain, dull old man. It also bears in some parts the traces of credulity and narrowness of understanding on the part of the author. As a compilation of facts it is nevertheless very valuable. In 1757 Maitland published a *History of Scotland*, in two volumes folio, a work absolutely destitute of reputation. He died at Montrose, July 16, 1757, "at an advanced age," says the obituary notices, and possessed of above £10,000.

MALCOLM III., or **CANMORE**, King of Scotland. Few sovereigns in the obscure and barbarous periods of Scottish history have been more fortunate in their chances of posthumous renown than Malcolm Canmore. He has had Buchanan for his historian and Shakspeare for his eulogist. What the former learned of him from Fordun, and detailed with all the grace and majesty of the Roman language, the latter embodied in poetry, and such poetry as will endure till the end of time. Every age will feel as if Malcolm Canmore had lived but yesterday, and was worthy of every inquiry.

He was the eldest son of Duncan, who had succeeded to the throne of Scotland in consequence of the assassination of his grandfather, Malcolm II. This "gracious Duncan" of the great poet appears to have been a soft, easy king, and little fitted for the stormy people over whom he was called to rule. Still less does he appear to have been adapted to those difficult trials by which he was quickly beset, in the first instance, from the insurrection of Macdonald, one of the powerful thanes of Scotland, who called in the Islesmen to his aid; and afterwards from the invasion of the Danes, who tried the barren shores of Scotland after they had wasted to the uttermost the rich coasts of France and England. In both cases, however, he was delivered by the military prowess of his cousin Macbeth, who not only quelled the revolt of the islanders, but drove the Danes to their shipping with great slaughter. To understand aright the importance of these military services of Macbeth, we should remember that the great question at issue in Scotland now was, what race should finally predominate in the country. So large a portion of what had been England during the heptarchy had been won and incorporated into Scotland, that the Anglo-Saxon race bade fair to outnumber and surpass the Celtic; and the rebellion of Macdonald was nothing more, perhaps, than one of that long series of trials between the two peoples, in which the Celt finally succumbed. As for the Danish invasion, it might have ended either in a permanent settlement in Scotland, like that which had been effected by the Danes in Normandy, or a complete conquest, like that which they had achieved in England, while in either case Scotland would have been a sufferer.

After these dangerous conflicts had terminated, Duncan made his eldest son, Malcolm, Prince of Cumberland, by which he designated him heir to the Scottish throne. This appointment, however, was anything but pleasing to Macbeth. Here the reader will remember the predictions of the weird sisters, which form a very important fact in the strange history of the period. But Macbeth had enough to incite him in his ambitious career independently of witch or prophesies. By the Tanist law of succession, common to the Celts of Scotland as well as Ireland, Macbeth, who was the cousin-german of Duncan, should have succeeded to the government on the death of the latter, should his son be still a minor; but Duncan, by this movement in favour of young Malcolm, set aside the Tanist law, which had been

the general rule of Scotland, and precluded Macbeth from all hope of being king. To be required for his public services by exclusion from his inheritance, was too much for such an ambitious spirit; while the only chance of remedy was the possible death of Duncan before Malcolm was old enough to be his father's successor. We know how such a prospect has paved the way to a throne in every nation, whether barbarous or civilized. Duncan was assassinated. This foul deed of Macbeth, however, was not committed under trust, and in his own castle, as Shakspeare, for the purposes of poetry, has represented; but at Bothgowan (or the Smith's Dwelling), near Elgin, by an ambuscade appointed for the deed. This event is said to have occurred A.D. 1039. Macbeth immediately placed the crown upon his own head, while the two sons of Duncan fled—Malcolm, the elder, to Siward, Earl of Northumberland, his mother's brother; and Donald, the younger, to his father's kindred in the Hebrides.

The commencement of the reign of Macbeth, like that of many usurpers, was one of conciliation. He won over the powerful by donations of crown-lands, and the common people by a vigorous administration of justice, through which their safety was secured and their industry encouraged. All this was well; but either fearing the nobles, whose power he so vigorously curbed, or being naturally of a stern disposition, Macbeth began to oppress them with such severity that revolts in favour of Malcolm, whom they regarded as the true heir, ensued, which however were easily suppressed. At last, after a reign of ten years, during which he daily became more unpopular, his cruel conduct to Macduff, Thane of Fife, procured his downfall. The latter fled to Northumberland, where young Malcolm was sheltered, and besought him to march against the tyrant, whose doom he represented as certain; but Malcolm, who had been previously tried in a similar manner by the emissaries of Macbeth, and who had learned to suspect such invitations, is said by our historians to have made those objections to Macduff's appeal which Shakspeare has little more than versified in his immortal tragedy. Truth and patriotism finally prevailed over the doubts of Malcolm; and aided by an English force from Siward, the prince and thane entered Scotland, where they were joined by the vassals of Macduff and a whole army of malcontents. Even yet, however, Macbeth was not without his supporters, so that the contest was protracted for a considerable period, Macbeth retiring for that purpose into the fastnesses of the north, and especially his strong castle of Dunsinane. At length, deserted by most of his followers, he intrenched himself in a fort built in an obscure valley at Lunfannan in Aberdeenshire. Here Boece records, with his wonted gravity, all the marvels that accompanied the dying struggle of the tyrant as facts of unquestionable veracity. Leaving these, however, to historic representation, it is enough to state that Macbeth fell by the hand, it is generally supposed, of Macduff, who had personal injuries to revenge, and who, like a true Celt, was prompt enough to remember them. Instead of claiming from the grateful Malcolm what rewards he pleased in lands, titles, and pre-eminence, the Thane of Fife contented himself with stipulating that himself and his successors, the lords of Fife, should have the right of placing the Scottish kings upon the throne at their coronation; that they should lead the van of the Scottish armies when the royal banner was displayed; and that if he or any of his kindred committed "slaughter of suddeny," the deed should be remitted for a pecuniary atonement. Malcolm's next duty, immediately after his accession,

was to replace those families that had been deprived of land or office through the injustice of Macbeth. It is also added that he caused his nobles to assume surnames from the lands they possessed, and introduced new titles of honour among them, such as those of earl, baron, and knight, by which they are henceforth distinguished in the histories of Scotland.

By these changes Malcolm Canmore became king of Scotland without a rival, for although Macbeth left a stepson called Lulach (or the Fool), his opposition did not occasion much apprehension. A greater subject of anxiety was the consolidation of that strange disjointed kingdom over which he was called to rule, and here Canmore was met by difficulties such as few sovereigns have encountered. A single glance at the condition of the country will sufficiently explain the severe probation with which his great abilities were tried.

Scotland had originally consisted of the two states of Pictland and Albin, comprised within the limits of the Forth and the Clyde, while all beyond these rivers formed part of England. The troubles, however, of the latter country, at first from the wars of the heptarchy, and afterwards the Danish invasions, enabled the Scots to push the limits of their barren inheritance into the fertile districts of the south, and annex to their dominion the kingdom of Strathclyde, which comprised Clydesdale, Peeblesshire, Selkirkshire, and the upper parts of Roxburghshire. The conquest of this important territory was accomplished by Kenneth III., about one hundred years before the accession of Malcolm Canmore. In addition to this, the district of Cumbria had been ceded by Edmund I., the English king, in 946, to Malcolm I. of Scotland. Thus Malcolm Canmore succeeded to the kingdom when it was composed of the three states of Albin, Pictland, and Strathclyde. But besides these there was a fourth territory, called Lodonia or Lothian, which at one period appears to have formed part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, but had been partially conquered by the Picts in 685; and as it lay between the two countries, it had formed, from the above-mentioned period, a bone of contention between the English and the Scots until A.D. 1020, or about thirty-seven years before Malcolm Canmore's accession, when it was finally ceded by Eadulf, Earl of Northumberland, to Malcolm II., the great-grandfather of Canmore.

Thus the sovereignty of Scotland at this time, barren though it was, consisted of four separate kingdoms, all the fruits of successive conquests, and as yet not fully incorporated, or even properly united; and each was at any time ready either to resume an independent national existence of its own, or commence a war of conquest or extirpation against the others. And for such an explosion there was abundance of fierce materials in the population by which the country was occupied. For there were first the Caledonians or Picts, the earliest occupants of the land, who had successfully resisted the Roman invaders; after these were the Scots or Irish from Ulster, who had entered Scotland about the middle of the third century; and lastly, the Saxons, of different race, language, and character from the others, who, though originally conquered by the Scots and Picts, already bade fair to become the conquerors of both in turn. But besides these there was a large infusion of a Norwegian population, not only from the annexation of Strathclyde, but the invasions of the Norsemen by sea, so that many of the northern islands and a portion of the Scottish coast were peopled by the immediate descendants of these enterprising rovers. Turning to another part of the kingdom, we find a still different people, called the "wild Scots of Gal-

loway," who had emigrated from the opposite coast of Ireland, and occupied Galloway and part of Ayrshire along with the wildest of the Pictish population, among whom they had thus won a footing. Here, then, we have a strange medley of Caledonians, Cymbrians, Celts, Anglo-Saxons, and Norwegians, men of different race and language, and of rival interests, all thrust into one sterile country, to contend not merely for empty glory, but absolute subsistence. And by whom was the scanty loaf to be finally won?—but the loaf had first to be created from a flinty soil that had hitherto produced nothing but thistles; and of all these races, the Anglo-Saxon, by its skill, industry, and perseverance, showed itself the best adapted for the purpose. On the accession of Malcolm Canmore it was evidently necessary that he should identify himself with some one of these rival parties; and had he followed a short-sighted or selfish policy, he would have placed himself at the head of the Celtic interest, not only as it was still predominant, but also as he was the lineal descendant and representative of Kenneth Macalpine, the founder of the Scots-Irish dynasty. But he was the son of an Anglo-Saxon mother; he had resided in England for fifteen years; and he had been finally established in his rights chiefly by Anglo-Saxon auxiliaries, in spite of the Tanist law of succession, which had favoured the usurpation of Macbeth. Besides, his long stay in England must have convinced him of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxons in civilization, industry, and the arts of life, as well as aptitude for order and a settled government. He therefore adopted the chance of becoming a Saxon king rather than the certainty of being a Celtic chief of chieftains; and the result showed the wisdom of his choice. He was thenceforth the Alfred of his country; and the Scots under his rule became a nation and a people, instead of a heap of tribes and chieftainries.

During the first nine years of Malcolm Canmore's reign England was governed by Edward the Confessor, who was more intent on building churches than making conquests, and thus a friendly relationship was maintained between the two countries, which allowed the Scottish king to consolidate his dominions. On the death of the Confessor and accession of Harold, the latter king was soon occupied with a civil war, at the head of which was his own brother Tostig, whom he had made Earl of Northumberland. At this period, indeed, there was some danger of Malcolm being drawn into a dangerous war with England; for while there he had formed an acquaintanceship with Tostig, whom, according to an old English chronicler, he loved as a brother, so that when the Northumbrian earl fled after his first unsuccessful attempt, he betook himself for shelter to the Scottish court, and endeavoured to stir up its king to an English invasion. But Malcolm had too much good sense, or too much right feeling, to be allured by such a tempting opportunity where two brothers were at deadly variance. Disappointed in Scotland, Tostig obtained an ally in Hardrada, King of Norway, with whom he invaded England; but in the battle of Stamford Bridge their forces were completely defeated, and both king and earl were left among the slain.

Events soon followed that made the continuance of peace between the two kingdoms impossible. The veering of the same wind that had brought Hardrada from Norway wafted William the Conqueror from Normandy to England; and Harold, weakened by the victory at Stamford Bridge, fell, with all the flower of his military array, at the terrible battle of Hastings. William was now King of England, and Scotland became not only a place of refuge to Saxon

fugitives, but a mark for Norman ambition and revenge. Among those who thus fled to the Scottish court was Edgar Atheling, nearest of kin to Edward the Confessor, and chief claimant to the throne of England, with his mother Agatha, widow of Edmund Ironside, and his sisters Margaret and Christina. On reaching Dunfermline, the royal seat of the Scottish king, they found many of the English nobles, who had preceded them, while from Malcolm they experienced that full hospitality which he had himself enjoyed in England. Of the two sisters of Edgar, Margaret, who was young and beautiful, captivated the heart of her royal host, and a marriage quickly followed. Seldom has a marriage union been fraught with such advantages to a nation as that of the King of Scotland with this descendant of the noble line of Alfred, for Margaret was not only gentle, affectionate, and pious, but learned and accomplished beyond the people of her new country, and anxious to introduce among them the civilization of England. Her labours in this way form a beautiful episode in the history of the period, and have been fully detailed by her biographer Turgot, who was also her chaplain and confessor. Her first care was the improvement of her husband, whose vigorous mind she enlightened, and whose fierce spirit she soothed by the wisdom and gentleness of her counsels. The effect of this upon Malcolm was such, that though unable to read her missals and books of devotion, he was wont to kiss them in token of reverence, and he caused them to be richly bound and ornamented with gold and jewels. On arriving in Scotland, Margaret, as a Christian according to the Romish church, was grieved to find the Eastern form predominant, which she had been taught to regard as heresy, and not long after she became queen she set herself in good earnest to discountenance and refute it—for hers was not a mind to comprehend the uses of persecution in achieving the conversion of misbelievers. She invited the Culdee clergy to a debate, in which the chief subject was the proper season for the celebration of Lent—the great theological question of the day between the Eastern and Western churches; and as she was unacquainted with the language of these Culdees, Malcolm, who spoke the Celtic as well as the Saxon tongue, attended as her interpreter. This strange controversy lasted three days, and on this occasion, says Turgot, “she seemed another St. Helena, out of the Scriptures convincing the Jews.” The temporal concerns of her husband’s subjects were also taken into account, and she invited merchants from various countries, who now for the first time pursued their traffic in Scotland. Their wares chiefly consisted of ornaments and rich clothing, such as had never been seen there before; and when the people, at her persuasion, put them on, Turgot informs us they might almost be believed to have become new beings, they appeared so gay and comely. Who does not see in this the commencement of an industrial spirit—the first great step of a people from barbarism to civilization? Her influence was also shown in the royal household, the rude coarseness of which was exchanged for a numerous retinue, and orderly dignified ceremonial, so that when Malcolm appeared in public it was with a train that commanded respect. Not only his attendants, but his banquets, were distinguished by the same regal splendour, for Turgot informs us that Margaret caused him to be served at table from vessels of gold and silver plate; but suddenly checking himself, he adds, “at least they were gilt or silvered over.”

From this pleasing picture we must now turn to the stormy career of Malcolm Canmore. The arrival

of Edgar Atheling was followed by a fresh immigration of Saxons, and soon after of Normans, whom William had either disgusted by his tyranny or defrauded of their wages; while Malcolm, who needed such subjects, received them with welcome, and gave them broad lands, of which there were plenty and to spare, and from these refugees the chief nobility of Scotland were afterwards descended. The latter country became, of course, very closely connected with the struggles of the English against the Norman ascendancy, while Malcolm by his marriage was bound to support the pretensions of his brother-in-law to the crown of England. But Edgar was no match for William, and in an attempt that he made in Northumberland and Yorkshire with the aid of a Danish armament, he was so effectually defeated, that he was obliged a second time to flee to Scotland. How Malcolm, who was considered as the head of this coalition, failed to invade England when his aid was most expected, does not clearly appear, but he thereby escaped the evils of an ill-concerted and most disastrous enterprise. Two years after (in 1070) he crossed the border with an army, but found the northern counties so wasted by the previous war, that after a hasty incursion into Northumberland and Yorkshire, he was obliged to retreat. But brief as this inroad was, and unaccompanied with battle, it was not without its share of the horrors of war, for Malcolm commanded his soldiers to spare only the young men and women, who accordingly were carried into Scotland and there sold as slaves. So great was the number of these unhappy captives, that according to Simeon of Durham there was not a village and scarcely even a hovel in Scotland without them. And yet those English who escaped the visitation in many cases seem to have envied their fate, for such was the general desolation which their own Norman sovereign had inflicted, that they repaired in crowds to Scotland, and sold themselves into slavery, to avoid certain death from famine or the sword.

Had William the Conqueror not been otherwise occupied, a swift retaliation would have been certain; but from the dangerous revolts of the English, he found no leisure for the purpose till 1072, when he entered Scotland with such an army as the undisciplined forces of Malcolm were unable to meet. The whole of the Norman cavalry, in which William’s principal strength consisted, and every foot-soldier that could be spared from garrison, were mustered for the purpose, while his advance on land was supported by a fleet that sailed along the coast. He marched as far as the Tay, the Scots giving way as he approached; but in their retreat they laid waste the country in the hope of driving him back by famine. In this way Malcolm Canmore anticipated the wise plan of defence that was afterwards so successfully adopted by Bruce and Wallace. He also refused to deliver up those English and Norman nobles who had fled to him for protection. At last, William, finding “nothing of that which to him the better was”—nothing in the shape of booty or even of subsistence—was obliged to abandon his purposes of a complete conquest of Scotland, and content himself with terms of agreement. These, which were ratified between him and Malcolm at Abernethy, consisted in the latter giving hostages, and doing homage to William, as his liege lord. But for what was this homage rendered? Not for Scotland certainly, the greater part of which was still untouched, and which William would soon be obliged to leave from sheer hunger. It appears that this homage was merely for the lands of Cumberland and part of the Lothians, which Scotland had formerly held of the English crown, but which feudal acknow-

ledgment Canmore had withheld, as not judging the Norman to be the lawful King of England. Now, however, he prudently yielded it, thus recognizing William as the English sovereign *de facto* at least, if not *de jure*; and with this concession the latter seems to have been satisfied, for he returned to England without any further attempt. And this homage, as is well known, implied neither inferiority nor degradation, for even the most powerful sovereigns were wont to give such acknowledgment for the dukedoms or counties they might hold in other kingdoms. In this way the Kings of England themselves were vassals to the French crown for their possessions which they held in France. At the utmost Malcolm did nothing more than abandon the claims of Edgar Atheling, which experience must have now taught him were scarcely worth defending. Edgar indeed was of the same opinion, for soon after he abandoned all his claims to the crown of England, and was contented to become the humble pensionary of the Norman conqueror.

A peace that lasted a few years between England and Scotland ensued, during which, although little is heard of Malcolm Canmore, it is evident from the progress of improvement in his kingdom that he was by no means idle. Scotland was more and more becoming Anglo-Saxon instead of Celtic or Norse, while the plentiful immigrations that continued to flow from England filled up the half-peopled districts, enriched the barren soil with the agriculture of the south, and diffused the spirit of a higher civilization. The superiority of these exiles was quickly manifested in the fact, that they laid the foundations of those great families by whom Scotland was afterwards ruled, and by whom the wars of Scottish independence were so gallantly maintained. Malcolm, too, their wise and generous protector, was able to appreciate their worth, for he appears to have been as chivalrous as any man of the day, whether Norman or Saxon. Of this he on one occasion gave a signal proof. Having learned that one of his nobles had plotted to assassinate him, he concealed his knowledge of the design, and in the midst of a hunt led the traitor into the forest, beyond the reach of interruption. There dismounting, and drawing his sword, he warned the other that he was aware of his purpose, and invited him to settle the contest, man to man, in single combat, now that there was no one at hand to prevent or arrest him. Conquered by such unexpected magnanimity, the man fell at the feet of Malcolm and implored forgiveness, which was readily granted. This generosity was not thrown away, for the noble was converted from an enemy and traitor into a faithful and affectionate servant.

Peace continued between England and Scotland during the rest of the Conqueror's reign; but in that of William Rufus the national rancour was revived. An invasion of England was the consequence while Rufus was absent in Normandy; but the English nobility, who governed during his absence, offered such a stout resistance, that the invaders retreated. On the return of Rufus the latter endeavoured to retaliate by a counter-invasion both by land and sea; but his ships were destroyed before they arrived off the Scottish coast, and the army on reaching a river called *Scottie Uatra* (supposed to be Scotswater), found Malcolm ready for the encounter. Here a battle was prevented by the interposition of mutual friends, and the discretion of the Scottish sovereign. "King Malcolm," thus the Saxon chronicle states, "came to our king, and became his man, promising all such obedience as he formerly rendered to his father; and that he confirmed with an oath. And the king, William, promised him in land and in all things

whatever he formerly had under his father." In this way the storm was dissipated, and matters placed on their former footing; but thus they did not long continue. On returning from Scotland Rufus was struck with the admirable position of Carlisle, and its fitness to be a frontier barrier against future invasions from Scotland; upon which he took possession of the district without ceremony, drove out its feudal lord, and proceeded to lay the foundations of a strong castle, and plant an English colony in the town and neighbourhood. It was now Malcolm's turn to interpose. Independently of his kingdom being thus bridled, Carlisle and the whole of Cumberland had for a long period belonged to the elder son of the Scottish kings, and was one of the most valuable of their possessions on the English side of the Tweed. War was about to commence afresh when Malcolm was invited to Gloucester, where the English king was holding his court, that the affair might be settled by negotiation; but thither he refused to go until he had obtained hostages for his safe return—a sure proof that he was an independent King of Scotland, and not a mere vassal of the English crown. His claims were recognized, and the hostages granted; but on arriving at Gloucester he was required to acknowledge the superiority of England by submitting to the decision of its barons assembled in court. It was an arrogant and unjust demand, and as such he treated it. He declared that the Scottish kings had never been accustomed to make satisfaction to the Kings of England for injuries complained of except on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, and by the judgment of the barons of both collectively; and after this refusal he hurried home and prepared for instant war.

That war was not only brief but most disastrous to Scotland. At the head of an army composed of different races not yet accustomed to act in concert, Malcolm crossed the border and laid siege to Alnwick. While thus occupied he was unexpectedly attacked by a strong English and Norman force, Nov. 13, 1093. His troops, taken by surprise, appear to have made a very short resistance, and Malcolm himself, while attempting to rally them, was slain in the confusion of the conflict. With him also perished his eldest son Edward, who fell fighting by his side.

While an event so mournful to Scotland was occurring before the walls of Alnwick, another was about to take place within the castle of Edinburgh. There Queen Margaret, the beloved of the kingdom, lay dying. She had already received the viaticum, and was uttering her last prayer, before her eyes should be closed in death, when her son Edgar, who had escaped from the battle, entered the apartment and stood before her. She hastily asked, "How fares it with the king and my Edward?" The youth could not speak. Eagerly perusing his face with her looks, "I know all," she exclaimed, "I know all; by this holy cross, and by your filial love, I adjure you to tell me the truth." He told her that husband and son had fallen. She raised her eyes to heaven, and said, "Praise and blessing be to thee, Almighty God, that thou hast enabled me to endure such bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby purifying me, as I trust, from the corruption of my sins. And thou, Lord Jesus Christ, who, through the will of the Father, hast given life to the world by thy death, O deliver me!" Instantly after she was dead. To this a touching legend has been added. After being canonized by the church her relics were to be removed from their grave to a more honourable tomb; but it was found impossible to lift the body until that of her husband had been removed also.

It is to be regretted that for the biography of such a man as Malcolm Canmore, the particulars are so few, so obscure, and in several cases so contradictory. His life, however, is chiefly to be read not in particular incidents, but in its great national results. If Bruce was the liberator and Knox the reformer of Scotland, Canmore was its founder; and should a future age expand the few pillars upon the Calton Hill into a national monument, the statues of these three illustrious men would undoubtedly occupy the foremost place in it, as the impersonations of Scottish character, and the sources of Scottish history.

MALCOLM, SIR CHARLES. The family to which this naval commander belonged was remarkable for producing not less than four brothers, who all won their way to rank and distinction by the greatness of their public services. Sir Charles was the tenth and youngest son of George Malcolm, and was born at Burnfoot, Dumfriesshire, in 1782. Being destined for the naval profession, he entered it when only nine years old, and was so fortunate in a course of active service that followed, as to have his brother Pulteney for his commander, under whom he was master's mate of the *Forx*, 32. In this ship he served in 1798, when, in company with the *Sybill*, 38, they entered the harbour of Manila under Spanish colours, made a dashing attack upon three ships of the line and three frigates, and captured seven boats with a large quantity of military stores, and took 200 prisoners. Rising still in the service, he was in course of time promoted to the command of the *Narcissus*, 32, and in 1807 was slightly wounded in an attack upon a convoy of thirty sail in the Conquest Roads. In 1809 he aided in the capture of the Saintes Island in the West Indies. In June of the same year, having been appointed to the command of the *Rhine*, 38, he was employed in active co-operation with the patriots on the north coast of Spain, a service in which several of our most distinguished naval commanders were occupied at the same period. After this he was employed in the West Indies and upon the coast of Brazil; and on the 18th of July, 1815, he landed and stormed a fort at Corigion, near Abervack. Thus briefly are we obliged to sum up a course of service that lasted several years, with little intermission. It was a period, however, of great naval events, in which the public attention was regaled with such a succession of splendid victories by sea, that it had little attention for the exploits of single ships or the details of privateering. Still, an idea of the active and important nature of Captain Malcolm's services may be gained from the fact, that while in command of the *Narcissus* and the *Rhine*, he not only captured great numbers of merchantmen, but took more than twenty privateers, carrying 168 guns and 1059 men.

On the return of peace Malcolm's services were not to be dispensed with; and in 1822 he was appointed to the command of the *William and Mary*, royal yacht, lying at Dublin in attendance upon the Marquis of Wellesley, lord-lieutenant; and in the following year he had the honour to receive knighthood from the vice-regal hand. In 1826 he was appointed to the command of the *Royal Charlotte* yacht, also commissioned on the same service. But these, though sufficiently honourable employments, and indicative of a due sense of his past services, were of too quiescent a character for an active spirit still in the prime of life; and in 1827 his best aspirations were gratified by his being appointed superintendent of the Bombay Marine. To this service he diligently devoted himself for ten years, and so highly

improved it, that from an imperfect sea establishment, it grew into a regular Indian navy, adequate to the extensive wants and protection of our Eastern empire. Sir Charles was also the promoter of many important surveys within the extensive sphere of his command, and took an influential part in the establishment of steam-navigation in the Red Sea. Well-merited promotion continued to follow these exertions, for he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral in 1837, and to that of vice-admiral in 1847.

In turning to his personal history it is only necessary to add, that in 1808 Sir Charles married his cousin Magdalene, daughter of Charles Pasley, Esq., by whom he had one daughter; and on becoming a widower he married in 1829 Elmira Riddell, youngest daughter of Major-general Shaw, by whom he had three sons. In his character he fully abounded in that seaman-like courage, frankness, and courtesy, which Napoleon so much admired in his brother Sir Pulteney Malcolm. The death of Sir Charles occurred at Brighton, on the 14th June, 1851, at the age of sixty-nine.

MALCOLM, SIR JOHN, a distinguished soldier and diplomatist, was born on the farm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, on the 2d of May, 1769. This farm was granted to the paternal grandfather of Sir John, at a low rent, by the Earl of Dalkeith in 1707; it subsequently became the residence of George Malcolm, the father of Sir John, who married Miss Pasley, daughter of James Pasley, Esq. of Craig and Burn, by whom he had seventeen children, fifteen surviving to maturity. Of these children, four attained to a high station and title; namely, Sir Pulteney, vice-admiral, R.N.; Sir James, lieutenant-colonel of marines; Sir Charles, the subject of the preceding memoir; and Sir John, who now demands our notice. The farm is still in possession of the family.

Sir John Malcolm entered active life in 1782 as a cadet in the service of the East India Company; and a part of his success is to be ascribed to the zeal with which he applied himself at first to study the manners and languages of the East. Having distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam in 1792, he was appointed by Lord Cornwallis to the situation of Persian interpreter to an English force serving with a native prince. In 1795, on his return from a short visit to his native country on account of his health, he performed some useful services in General Clarke's expedition at the Cape of Good Hope, for which he received the thanks of the Madras government, and was appointed secretary to the commander-in-chief. In 1797 he was made captain; and from that time to 1799 he was engaged in a variety of important services, terminating in the fall of Seringapatam, where he highly distinguished himself. He was then appointed joint-secretary with Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro to the commissioners for settling the new government of Mysore. In the same year he was selected by Lord Wellesley to proceed on a diplomatic mission to Persia, where he concluded two treaties of great importance, one political and the other commercial; returning to Bombay in May, 1801. His services were acknowledged by his being appointed private secretary to the governor-general. In January, 1802, he was raised to the rank of major; and on the occasion of the Persian ambassador being accidentally shot at Bombay, he was again intrusted with a mission to that empire, in order to make the requisite arrangements for the renewal of the embassy, which he accomplished in a manner that afforded the highest satisfaction to the Company. In January, 1803, he was nominated to the presidency of Mysore, and to act without special instructions; and in De-

ember, 1804, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In June the following year he was appointed chief agent of the governor-general, and he continued to serve in that capacity until March, 1806, having successfully concluded several very important treaties during that interval.

Upon the arrival in India, in April, 1808, of the new governor-general, Lord Minto, Colonel Malcolm was sent by his lordship to the court of Persia on a very important mission—that of endeavouring to counteract the designs of Bonaparte, then in the zenith of his power, who threatened an invasion of India by way of Persia, supported by the Persian and Turkish governments. In this difficult embassy Colonel Malcolm did not wholly succeed. He returned to Calcutta in the following August, and soon afterwards proceeded to his residence at Mysore, after having, to use the words of Lord Minto, “laid the government under additional obligations to his zeal and ability.” Early in the year 1810 he was again selected to proceed in a diplomatic capacity to the court of Persia, whence he returned upon the appointment of Sir Gore Ouseley as ambassador. So favourable was the impression which he made on this occasion on the Persian sovereign, that he was presented by him with a valuable sword and star, and, at the same time, made a khan and sepahdar of the empire; to that impression, indeed, may be ascribed much of the good understanding, both in a political and commercial point of view, which afterwards subsisted between this country and Persia. During this embassy, while at Bagdad, Colonel Malcolm transmitted to the government of Bengal his final report of the affairs of Persia—a document so highly appreciated, that the government acknowledged its receipt to the secret committee in terms of unqualified praise.

In 1812 Colonel Malcolm again visited his native shores. He was received by the court of directors of the East India Company with the deepest regard and acknowledgment of his merits; and shortly afterwards he received the honour of knighthood. He returned to India in 1816, and soon became engaged in extensive political and military duties; he was attached, as political agent of the governor-general, to the force under Lieutenant-general Sir T. Hislop, and appointed to command the third division of the army, with which, after taking Talym by surprise, he acted a prominent part in the celebrated battle of Mehidpoor, when the army under Mulhar Rao Holkar was completely beaten and put to the rout. His skill and valour on this occasion were the theme of general admiration. A vote of thanks was awarded him, on the proposal of Mr. Canning, by the House of Commons; and the prince-regent expressed his regret that the circumstance of his not having attained the rank of major-general prevented his creating him a knight grand cross. The intention of his royal highness to do so was nevertheless recorded, and in 1821 he accordingly received the highest honour which a soldier can receive from his sovereign. After the termination of the war with the Mahrattas and Pindarees, to which Colonel Malcolm's services had eminently contributed, he was employed by Lord Hastings in visiting and settling the distracted territories of Mulhar Rao, which, and other services, he accomplished in a most satisfactory manner, gaining to British India a large accession of territory and treasure.

At the end of the year 1821 he resolved to return once more to England; on which occasion the general orders contained the following paragraph:—“Although his excellency the governor-general in council refrains from the specific mention of the

many recorded services which have placed Sir John Malcolm in the first rank of those officers of the Honourable Company's service who have essentially contributed to the renown of the British arms and counsels in India, his lordship cannot omit this opportunity of declaring his unqualified approbation of the manner in which Sir John Malcolm has discharged the arduous and important functions of his high political and military station in Malwah. By a happy combination of qualities which could not fail to earn the esteem and confidence both of his own countrymen and of the native inhabitants of all classes, by the unremitting personal exertion and devotion of his time and leisure to the maintenance of the interests confided to his charge, and by an enviable talent for inspiring all who acted under his orders with his own energy and zeal, Sir John Malcolm has been enabled, in the successful performance of the duty assigned to him in the Malwah, to surmount difficulties of no ordinary stamp, and to lay the foundations of repose and prosperity in that extensive province, but recently reclaimed from a state of savage anarchy, and a prey to every species of rapine and devastation. The governor-general in council feels assured that the important services thus rendered to his country by Sir John Malcolm, at the close of an active and distinguished career, will be not less gratefully acknowledged by the authorities at home, than they are cordially applauded by those under whose immediate orders they have been performed.”

Sir John returned to England in April, 1822, with the rank of major-general, and soon after he was presented by those who had acted under him in the war of 1818 and 1819 with a superb vase of the value of £1500. During this visit to England Sir John received a proud testimony of the favour of the East India Company, and acknowledgment of the utility of his public career, in a grant passed unanimously by a general court of proprietors, of £1000 per annum, in consideration of his distinguished merits and services.

Sir John had quitted India with the determination to spend the evening of his life in his native country; but the solicitations of the court of directors, and of his majesty's ministers for the affairs of India, induced him again to embark for the East, where experience had so fully qualified him to act with advantage. In July, 1827, he was appointed to the high and responsible situation of governor of Bombay, which post he continued to fill until 1831, when he finally returned to England, having effected, during the few years of his governorship, incalculable benefits both for this country, our Indian territories, and every class of the inhabitants there. Upon his leaving Bombay the different bodies of the people seemed to vie with each other in giving proofs of the esteem and high consideration in which he was held. The principal European gentlemen of Bombay requested Sir John to sit for his statue, afterwards executed by Chantrey and erected in Bombay; the members of the Asiatic Society requested a bust of him, to be placed in their library; the native gentlemen of Bombay solicited his portrait, to be placed in their public room; the East India Amelioration Society voted him a service of plate; the natives both of the presidency and the provinces addressed him as their friend and benefactor; and the United Society of Missionaries, including English, Scottish, and Americans, acknowledged with gratitude the aids they had received from him in the prosecution of their pious labours, and their deep sense of his successful endeavours to promote the interests of truth and humanity, with the welfare and prosperity of his

country and his countrymen. These were apt and gratifying incidents in the closing scene of his long and arduous services in our Indian empire. But whether at home or abroad, all parties who knew anything of his career concurred in awarding him the highest praises, both as a civil, military, and political character; and the brief encomium of Mr. Canning in parliament, that he was "a gallant officer, whose name would be remembered in India as long as the British flag is hoisted in that country," is only in accordance with the universal opinion of his merits.

Shortly after Sir John's arrival in England in 1831, he was returned to parliament for the burgh of Launceston, and took an active part in the proceedings upon several important questions, particularly the Scottish reform bill, which he warmly opposed. He frequently addressed the house at length; and his speeches were characterized by an intimate knowledge of the history and constitution of his country, by a happy arrangement, and much elegance of expression. Upon the dissolution of parliament in 1832, Sir John became a candidate for the Dumfries district of burghs; but being too late in entering the field, and finding that a majority of the electors had promised their votes, he did not persevere. He was then solicited to become a candidate for the city of Carlisle, and complied; but having been too late in coming forward, and being personally unknown in the place, the result of the first day's poll decided the election against him. Sir John then retired to his seat near Windsor, and employed himself in writing a work upon the government of India, with the view of elucidating the difficult questions relating to the renewal of the East India Company's charter. One of his last public acts was an able speech in the general court of proprietors of East India stock, and the introduction of certain resolutions relative to the proposals of government respecting the charter— which resolutions were, after several adjourned discussions, adopted by a large majority. His last public address was at a meeting in the Thatched House Tavern, for the purpose of forming a subscription to buy up the mansion of Sir Walter Scott for his family; and on that occasion his concluding sentiment was, "that when he was gone, his son might be proud to say that his father had been among the contributors to that shrine of genius." On the day following he was struck with paralysis, the disorder which had just carried off the illustrious person on whose account this address had been made. His death took place in Prince's Street, Hanover Square, London, on the 31st of May, 1833.

As an author, the name of Sir John Malcolm will occupy no mean place in the annals of British literature. His principal works are—"A Sketch of the Sikhs, a Singular Nation in the Province of the Punjab, in India;" "The History of Persia, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time;" *Sketches of Persia*; *A Memoir of Central India*; and his treatise on the *Administration of British India*, which was published only a few weeks before his death. Sir John had also been engaged for some time before his death in writing a life of Lord Clive, which afterwards appeared.

Sir John married, on the 4th of June, 1807, Charlotte Campbell, daughter of Sir Alexander Campbell, baronet, who was commander-in-chief at Madras, by whom he left five children, viz.: Margaret, married to her cousin Sir Alexander Campbell; George Alexander, a captain in the guards; Charlotte Olympia; Anne Amelia; and Catharine Wellesley.

Upon the public character of Sir John Malcolm

it would be superfluous to pass any lengthened eulogium in this place, since that character is so forcibly and faithfully sketched in the facts we have just recorded. Let it suffice to say, that he was a true patriot; that the chief end and aim of his public life was to advance the prosperity of his country—to promote the condition of every class of his fellow-creatures. Such is the conclusion which the records of his life enable us to draw; and his private character was in perfect keeping with it: he was warmly attached to his kindred and connections; as a friend, he was constant and devoted; and all his social qualities might be said to "lean to virtue's side." Last, though not least of all, he was a sincere and devout Christian; and in every part of the world where it was his fortune to be placed, and under whatever circumstances, he never shrunk from any opportunity of evincing his deep regard for the religion of his country.

MALCOLM, SIR PULTENEY, Admiral of the Blue, G.C.B. and G.C.M.G. This gallant admiral was one of that brotherhood of the Malcolms, whose talents raised them to such high distinction. He was born on the 20th of February, 1768, at Douglan, near Langholm, Dumfriesshire, and was the third son of the family. Having chosen the naval profession as his path to fame and fortune, he embarked as midshipman on the 20th of October, 1778, on board the *Sybilie* frigate, commanded by Captain Pasley, afterwards Admiral Sir James Pasley, Bart., his mother's brother. Thus launched at the early age of ten, young Pulteney's first trial of his profession was a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; and at his return he was transferred to the *Jupiter* of 50 guns. His first promotion, after nearly five years' service, was to the rank of lieutenant in 1783. After having served successively in several ships, and upon various stations, he was employed as first lieutenant of the *Penelope* of 32 guns at Jamaica; and as the war kindled by the French revolution had commenced, it was not long until he was called into active employment. Among his services was the capture of the French frigate the *Inconstante*, and a corvette, in which he assisted as first lieutenant, and afterwards carried the prizes to Port-Royal. He also saw hot service as commander of the *Penelope's* boats, in cutting out vessels from the ports of St. Domingo; and was so successful that he was promoted to the rank of commander in 1794, in which capacity he had the charge of the seamen and marines who were landed at the mole of Cape Nicola, to garrison that place, which had been surrendered to the British by their allies the French royalists. After his return from that station to England, Lieutenant Pulteney Malcolm was advanced to the rank of post-captain in October, 1794, and in the following month was appointed to the command of the *Fox* frigate. In the early part of the next year he conveyed a fleet of merchantmen to Quebec, and afterwards another to the East Indies; and upon that station he captured *La Modeste*, a French frigate of 20 guns. In 1797 he was employed in the China seas, under the command of Captain Edward Cooke of the *Sybilie*; and during the same year he had for his passenger homeward Colonel Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo, who was then returning from India. Neither storm nor enemy occurred by the way to put the *Quid times? Casarem vehis* to the test.

In this manner Captain Malcolm was making way by useful services, in which his courage and professional skill were fully attested, and the singular fortune that seemed to have rested upon his family

insured his well-merited advancement. In 1798 he was appointed to the command of the *Suffolk*, a third-rate of 74 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Rainier, commander-in-chief in the Indian seas, and was afterwards transferred to the *Victorious*, in consequence of the flag being removed to the latter ship. On this station Captain Malcolm served till the end of the war; and on his passage homeward in 1803 he encountered one of those casualties to which his profession must be always subject. In the Bay of Biscay the *Victorious* encountered such a violent gale that it was kept with the utmost difficulty from foundering; all that could be done was to make for the Tagus, where the ship was run on shore and broken up, while her commander and crew returned in two vessels that were hired at Lisbon for the purpose. After this disaster Captain Malcolm had the command of several ships successively in the Mediterranean, until in 1805 he was appointed to the *Donegal*, a third-rate, where he continued for six years. His ship formed part of the fleet under Nelson, employed in the pursuit of the combined French and Spanish squadron to the West Indies; and at its termination he was sent to reinforce the ships under Collingwood off Cadiz. As the *Donegal* had been long at sea, it was necessary to refit her; and for this purpose she was carried to Gibraltar, where she lay at anchor in the mole almost wholly dismantled. This was on the 17th of October, only four days before the victory of Trafalgar. While thus reduced to inactivity, tidings reached Captain Malcolm, on the 20th, that the combined fleet were in the act of leaving Cadiz, and knowing that when Nelson was afloat and on the watch a fight would follow, he strained every nerve to get the *Donegal* ready for action. He was so successful that before night his ship was out at sea; and on the 23d he joined Collingwood in time to capture the *El Rayo*, a large Spanish three-decker, which had issued with Gravina's division from the port in which they had taken shelter, to attempt the recovery of the disabled prizes. Malcolm continued on this station till near the end of 1805, under the command of Admiral Sir John Duckworth, whom he accompanied in pursuit of a French squadron that had left port for the West Indies. In the naval engagement that ensued off St. Domingo on the 6th of February 1806, the *Donegal* took an ample share, and at the close was intrusted with the charge of the prizes, which were safely conveyed to Port Royal, Jamaica, and afterwards to England. On returning home Captain Malcolm for his gallant conduct in the action received, with his brother commanders, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was honoured with a gold medal; he was also presented with a silver vase of £100 value by the committee of the Patriotic Fund.

It often happens that services of the highest importance, even in warfare itself, are neither conducted with the roar of cannons, nor signalized with the fanfare of trumpets; and yet their right performance demands not only the highest amount of skill, but also of devoted patriotism. Such was the next duty in which Captain Malcolm was employed in the summer of 1808; it was to escort the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley from Cork to Portugal, and superintend its debarkation. And how strangely the veriest nautical flaw upon this momentous occasion might have altered the whole course of European history! With Cæsar and his fortunes once more committed to his care, Captain Malcolm conveyed the officers to their destination in Mondego Bay, and superintended the landing of the troops, which was accompanied with the utmost precision

and success, notwithstanding the obstacles of a heavy surf. This critical task being happily accomplished, he returned to England, where an affair of some importance to himself was his next transaction. This was his marriage to Clementina, eldest daughter of the Hon. William Fullerton Elphinstone, and niece of Admiral Lord Keith, which occurred on the 18th of January, 1809. Brief, however, was his enjoyment of a new and happy home on shore; for in little more than two months after we find him afloat, and employed under Lord Gambier in the successful attack upon the French ships in Aix Roads. After this event he was invested with the command of a squadron sent out on a cruise; and subsequently to superintend the blockade of Cherbourg, where he captured a number of privateers and shut up others within the shelter of their land-batteries. Little afterwards occurred till 1812, when he was appointed captain of the Channel fleet; and in the year following raised to the rank of rear-admiral. In this capacity he was employed to convey a body of troops under General Ross to North America, and afterwards to assist Sir Alexander Cochrane in the conveyance and subsequent return of our forces employed against Washington and New Orleans. As great deeds and important services had accumulated to an immense amount during this stirring period, it was found necessary, at the commencement of 1815, to extend the order of the Bath into three classes; and on this occasion Admiral Malcolm was not forgot. He was created a knight-commander; and it was an unwonted spectacle to see three brothers, all distinguished in their several departments, invested with this honour at one and the same period.

On the return of peace by the deposition of Napoleon, Sir Pulteney Malcolm's naval career seemed to have been terminated. But the escape of Bonaparte from Elba compelled the weather-beaten admiral to weigh anchor once more; and he was appointed on this occasion to co-operate with the Duke of Wellington and the allied armies in their last great campaign. At its close, which consigned Napoleon to perpetual exile, Sir Pulteney was appointed commander-in-chief of the St. Helena station—a ticklish office, which brought him into frequent and friendly intercourse with the man whose movements he was obliged to watch, and whose chances of escape it was his duty to frustrate. In this trying situation, however, he conducted himself with such firmness and gentleness combined, and so greatly to the satisfaction of the fallen hero, that the latter, while he discharged the whole brunt of his indignation upon the unlucky head of Sir Hudson Lowe, had an entirely different feeling for the admiral. "Ah! there is a man," he exclaimed, "with a countenance really pleasing: open, frank, and sincere. There is the face of an Englishman—his countenance bespeaks his heart; and I am sure he is a good man. I never yet beheld a man of whom I so immediately formed a good opinion as of that fine soldier-like old man. He carries his head erect, and speaks out openly and boldly what he thinks, without being afraid to look you in the face at the time. His physiognomy would make every person desirous of a further acquaintance, and render the most suspicious confident in him." Such was the striking portrait of Sir Pulteney drawn by the hand of a master—one who was the greatest of painters through the medium of language, as well as the first of epic poets by deed and action. On one occasion, when the impatient spirit of the exile burst forth, he exclaimed to the admiral, "Does your government mean to detain me upon this rock until my death's-day?" "Such, I apprehend, is their purpose," replied Sir Pulteney, calmly. "Then the

term of my life will soon arrive," cried the indignant ex-sovereign. "I hope not, sir," was the admiral's answer; "I hope you will survive to record your great actions, which are so numerous, and the task will insure you a term of long life." Napoleon bowed at this gratifying and well-merited compliment, and quickly resumed his good humour. Sir Pulteney continued in the command of the St. Helena station from the spring of 1816 till near the close of the following year; and when he left it he was on the best terms with Napoleon, who frequently afterwards used to speak of the pleasure he had enjoyed in his society.

As there was no further naval service for Sir Pulteney Malcolm, his rank in the navy continued to rise according to the established routine. He was advanced, therefore, to the rank of vice-admiral in 1821, and of full admiral in 1837. During this interval he was also invested with the grand cross of the Bath in 1833. Thus honoured in his public and beloved in private life, Sir Pulteney Malcolm died at East Lodge, Enfield, on the 20th of July, 1838, in the eighty-first year of his age. A public monument has since been erected to his memory.

MALLET, DAVID, a poet and miscellaneous writer, is said to have been a descendant of the clan Macgregor, so well known for its crimes and persecution. When that unhappy race were proscribed by a solemn act of state, an ancestor of the poet escaped to the Lowlands and assumed the fictitious name of Malloch. James Malloch, the father of the poet, kept a small public-house at Crieff, on the borders of the Highlands, where it is supposed that David was born about the year 1700. Of his career from youth to manhood nothing certain is known, nor whence he first derived his education, as in after-life, either through pride or prejudice, he studiously endeavoured to conceal his true name and origin.

Having studied for a time under Mr. Ker, a professor in Aberdeen, he, it appears, removed to Edinburgh, where he was in 1720 employed in the station of tutor to the children of a Mr. Home; he at the same time attended the university of that city. He had while at Aberdeen early exercised himself in poetical composition; and a pastoral and some other small pieces which he wrote about this period attracted the notice of many of the Scottish literati, by whom he was kindly sought after. Finding his situation in Mr. Home's family by no means agreeable, being treated, it is said, with great illiberality, he anxiously sought to change it, and was so fortunate as to be recommended by the professors of the college to the Duke of Montrose, who wanted a fit person to be tutor to his two sons, who were then going to Winchester. It is obvious that he must have conducted himself while at college with uncommon zeal and propriety, as nothing but superior ability could have procured for a youth so humbly connected so marked a preference over the rest of his fellow-students. He was most kindly received in his grace's family; and on coming to London in the winter, attended his noble pupils to most places of public amusement, and still further improved himself in polite literature and a knowledge of the world.

Malloch accompanied his noble pupils to the Continent, and made what is usually called the grand tour. On their return to London he still continued to reside with that illustrious family, where, from his advantageous station, he got by degrees introduced to the most polished circle of society. In 1723, in a periodical work of Aaron Hill's, called the *Plain Dealer*, No. 36, Malloch's pleasing ballad of "William and Margaret" first appeared. The beauty of

the production was so highly praised, that it inspired him with courage to apply himself closely to his poetical studies, which he had for some time neglected. "Of this poem," says Dr. Johnson, "he has been envied the reputation; and plagiarism has been boldly charged, but never proved,"—though "in its original state it was very different from what it is in the latter edition of his works." It is, however, evident that the idea of the ballad was taken from two much older ones, namely, *William's Ghost* and *Fair Margaret*. From these he borrowed largely both in sentiment and expression. Still, notwithstanding all traces of imitation, as a modern biographer truly observes, "there is enough of Mallet's own in the ballad of 'William and Margaret,' to justify all the poetical reputation which it procured for its author." The fame so justly acquired by his illustrious countryman Thomson, whose friendship he had the honour to enjoy, stimulated him to imitate his style; and in 1728 he produced a poem under the title of the *Excursion*. It is a collection of poetical landscapes sketched with some skill and elegance in imitation of the *Seasons*, but much inferior in strength and sublimity. About this time he adopted the foolish conceit of changing his name from *Malloch* to Mallet, to conceal from common observation his country and origin; having, as Dr. Johnson satirically remarks, "by degrees cleared his tongue from his native pronunciation, so as to be no longer distinguished as a Scot, he seemed inclined to disencumber himself from all adherences of his original, and took upon him to change his name from Scotch *Malloch* to English *Mallet*, without any imaginable reason of preference which the eye or ear can discover."

Mallet next produced a tragedy called *Eurydice*, which he had planned some years before: it was first brought on the stage in 1737, and met with no very flattering reception. Garrick, several years afterwards, when Mallet enjoyed both fame and fortune, again introduced *Eurydice* to the public; but not even the talents of that unrivalled actor, assisted by the celebrated Mrs. Cibber, could make it be tolerated for any length of time. Though so ably supported in the principal parts, so gross was the egotism of Mallet, that, as Davies tells us, he sat all the time in the orchestra, and bestowed his execrations plentifully on the players, to whom he entirely attributed the bad success of the piece.

Mallet now left the family of the Duke of Montrose, and went to reside with a Mr. Knight at Gosfield, probably as a teacher; but still he had made an impression, and enjoyed the esteem of the first literary characters of the day. There is a remarkable letter extant from Pope to Mr. Knight, in which he speaks of Mallet in the following affectionate terms:—"To prove to you how little essential to friendship I hold letter-writing—I have not yet written to Mr. Mallet, whom I love and esteem greatly; nay, whom I know to have as tender a heart, and that feels a remembrance as long as any man." With what heartless ingratitude Mallet returned this noble expression of confident esteem, will be seen afterwards. Proud in the first instance of being honoured by the particular regard of so eminent a poet, he servilely employed his pen by attacking Bentley, to please Pope, whose ridicule of critics and commentators he echoed in a poem, published in 1733, entitled *Verbal Criticism*. It is stuffed, as Bentley observes, "with illiberal cant about pedantry and collections of manuscripts. Real scholars will always speak with due regard of such names as the Scaligers, Salmasesius, Heinsiuses, Burmans, Gronoviuses, Reiskiuses, Marklands, Ges-

ners, and Heynes." Dr. Johnson considered the versification above mediocrity, which is all that can be said in its praise. About this time Frederick, Prince of Wales, being at variance with his father, kept what was considered an opposition court, where he affected the patronage of men of letters, with the hope of adding to his popularity. Mallet, through the recommendation of his friends, had the good fortune to be appointed under-secretary to his royal highness, with a salary of £200 a year. "He attended the Prince of Orange to Oxford in 1734, and presented to him a copy of verses written in the name of the university; on which occasion he was admitted to the degree of M.A. Had then the Oxford muses lost their voice? or did he assume a fictitious character for the purpose of spontaneous adulation? The circumstance is certainly extraordinary." In 1739 he published his tragedy of *Mustapha*: it was brought on the stage under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, to whom it was dedicated. The first representation of the piece is said to have been honoured with the presence of all the leading members of the opposition. The characters of Solymán the Magnificent and Rustan his vizier were generally supposed to glance at the king and Sir Robert Walpole; notwithstanding which it was licensed by the lord-chamberlain, and performed with much applause to crowded houses. But in proportion as the public mind was diverted by the appearance of another set of political actors than those to whom the play was said to refer, it lost its only attraction, and sunk with his *Eurydice* into oblivion, whence neither is likely to be ever called forth. In the following year Mallet wrote, in conjunction with Thomson, by command of the prince, the masque of *Alfred*, in honour of the birth-day of his eldest daughter the Princess Augusta. It was first acted in the gardens of Clifden by a set of performers brought from London for the express purpose; and after Thomson's death Mallet revised it for Drury Lane theatre, where it had, with the aid of music and splendid scenery, a run for a short time.

The same year he published his principal prose work, the *Life of Lord Bacon*, prefixed to a new edition of the works of that illustrious person. In point of style it may be considered as an elegant and judicious piece of biography, but nothing more. To develop the vast treasures stored in the mighty intellect of Bacon was a task to which the best intellects of that and a succeeding age would have failed to do justice. Of Mallet's performance Dr. Johnson merely says that "it is known as appended to Bacon's volumes, but is no longer mentioned."

In 1742 Mallet made a considerable addition to his fortune by marriage. He had already buried one wife, by whom he had several children; but of her there is little or no account. His second choice was Miss Lucy Estob, the daughter of the Earl of Carlisle's steward, with whom he received a portion of £10,000. From his various sources of income Mallet may be considered as one of the most fortunate worshippers of the Muses in his day, and hence, becoming either indifferent or lazy, he allowed seven years to pass over without favouring the public with anything from his pen. When at length his *Hermiit*, or *Amyntor and Theodora*, appeared, critics were much divided in their opinions of its merits. Dr. Warton, in his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope*, says it "exhibits a nauseous affectation, expressing everything pompously and poetically;" while Dr. Johnson praises it for "copiousness and elegance of language, vigour of sentiment, and imagery well adapted to take possession of the fancy." Up to this period the character of Mallet stood deservedly

high with the public as an author, but we now come to a part of his history when he drew down upon his head the severe but just censure of all honourable men.

Pope, who honoured Mallet with his friendship at a time when a favourable word from the bard of Twickenham was sufficient to advance the interests of any genius, however depressed by obscurity, had now introduced Mallet to Lord Bolingbroke, at the time when the *Patriot King* was first written by his lordship. Only seven copies were printed and given to some particular friends of the author, including Pope, with a positive injunction against publication, Bolingbroke assigning as a reason that the work was not finished in a style sufficiently to his satisfaction before he would consent to let it go forth to the world. Pope obliged his friend Mr. Ralph Allen of Prior Park, near Bath, with the loan of his copy, stating to him at the same time the injunction of Lord Bolingbroke; but that gentleman was so delighted with the work, that he pressed Pope to allow him to print a limited impression at his own cost, promising at the same time to observe the strictest caution, and not to permit a single copy to get into the hands of any individual until the consent of the author could be obtained. Under this condition Pope consented, and an edition was printed, packed up, and deposited in a wareroom, of which Pope received the key. There it remained until, by the untimely death of Pope, the transaction came to the knowledge of Lord Bolingbroke, who felt or affected to feel the highest indignation at what he called Pope's breach of faith. Mallet, it was generally believed at the time, was the person who informed his lordship of the transaction, but it has never been sufficiently proved that he was the unworthy author. Mr. George Rose, to whom all the particulars of the story were related by the Earl of Marchmont, the intimate friend of Bolingbroke, gives us an account of the discovery which clears Mallet of all blame. "On the circumstance," he says, "being made known to Lord Bolingbroke, who was then a guest in his own house at Battersea with Lord Marchmont, to whom he had lent it for two or three years, his lordship was in great indignation; to appease which Lord Marchmont sent Mr. Grevinkop to bring out the whole edition, of which a bonfire was instantly made on the terrace at Battersea." This, however, did not by any means appease his lordship's angry feelings. He determined on revising and publishing the work himself, and employed Mallet to write a preface, in which the part that Pope had acted was to be set forth to the world in the blackest and falsest colours possible. To the lasting disgrace of his character he was found ready to stoop to so vile and dishonourable a task. It would be vain to seek for any palliation of such egregious turpitude. He was rich, and placed beyond the craving temptation of lending himself to any one, however high in rank or interest, to defile his pen by so unworthy a task. But no compunctions visiting of honour ever once stayed his hand, or prevented him from heaping the most malignant abuse upon his departed friend, for an affair in which, it is evident, there was nothing dishonourable intended, either on the part of Pope or Allen. Every fact that could tend to exonerate Mr. Pope, particularly the share his friend had in the business, and the careful suppression of the copies until Bolingbroke's permission for their publication could be procured, is studiously concealed. "How far Mallet was acquainted with all these circumstances we cannot pretend to affirm." Nor need any one care about the proportions in which they divide the infamy between them.

The unmitigated resentment of Lord Bolingbroke for the evidently unintentional error of a friend whom he almost worshipped while living, is endeavoured to be accounted for by the preference Pope gave to Warburton, whom Bolingbroke could never endure. Be that as it may; if true, it only proves the meanness of his lordship's character, and how much mistaken Pope was in the man whose name he embalmed within his deathless page as a pattern for the most exalted and disinterested friendship. But though such may have been his lordship's feelings, pride must have made him conceal the true cause from Mallet, who had nothing but the sordid temptation of a ready hireling to incite him to the odious task. He was rewarded for this service at the death of Lord Bolingbroke by the bequest of his lordship's works, with the care and profit of those already published, as well as all his manuscripts.

Mallet, who cared as little for the fame or character of his noble benefactor as he did for the illustrious friend he was hired to traduce, with the true spirit of avarice, raked up every scrap of Bolingbroke's writings for publication, without in the least discriminating what ought to be suppressed, though many of the papers contained the most offensive doctrines, subversive of sound morals and revealed religion; the consequence was, that his hopes of gain were very properly frustrated by a presentment which arose from a decision of the grand jury of Westminster, stopping the obnoxious works. This must have sorely affected him; for before the publication of the five vols. 4to, in 1754, he was offered by one Millar, a bookseller, £3000 for his copyright, which he refused. After all, the sale was so extremely slow that it took upwards of twenty years to dispose of the first edition, though assisted by the notoriety of the prosecution of the work. He next appears as an author in, if possible, a more odious light. The disastrous affair of Minorca at the commencement of the war of 1756 had rendered the ministry unpopular. Mallet was employed to divert the public odium, and turn it upon the unfortunate Admiral Byng. For this purpose he wrote a paper under the character of *A Plain Man*, in which the disgrace brought upon the British arms in the affair of Minorca was entirely imputed to the cowardice of the admiral. It was circulated with great industry. How cruelly it effected its purpose need not be told. Byng is now universally considered to have been offered up as a victim to the popular clamour which was thus raised against him, rather than from actual demerit in his conduct. "The price of blood," says Dr. Johnson, with fearful but just severity, "was a pension which Mallet retained till his death." He continued to exercise his talent for poetical composition, and published a collection of his works dedicated to great patrons. At the beginning of the reign of George III., when Lord Bute was placed in power, Mallet, who never let an opportunity slip for serving his own interests, enlisted under the ministerial banners, and offered a twofold service to the cause by his *Truth in Rhyme*, and a tragedy called *Elvira*, imitated from La Motte, and applicable to the politics of the day. His reward was the place of keeper of the book of entries for the port of London. The *Critical Review* of that period praised the tragedy in the highest degree; but it is asserted that Mallet had the superintendence of that publication, and was the critic of his own works. On the death of the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough in 1744, it was found by her will that she left to Mr. Glover, the author of *Leonidas*, and Mr. Mallet jointly, the sum of £1000, on condition that they drew up from the family papers a history of the life of the Great Duke. The legacy,

however, was found to be clogged with so many unpleasant restrictions, that Glover, with the true independence of a man of genius, declined any share in the onerous task. Mallet, who never was troubled by any misgiving of conscience, accepted the legacy under all stipulations, and was put in possession of the papers necessary for proceeding with the work. The second Duke of Marlborough, in order to stimulate his industry, added in the most liberal manner an annual pension to the legacy. Mallet pretended all along that he was deeply engaged in forwarding the work for publication, and in a dedication to his grace of a collection of his poems, he spoke of having soon the honour of dedicating to him the life of his illustrious predecessor. But on the death of Mallet, not a vestige of any such work could be found, nor did it appear that, after all the money he had received, he had even written a line of it. While he continued to delude his patron and friends with the expectation of seeing his great work appear, he made the imposition subservient to his interest in many ways. In a familiar conversation with Garrick, and boasting of the diligence which he was then exerting upon the *Life of Marlborough*, he hinted, that in the series of great men quickly to be exhibited, he should find a niche for the hero of the theatre. Garrick professed to wonder by what artifice he could be introduced, but Mallet let him know, that by a dexterous anticipation he should fix him in a conspicuous place. "Mr. Mallet," says Garrick, in his gratitude of exultation, "have you left off to write for the stage?" Mallet then confessed that he had a drama in his hands—Garrick promised to act it, and *Affred* was produced.

Mallet, finding his health in a declining state, went, accompanied by his wife, to the south of France, for the benefit of a change of air; but after some time, finding no improvement, he returned to England, where he died on the 21st April, 1765. Dr. Johnson says, "His stature was diminutive, but he was regularly formed. His appearance, till he grew corpulent, was agreeable, and he suffered it to want no recommendation that dress could give it." His second wife is reported to have been particularly proud, and anxious that he should, at all times, appear like a man of the first rank. She reserved to herself the pleasing task of purchasing all his fine clothes, and was always sure to let her friends know it was out of her fortune she did so. As Mallet was what is called a free-thinker in religion, his wife also, who prided herself in the strength of her understanding, scrupled not, when surrounded at her table with company of congenial opinions, amongst whom it is said Gibbon was a frequent guest, to enforce her dogmas in a truly authoritative style, prefacing them with the exclamation of "Sir—We Deists." As an additional proof of the vanity and weakness of this well-matched pair, we subjoin the following anecdotes from Wilkes' *Correspondence* and Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*:—

"On his arrival from the north he became a great declaimer at the London coffee-houses against the Christian religion. Old surly Dennis was highly offended at his conduct, and always called him 'Moloch.' He then changed his name to Mallet, and soon after published an epistle to Mr. Pope on *Verbal Criticism*. Theobald was attacked in it, and soon avenged himself in the new edition of Shakespeare: 'An anonymous writer has, like a Scotch pedlar in wit, unbraced his pack on the subject. I may fairly say of this author, as Falstaff says of Poins—'Hang him, baboon, his wit is as thick as Tewkesbury mustard; there is no more conceit in him than a mallet.'—Preface, p. 52, edition of 1733. This

Malloch had the happiness of a wife who had *faith* enough. She *believed* that her husband was the greatest poet and wit of the age. Sometimes she would seize his hand and kiss it with rapture, and if the looks of a friend expressed any surprise, would apologize that it was the dear hand that wrote those divine poems. She was lamenting to a lady how much the reputation of her husband suffered by his name being so frequently confounded with that of Dr. Smollett. The lady answered, 'Madam, there is a short remedy; let your husband keep his own name.'

"When Pope published his *Essay on Man*, but concealed the author, Mallet entering one day, Pope asked him slightly what there was new. Mallet told him that the newest piece was *something* called an *Essay on Man*, which he had inspected idly, and seeing the utter inability of the author, who had neither skill in writing nor knowledge of the subject, had tossed it away. Pope, to punish his self-conceit, told him the secret."

"Mallet's conversation," says Dr. Johnson, "was elegant and easy, his works are such as a writer, bustling in the world, showing himself in public, and emerging occasionally from time to time into notice, might keep alive by his personal influence; but which, conveying but little information, and giving no great pleasure, must soon give way, as the succession of things produces new topics of conversation and other modes of amusement."

A daughter, by his first wife, named Cileisia, who was married to an Italian of rank, wrote a tragedy called *Almida*, which was acted at Drury Lane theatre. She died at Genoa in 1790.

MANSFIELD, EARL OF. See MURRAY (WILLIAM).

MARCHMONT, EARL OF. See HUME (PATRICK).

MARISCHAL, EARL. See KEITH (GEORGE).

MARSHALL, HENRY, M.D. This distinguished medical practitioner, whose observant habits and indefatigable application were so successfully employed in improving the health of the British army, was born in the parish of Kilsyth, in 1775. Although his father was a man of humble station and slender means he was not sparing in the expense of education, so that two of his sons enjoyed the benefit of a college training. Of these Henry, who was a medical student, was appointed in May, 1803, surgeon's-mate in the royal navy, but he left that service in September of the following year, and in January, 1805, was appointed assistant-surgeon to the Forfarshire regiment of militia. In April, 1806, he became assistant-surgeon to the first battalion of the 80th regiment, with which he embarked in February, 1807, for South America, and subsequently to the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon. But already he was distinguished by that observant spirit, and those habits of systematic application, which he so effectually brought to bear upon his own department of the medical profession, and the health and comforts of the British soldier. "We find him," writes his biographer,¹ "when a mere lad at the Cape, in the beginning of the century, making out tables of the diseases of the soldiers, of the comparative health of different stations, and ages, and climates; investigating the relation of degradation, ignorance, crime,

and ill-usage, to the efficiency of the army and to its cost; and from that time to the last day of his life devoting his entire energies to devising and doing good to the common soldier. And all this, to say the least of it, without much assistance from his own department (the medical) till the pleasant time came when the harvest was to be reaped, and the sheaves taken victoriously home."

In May, 1809, Dr. Marshall was appointed assistant-surgeon to the 2d Ceylon regiment, and in April, 1813, promoted to be surgeon of the 1st Ceylon regiment. Although removed to the staff at the close of the latter year, he continued to serve in the island till the spring of 1821, when he returned home, and was soon after appointed to the staff of North Britain, with Edinburgh for his principal station. In 1823 he was removed from Edinburgh to Chatham, and in April, 1825, was appointed to the recruiting dépôt, Dublin. During 1829 he was attached to the war office; and in 1830, by Lord Hardinge, secretary-at-war, he was promoted to the rank of deputy-inspector of hospitals. With this his active service in the army was ended, and he was placed on half-pay.

In the summer of 1832, and when he had reached his fifty-seventh year, usually considered a perilous approach to old age, Dr. Marshall married Anne, eldest daughter of James Wingate, Esq., of Westshiels, and the union was such a happy one, that he often termed it the best earthly blessing of a long and happy life. "I got," he added, "what I was in search of for forty years, and I got this at the very time it was best for me, and I found it to be better and more than I ever during these forty long years had hoped for." Even though no children blessed the union, this happy domestic life was extended to a greater length than could have been anticipated, as his death occurred on the 5th of May, 1851, at Edinburgh, where he had lived for many years. When this event arrived it found him cheerful and happy, and his dying words were a grateful acknowledgment of the blessings which had thrown a continual sunshine upon his lengthened career. "In many respects," he said, "I consider myself one of the most fortunate individuals who ever belonged to the medical department of the army. Through a long life I have enjoyed almost uninterrupted good health, and my duties have been a pleasure to me. Having generally had some literary undertaking on hand, more or less connected with military hygiene, I have enjoyed much intellectual gratification. 'To labour diligently, and to be content (says the son of Sirach), is a sweet life.' My greatest delight has been to promote amelioration of the condition of soldiers, and in the prosecution of this important object I hope I have done some good. I have much reason to be grateful to divine Providence for the many blessings I have enjoyed, and continue to enjoy. Although my elementary education was extremely limited, my professional instruction defective, and my natural talents moderate, I have no reason to complain of my progress and standing in the service. Every step of advancement which I gained in the army was obtained without difficulty. When I look back upon my progress in life, it seems to me that I have been led 'in a plain path,' and that my steps have been 'ordered.'"

In this sketch we have briefly detailed in their consecutive order the principal events of the life of Dr. Henry Marshall. But the most important portion of his biography has still to be added: this was the history of his authorship, which was directed from the beginning to the close with singleness of eye and aim to his life's great purpose, and as he himself

¹ John Brown, M.D., from whose article "Dr. Henry Marshall and Military Hygiene," in series first of *Horæ Subsecivæ*, the particulars of this biographical sketch are derived.

expressed it, "to excite attention to the means which may meliorate the condition of the soldier, and exalt his moral and intellectual character." The productions of his indefatigable pen were the following:—

In 1817, while in Ceylon, he wrote a *Description of the Laurus Cinnamomum*, which was read before the Royal Society at the request of Sir Joseph Banks, and published in the *Annals of Philosophy* of that year.

In 1821, the year of his departure from that island, he published in London, "*Notes on the Medical Topography of the Interior of Ceylon*, and on the Health of the Troops employed in the Provinces during the years 1815 to 1820, with Brief Remarks on the Prevailing Diseases," 8vo, pp. 228. The value of this unpretentious little work was greatly enhanced by its numerical statistics of the mortality and diseases of the troops—a new feature in publications connected with military hygiene.

In 1823 he published, in the *London Medical and Physical Journal*, "Observations on the Health of the Troops in North Britain during a Period of Seven Years, from 1816 to 1822." In this also he made the attempt, which was entirely a new one, to collect and arrange the facts illustrative of the amount of sickness and the ratio of mortality among a body of troops for a specific period.

In 1826, after his removal to the recruiting dépôt, Dublin, Dr. Marshall published in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* (vol. xxvi.) "Practical Observations on the Inspection of Recruits, including Observations on Feigned Diseases."

In 1828 appeared his *Hints to Young Medical Officers of the Army on the Examination of Recruits and the Feigned Disabilities of Soldiers*, London, 8vo, pp. 224. This process of "shamming the doctor" was prevalent in the British army, by which soldiers and recruits disgusted with military service endeavoured by a show of hurts that were disabling, or diseases that were incurable, to procure their discharge. The courage with which these self-inflictions were brought on and nursed for the purpose, would have conferred upon their owners the crown of martyrdom, had they not been procured for a sordid and fraudulent object—and the army doctors were indeed *shammed* by the generality of instances in which the patients returned to full health after their discharge had been obtained. These cases, however, Dr. Marshall was shrewd in detecting; and for the benefit of the service, by imparting his experience to his professional brethren, he produced the above-mentioned little volume. "This," says his biographer, "was the first, and is still the best, work in our language on this subject; the others are mere compilations, indebted to Dr. Marshall for their facts and practical suggestions."

On the appointment of Lord Hardinge in 1828 to the office of secretary-at-war, his lordship was greatly troubled by the amount of the military pension list, which showed 85,515 pensioned soldiers, maintained at an expense to the country of £1,436,663 per annum. A proof of the carelessness also with which the privilege had been granted could be found in the pension list itself, on which 27,625 soldiers were to be found without any causes assigned for their disability. A reform in this military department was necessary, and accordingly a medical board was commissioned "for the purpose of revising the regulations which relate to the business of examining and deciding upon the cases of soldiers recommended for discharge from the service." Dr. Marshall being a member of the board, was able to collect much information on the subject; and on his return to Dublin at the end of the year he forwarded

a new scheme to the secretary-at-war, under the title of *Cursory Observations on the Pensioning of Soldiers*. Soon after a new pension warrant was made, and Dr. Marshall had the satisfaction of finding that its principles were substantially those which he had suggested. Hitherto disabilities, not service, had constituted the chief recommendation to a pension, and we have already seen how readily these disabling tests could be manufactured. But by the new warrant which embodied the doctor's scheme, the claims of the soldier to a pension were founded on—1, Length of service; 2, Wounds received before the enemy; 3, Greatly impaired health after fifteen years' service; and 4, Anomalous disabilities. Having thus found his way upon a very important track, Dr. Marshall in 1829 published a paper in the *United Service Journal* (part ii.), entitled "Observations on the Pensioning of Soldiers," in which he detected and exposed the numerous frauds committed in the army by the erasure and alteration of figures, which had been practised in almost every regiment in the service, and had only been lately detected. In 1829 he communicated *Historical Notes on Military Pensions*, and in 1830 *Notes on Military Pensions*, also to the same journal.

In 1830 Dr. Marshall communicated to Lord Hardinge a paper on the evils occasioned by intoxicating liquors to the European troops in India; and impressed by the importance of the subject, and the necessity of giving it due publicity, he published in the same year an abstract of his paper in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* (vol. xli.), under the title of "Observations on the Abuse of Spirituous Liquors by the European Troops in India, and of the Impolicy of uniformly and indiscriminately issuing Spirit Rations to Soldiers." This practice was such a confirmed military regulation, and therefore so completely a part of the soldier's duty, that he was obliged to swallow nearly half-a-pint of spirits *per diem*, while in some cases a commissioned officer stood over him, to certify the fact that he had actually swallowed his allowance of alcoholic rations. No better expedient could have been devised of converting soldiers into drunkards, and inoculating them with all the moral and physical maladies which originate in such a practice. It is gratifying, however, to add, that within a week after he had received the doctor's paper, Lord Hardinge had commenced measures for the abolition of the indiscriminate issue of spirit allowances to soldiers on board ship and on foreign stations.

Dr. Marshall having drawn up instructions for the guidance of medical officers in examining recruits, Lord Hardinge thought that the publication of this document, which was the result of a laborious and difficult inquiry, together with the pensioning warrant and other relative papers, accompanied with an explanatory comment, would be useful for the information of army officers in general. In consequence of this desire Dr. Marshall, in 1832, published his work "*On the Entlisting, the Discharging, and the Pensioning of Soldiers*, with the Official Documents on these Branches of Military Duty." London, 8vo, pp. 243.

In 1833, in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* (vol. xl.), he published "Contributions to Statistics of the Army, with some Observations on Military Medical Returns," No. I., which in the same year was followed by "Contributions to Statistics of the Army," No. II.

In the same journal he also published, in 1834, "Sketch of the Geographical Distribution of Diseases;" "Abstract of the Returns of the Sick of the Troops belonging to the Presidency of Fort George, Madras, for the years 1827 to 1830," and an article

"On the Mortality of the Infantry of the French Army."

In 1835 he contributed "Observations on the Influence of a Tropical Climate upon the Constitution and Health of Natives of Great Britain," which appeared in vol. xlv. of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*; and in the same year his "Contributions to Statistics of the British Army," No. III., appeared in that periodical.

Dr. Marshall having been appointed in 1835, in conjunction with Sir A. M. Tulloch, to investigate the statistics of the sickness, mortality, and invaliding of the British army, their report in reference to the troops in the West Indies was laid before parliament in the following year. Its effect was completely to dispel a ruinous delusion which had hitherto prevailed in regard to the army. Soldiers had been doomed to nine or ten years of service in the unhealthy Jamaica station, under the idea that by such a length of time they would become effectually "seasoned" to the climate, and fitted to withstand its worst. But the soldiers sentenced to such a charnel-house, and for such a length of time, were apt to abandon themselves to recklessness or despair, and those whom the noxious climate might have spared died under the effects of drunkenness and the use of salted provisions. It is enough to say that the ratio of soldiers' deaths in Jamaica was one in seven annually—a far greater waste than that of the most destructive campaign. These evils, illustrated in the report by incontrovertible statistics, produced a change which has been termed an absolute revolution in this department of military polity; and the long period of service formerly confined to Jamaica was divided between that colony and the Mediterranean station and British America. In this way the destructive "seasoning" delusion came to an end; while a salutary change was introduced into the garrison diet, mode of living, and other sanitary regulations, by which an immense saving both of life and public expenditure was effected.

In 1837 Dr. Marshall's "Contribution to Statistics of the Sickness and Mortality which occurred among the Troops employed on the Expedition to the Scheldt, in the year 1809," appeared in vol. xlviii. of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*.

In 1839 he published in vol. I. of the same journal, "Contributions to Statistics of Hernia among Recruits for the British and Conscripts for the French Army."

In 1839 he also published at Edinburgh a second edition of his former work, *On the Enlisting, Discharging, and Pensioning of Soldiers, with the Official Documents on these Branches of Military Duty*.

In 1846 Dr. Marshall's *Military Miscellany* issued from the press; an interesting volume, exhibiting the principal phases of military life, sketched in a vigorous and effective style. So much of hardship, of injustice, and crime was mixed up in such a mode of life, and so much to deter from it, that the author's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from publishing his work, by representing that it would stir up dissatisfaction in the ranks and resentment among the officers. But on the contrary, it acted as a powerful auxiliary in those army reforms which were already under consideration, and its pages were frequently quoted as authorities both in parliament and from the press. Among the other beneficial changes in the army, two important ones were supposed to have been effected chiefly through the influence of Marshall's *Military Miscellany*. The term of service, which was formerly for life, is now limited to twelve years in the cavalry and ordnance, and ten in the infantry; while the punishment of flogging, which

could not be wholly abrogated, was in no case to exceed fifty lashes.

In 1849 Dr. Marshall published his last of a long series of volumes and articles on military subjects, under the title of *Suggestions for the Advancement of Military Medical Literature*, and it was prompted by the generous desire of qualifying others to fill his place, which would soon be a void. While employed in it he was labouring under the disease that ended him, one of the most painful and terrible of those ills which flesh is heir to; but although aware of its mortal character, and worn out with old age and pain, he was still cheerful with his friends, and anxious to promote their enjoyment. In reference also to his own sufferings he used to say, "This is bad, very bad, in its own way as bad as can be, but everything else is good. My home is happy; my circumstances are good; I always made a little more than I spent, and it has gathered of course; my life has been long, happy, busy, and I trust useful, and I have had my fill of it; I have lived to see things accomplished which I desired, ardently longed for, fifty years ago, but hardly hoped ever to see." Happy is the man who can wind up the business of life in such a spirit and amidst such retrospections!

The authorship of Dr. Marshall had now come to an end, and his writings in connection with military statistics and hygiene had produced such practical results as it would not be easy to estimate. He was born for a purpose, and well was his mission accomplished. In speaking of him, one of his distinguished contemporaries has pronounced the following eulogium: "He was the first to show how the multiplied experience of the medical officers of the British army at home and abroad, by methodical arrangement and concentration, might be applied by the use of computation, to furnish exact and useful results in medical statistics, medical topography, the geographical relations of diseases, medical hygiene, and almost every other branch of military medicine. Dr. Marshall must indeed be regarded as the father and founder of military medical statistics, and of their varied applications." In the foregoing list of his writings we have not included his history and description of Ceylon, which is still the shortest, fullest, and best of all the accounts of that important outpost of our great Indian empire, nor the numerous original papers which he wrote upon various subjects of natural philosophy and medical science. In turning from his literary and professional to his private character, there was also much to admire. His devout religious disposition may be surmised not only from the course of his life, which was the steadfast conscientious fulfilment of the duties imposed upon him, but his happy frame of mind, and cheerful submission to the divine will amidst the infirmities of old age and the inflictions of acute suffering. The picture is completed by Dr. Brown, his biographer, in the following words:—

"Dr. Marshall, as may readily be supposed, was not what the world calls a genius; had he been one, he probably would not have done what he did. Yet he was a man of a truly original mind; he had his own way of saying and doing everything; he had a knack of taking things at first hand; he was original, inasmuch as he contrived to do many things nobody else had done; a sort of originality worth a good deal of 'original genius.' And like all men of a well-mixed, ample, and genial nature, he was a humorist of his own, and that a very genuine, kind: his short stories, illustrative of some great principle in morals or in practical life, were admirable and endless in number; if he had not been too busy about more serious matters, he might have filled a volume

with anecdotes, every one of them at once true and new, and always setting forth and pointing some vital truth. Curiously enough it was in this homely humour that the strength and the consciousness of strength, which one might not have expected from his mild manner and his spare and fragile frame, came out; his satire, his perfect appreciation of the value and size of those he had in view, and his 'pawky' intuition into the motives and secret purposes of men, who little thought they were watched by such an eye—was one of the most striking and gravely comic bits of the mental picturesque; it was like mind looking at and taking the measure and the weight of body, and body standing by grandly unconscious and disclosed; and hence it was that, though much below the average height, no one felt as if he were little—he was any man's match. His head and eye settled the matter; he had a large compact commanding brain, and an eye singularly intelligent, inevitable, and calm. . . . Though out of the service, he was constantly occupied with some good work, keeping all his old friends, and making new and especially young ones, over whom he had a singular power; he had no children, but he had the love of a father for many a youth, and the patience of a father too. . . . Had such a man as Dr. Marshall appeared in France, or indeed anywhere else than in Britain, he would have been made a baron at the least. He did not die the less contented that he was not; and we must suppose that there is some wise though inscrutable final cause why our country, in such cases, makes virtue its own and only reward, and is *leonum aride nutrix*—a very dry nurse indeed."

MAXWELL, SIR MURRAY. This gallant and distinguished naval officer was a son of Alexander Maxwell, Esq., merchant in Leith, and one of nine brothers, among whom six devoted themselves to the service of their country, and three attained respectable positions, one as a general, and two as post-captains in the royal navy. Having chosen the latter service for his profession, Murray commenced his naval career under Sir Samuel Hood, and, after the usual steps in the service, was commissioned as a lieutenant in 1796, and promoted to the command of the *Cyane* sloop of war, at the Leeward Islands, in December, 1802. In 1803 his sloop formed part of Commodore Hood's squadron at the reduction of St. Lucia; and immediately after the capture of that island he was advanced to the command of the *Centaure*, a third-rate, that carried the commodore's broad pendant. In the following autumn he served at the capture of Tobago, Demerara, and Essequibo; and in August, 1803, had his commission as post-captain confirmed by the admiralty. This war among the West India Islands having continued until every colony possessed by the enemy in Dutch Guiana was captured except Surinam, a united expedition was undertaken against it in 1804, the naval armament being commanded by Commodore Hood, and the land force by Major-general Sir Charles Green. The expedition was successful: the valuable colony of Surinam was added to the British dominions; and upon this occasion Captain Maxwell, whose services were in the land attack, was so highly distinguished as to be especially commended in the official report that was sent home. From the *Centaure* he was removed in the summer of 1805 into the *Galatea* frigate, and in the year following into the *Alceste*, of 46 guns, that had previously been *La Minerve*, one of the French frigates captured by part of Sir Samuel Hood's squadron in 1806.

The *Alceste* was now to acquire distinction in the VOL. III.

British navy through the active and adventurous spirit of him who commanded it. This was especially the case in April, 1808, when Captain Maxwell was cruising off Cadiz. Having observed a fleet of Spanish vessels coming along-shore from the northward, under the protection of about twenty gun-boats and a formidable train of flying artillery, he prepared to attack them as soon as they arrived off Rota. With his little squadron, consisting of the *Alceste*, the *Mercury*, 28, and the *Grasshopper* brig, he bore down upon the enemy, and a keen engagement commenced, that lasted from four in the afternoon until half-past six. The daring character of this attack will be understood from the fact that the wind was blowing dead from the shore, so that the British ships were obliged to tack every fifteen minutes in order to avoid the dangerous shoals near Rota; and eleven French and Spanish line-of-battle ships were then lying near, ready for sea, and might at any time have effectually interposed. At the end of the engagement two of the Spanish flotilla were destroyed, the rest compelled to retreat, and the batteries at Rota silenced. Many of the merchantmen being also driven on shore, the boats of the frigates were manned and sent against them; and seven tartans loaded with valuable ship-timber were boarded and brought off from under the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, and in spite of the numerous armed barges and pinnaces which arrived from Cadiz in their defence.

After several successful engagements on the coasts of France and Italy, in which Captain Maxwell acted under the command of higher officers, an opportunity arrived of signaling himself in an adventure that was more exclusively his own. The little fleet under his command, the *Alceste*, *Active*, and *Unité*, having been driven by violent winds from their anchorage, and compelled to take shelter in Lissa, were roused by a telegraphed signal of "three suspicious sail south." The British ships were warped out of port as soon as the wind would permit, and having spread all sail in chase, they sighted the enemy on the 29th of December, 1811, off the island of Augusta. They were three French frigates, which at first bore up, and seemed inclined for action; but on observing the courageous front of their antagonists, who were eager for the combat, they altered their course under a full press of sail, the British following in their wake. One of the French ships, *La Persanne*, of 26 guns, having detached itself from the squadron, Captain Maxwell sent the *Unité* in pursuit of her, and after a running fight of several hours *La Persanne* surrendered to the *Unité* in the afternoon. In the meantime the *Alceste*, having come up with the other two French ships, encountered the commodore, but in the heat of the combat a shot brought down the *Alceste's* maintop-mast, which compelled her to drop astern, at which disaster the Frenchmen raised an exulting shout of "Vive l'empereur!" But their triumph was only for a moment, for the *Active*, with every sail spread, came up with them, and engaged the hindmost vessel, so that the *Alceste*, although crippled, was able to renew her fight with the commodore; and so well were her guns plied, that, after a fight of more than two hours, the French commander was glad to sheer off, while the *Alceste* was unable to follow. The other French vessel, however, *La Pomone*, of 44 guns and 322 men, surrendered after a long and desperate resistance. If anything could add to the satisfaction of this capture, it was, that the *Pomone* had been built and presented by the citizens of Genoa to Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of the emperor, on his attaining the rank of captain in the French navy. What was thus meant

to be the earnest of future triumphs over the "meteor flag of England," became a trophy of the enemy's disappointment and defeat.

The scanty gleanings of our naval warfare with France having been all gathered in, there remained little service for Captain Murray Maxwell, except such as was of a peaceful and diplomatic character. It was here, however, that he was to win his chief distinction, after having proved himself a brave skillful sailor. The first event of this change of career proved unfortunate, for on the 2d of July, 1813, he was wrecked in the *Dædalus* frigate on a shoal near Ceylon while conveying a fleet of Indiamen to Madras. In October, 1815, he was reappointed to the command of the *Alceste*, at the particular desire of Lord Amherst, who was to embark in this ship on his embassy to China.

Upon this notable mission the *Alceste* sailed from Spithead on the 9th of February, 1816, and after touching at Madeira, the Cape of Good Hope, and other places, finally anchored in the Gulf of Pe-tche-lee on the 28th of July. The brig *Lyra*, the consort of the *Alceste*, commanded by Captain Basil Hall, had been previously sent forward to announce the coming of the embassy. Lord Amherst landed at the mouth of the Pei-ho on the 9th of August, and as it was certain that several months must elapse before his lordship could return from Peking to Canton, from the latter of which cities he meant to embark for England, Captain Maxwell resolved to employ the interval in exploring the hitherto unknown coasts of that part of the Chinese empire, taking the northern side to himself, and assigning the southern to Captain Hall in the *Lyra*. It was an exploration that tended both to the correction and enlargement of geographical science. A partial survey was first made of the Gulf of Leo-tong, which no European ship had yet visited. While the *Alceste* coasted along the western shore, a view was obtained of the great wall of China, stretching in its miraculous length over hill and valley. Then standing across to the opposite shore, Captain Maxwell proceeded to the southward, until he reached the extreme Tartar point of the gulf; and holding onward in his course, passed through a cluster of islands between the Gulf of Pe-tche-lee and the Yellow Sea, which he named the Company's Group. He then stood to the eastward, and put into Che-a-tow Bay, on the coast of Shantung; and here he met the *General Hewitt* Indiaman, commanded by Captain Walter Campbell, which had been employed in exploring the central passage of the Gulf of Pe-tche-lee. Soon after they were joined by Captain Hall in the *Lyra*, who had obtained a complete knowledge of that part of the gulf lying between the Pei-ho and their place of rendezvous. From Che-a-tow Bay the *Alceste* and *Lyra* sailed on the 29th of August, and commenced an examination of the south-west coast of Corea, the inhabitants of which were shy of holding intercourse with these strangers, being ordered to that effect by their jealous government. Notwithstanding this half-hostile reception, Captain Maxwell was enabled to rectify a very great error of our geographical maps respecting the peninsula of Corea, and to find that the mainland of Corea was from 100 to 130 miles farther to the eastward than our charts had indicated. He also discovered that thousands of little islands forming an archipelago existed in that quarter—a fact hitherto undreamed of in Europe.

The next advance in this trip of nautical discovery brought our adventurers to the Great Loo-choo Island on the 16th of September; but the particulars of this visit it is unnecessary to describe, as they are so generally known through Captain Hall's popular

work of a *Voyage to Corea and the Island of Loo-choo*. It is enough to state, that at first their reception was as cold as at Corea, and from the same cause—that the natives were at length won over by the courtesy and kindness of their visitors—and that both island and people appeared in such a paradisaical state as to realize Stephano's vision of a perfect republic in Shakspeare's drama of the *Tempest*. "No swords, no poniards, no arrows among them—bah!" was their brief eulogy from Napoleon in St. Helena. His contempt might have been lessened if he had known that the people of Loo-choo had the cunning to hide their fighting gear and their vices from the eyes of their European visitors, as appears to have been the case. Having ended their exploratory cruise, the *Alceste* and *Lyra* arrived off Lin-tin on the 2d of November.

In the meantime this scientific poking into gulfs and bays, and attempts at opening an intercourse with the people of their remote provinces, were anything but agreeable to the Chinese government. A "barbarian eye" was among them—for so in their arrogance they termed a British ambassador; but that, like the peacock, he should also carry a hundred eyes in his tail, and that these should take the liberty of prying everywhere, was more than they could permit, or even comprehend. The government of China had been established by conquest, and was maintained by force; it was the precarious despotism of thousands over millions; and the ruling party were an alien people, between whom and the conquered no common reciprocity existed. It was therefore an essential principle of the dominant race to keep the ruled in ignorance of their own strength; and one of the chief means for this purpose was to prevent their intercourse with all strangers, and confine them within the limits of that sluggish contentedness which had become a chief feature of the Chinese character. This jealousy of the government at the arrival of the ambassador, and the sojourn of two British armed ships in their seas, was soon to break out into action. On their return from Loo-choo the *Alceste* and *Lyra* arrived off Lin-tin on the 2d of November, and Captain Maxwell applied to the viceroy of Canton through the local authorities for a pass to carry the *Alceste* up the Tigris to obtain a secure anchorage, and for the ship to undergo some necessary repairs. But this polite application was only answered by evasions accompanied with insulting messages. Seeing that nothing was to be gained by courtesy, Captain Maxwell resolved to proceed without leave, but had scarcely approached the narrow entrance of the river when an inferior mandarin came on board, and in an imperious tone demanded that the ship should be instantly anchored—threatening that otherwise, if the ship presumed to pass the Bocca, she should be sunk by the fire of the batteries. Knowing that to yield to such a demand would have implied unreserved submission, and that it would be followed by others still more unreasonable and dangerous, Maxwell told the mandarin that he would first pass the batteries, and then hang him at the yard-arm for bringing such an insolent message—and to show that this was no empty threat, the functionary's boat was cut adrift, and himself taken into custody. The *Alceste* was then ordered to be steered close under the principal fort, which opened a heavy fire, aided by seventeen or eighteen war-junks; but their cannonade was ill-directed, and did little harm: on the other hand, the *Alceste's* return of a broadside from her 32-pounders silenced the flotilla and the battery; and the other batteries being quickly disposed of, the ship proceeded without further annoyance to Whampoa, to await the return of Lord Am-

herst in January, 1817. This decisive conduct of Captain Maxwell set matters to rights with the Chinese government. Finding that he was not to be awed into submission, they sent all manner of supplies to his ship, that he might be the sooner gone; and to conceal the havoc made by his guns, and his forcible passage up the river, they represented the affair of the forts as a mere salute of ceremony given and received in the passing. The viceroy of Canton also sent down a mandarin of high class, accompanied by a Hong merchant, to wait upon Captain Maxwell, and welcome him into the river!

Lord Amherst and his suite having arrived at Whampoa, the *Alceste* set sail with them on the 21st of January, 1817, and entered the Straits of Gaspar on the 18th of February. Hitherto the charts had conducted them faithfully, wind and weather were fair and prosperous, and they were hoping for a rapid passage into the Java Sea, when the *Alceste* struck suddenly upon a sunken rock three miles distant from Pulo Leat, or Middle Island, and after striking heeled slightly to starboard, and became immovable. It was soon evident that the condition of the ship was highly dangerous, for her false keel was seen floating alongside, while the water had risen seven feet in the hold, and was fast gaining on the pumps. The order for hoisting out the boats was executed with the utmost coolness and regularity, the barge conveying the ambassador and his suite, and after exploring the shore of Pulo Leat, which at a distance appeared to be land covered with wood, they found on approaching it that it was nothing but insulated masses of granite, interspersed with mangrove-trees growing on the water. Having at length found a landing-place, the ship's company were conveyed thither, with a small stock of baggage, stores, and provisions that had been saved from the wreck; and during the whole of this dangerous crisis the self-possession, courage, and provident care of Captain Maxwell called forth universal admiration. After trying to save the ship, but in vain, his principal care was for the safety of the ambassador; and it was resolved that he and his suite should sail to Batavia, which was 107 miles distant, in the pinnace, while the rest should remain on that desolate coast until relief could be sent to them. Accordingly the pinnace was furnished with four or five days' provisions, and a picked crew commanded by the junior lieutenant of the *Alceste*, having for its consort one of the cutters to pilot and aid them, and the ambassador set off upon a voyage not often paralleled in the records of diplomacy. The adventure, however, although a rare was a successful one, for his lordship reached Batavia in safety.

After the departure of Lord Amherst the crew of the *Alceste* prepared themselves to confront the dangers and difficulties that surrounded them. And seldom has there been a situation so trying, or so bravely overcome. The party amounted to 200 men and boys and one woman. Their first care was to select a safe and healthy encampment, and the place chosen for the purpose was a hill-top, to which they cut a path upwards, and burned the underwood upon the summit, thereby dislodging whole colonies of snakes, scorpions, centipedes, and other noxious reptiles, and swarms of ants almost equally troublesome. For the first two days their sufferings from thirst were great, having saved only a small cask of water from the wreck; and on this account they dug a well in the rocky soil, which, after twenty feet of excavation, yielded a very scanty supply of muddy water: it was indeed so insufficient, that they were fain to avail themselves of a fall of rain, and even to bathe themselves in the sea, that they might quench

their thirst by absorption. The sight of the wreck had drawn multitudes of Malay proas both to the ship and the island, so that, in addition to hunger, thirst, and toil, they had a merciless enemy to contend with; but they prepared themselves for battle, although the means of resistance were so few, being only a dozen cutlasses, about thirty muskets and bayonets, and seventy-five ball cartridges. Somewhere armed themselves with pike-staves, which they made by cutting down young trees, and affixing small swords, dirks, knives, chisels, or large spike-nails to the extremity; others, who had no such metallic resource, sharpened a pole and hardened it at the point in the fire; and orders were given to the marines not to throw away a single shot, unless they were sure of their aim. All were hearty in preparing for their defence, let the enemy be as numerous as they might. Under the direction of the captain, also, the ground they occupied was fortified by a circle of trees felled for the purpose, and set upright, with loose branches interwoven between them, so that it might form a breastwork, and be impregnable to an enemy unprovided with artillery. And to make these preparations for defence complete, all the precautions of a besieged place were established; the officers and men were marshalled into divisions and companies, their various places assigned, and advanced posts established.

Events soon showed that these arrangements were not more than necessary. On the 22d of February, the fourth day after the shipwreck, some Malay boats approached, making signals of peace, but it was evident that their purpose was only to reconnoitre. They had taken possession of the wreck of the *Alceste*, and plundered it; but on being pursued by the ship's boats that were manned for the purpose, they fled, after setting the vessel on fire. Even from the flames, however, our countrymen could obtain some flour, wine, beer, and gunpowder, all and each being of vital importance to the half-starved and beleaguered company. This providential supply was announced on Sunday by the chaplain after divine service, with the intimation that a pint of beer had been immediately ordered to each of them; which tidings the congregation welcomed with three cheers. "I never heard of such a thing as a congregation cheering at a church-door," exclaimed a rigid devotee to the chaplain, when he had returned to England. "Perhaps you never saw such a thing as a thirsty English audience dismissed with the promise of a pint of beer apiece," replied the chaplain.

The appearance of the Malays was but a prelude to the storm. On the 26th two Malay proas approached the cove where the *Alceste's* boats were moored. As the safety of these was of the utmost importance, a party of the crew instantly manned them, and although they had but one musket, they advanced against the pirates, who took to flight; and on being outsailed, they first resisted by firing their swivels, and throwing darts and javelins. They were no match, however, for British sailors in the close hand-to-hand fight that followed, and on finding this they sunk the proa that was attacked, preferring death by drowning to the more terrible end by torture with which their countrymen were usually extirpated when captured. Two Malays, however, who were wounded, were taken prisoners, and their astonishment was extreme, when, on being carried to the encampment, they were tenderly nursed and cured. This skirmish had not been long ended when fourteen other Malay proas and boats arrived on the opposite side of the island; and, thinking from their peaceable demeanour that they had been sent from Batavia by Lord Amherst for their relief, Captain

Maxwell endeavoured to open communication with them. But he soon found that they knew nothing of the ambassador, and that they were only hindered from hostilities by mistaking the place for a regular British settlement. They went off to plunder what still remained of the *Alceste*, and there were joined by fresh accessions of their countrymen, to whom every bolt and nail of the ship seemed an object of great value. Disappointed in their hope of relief, the British were employed in repairing the launch, and constructing a raft, for the purpose of transporting themselves from their barren locality before their stock of provisions was ended; when the Malays, calculating upon the rich plunder of the encampment, turned their fleet towards the island, with tokens of unmistakable hostility, and our countrymen soon found themselves blockaded by fifty boats and proas, carrying at least 500 men. It was now time for the besieged to be on the alert, and anticipating a desperate attack, Captain Maxwell, after making the necessary arrangements to repel it, cheered his company by the following short sailor-like speech:—

“My lads, you must all have observed this day, as well as myself, the great increase of the enemy’s force—for enemies we must now consider them—and the threatening posture they have assumed. I have, on various grounds, strong reason to believe they will attack us this night. I do not wish to conceal our real state, because I think there is not a man here who is afraid to face any sort of danger. We are now strongly fenced in, and our position is in all respects so good, that, armed as we are, we ought to make a formidable defence against even regular troops; what then would be thought of us if we allowed ourselves to be surprised by a set of naked savages, with their spears and creeses? It is true they have swivels in their boats, but they cannot act here: I have not observed that they have any matchlocks or muskets; but if they have, so have we. I do not wish to deceive you as to the means of resistance in our power. When we were first thrown together on shore, we were almost defenceless; only 75 ball-cartridges could be mustered; we have now 1600. They cannot, I believe, send up more than 500 men; but with 200 such as now stand around me, I do not fear 1000, nay, 1500 of them. I have the fullest confidence we shall beat them: the pikemen standing firm, we can give them such a volley of musketry as they will be little prepared for; and when we find they are thrown into confusion, we’ll sally out among them, chase them into the water, and ten to one but we secure their vessels. Let every man, therefore, be on the alert, with his arms in his hands; and should these barbarians this night attempt our hill I trust we shall convince them that they are dealing with Britons.”

This simple address, which was so admirably suited to the audience and the occasion, was welcomed with such loud cheers as were astounding to the besiegers; and instead of proceeding to the attack, they continued their blockade, although during the night they were reinforced by ten more vessels. But this state of uncertainty was intolerable to the besieged, and, in addition to their suspense, they felt that they would soon be reduced by famine, as their stock of provisions was almost exhausted. Any alternative was better than such a result, and they accordingly adopted the desperate resolution of becoming the aggressors, and fighting their way through the enemy, or dying with arms in their hands, rather than submit to such remorseless savages. Well armed, and in their four boats, they resolved to make a sudden and combined attack on the Malayan

flotilla, hoping that by the capture of some of their vessels, at whatever risk or cost of life, they might be able to make for Java. This resolution they adopted with the confidence of brave men to whom fear and hesitation were unknown. A change however occurred that made this desperate experiment unnecessary. From their look-out on the highest peak of the hill a vessel larger than those used by the Malays was descried at noon, and on nearing she was discovered to be either a ship or a brig, standing towards their island under a press of sail. They rejoiced at the sight: it was the coming of their friends; it was the promise of rescue. But far different was the appearance to the pirates, and a sudden rush from the garrison completed their confusion; they got speedily under way, and only escaped a severe chastisement by the speed of their retreat. The ship by whose arrival the siege was raised proved to be the *Ternate*, one of the East India Company’s cruisers, which Lord Amherst had sent from Batavia to relieve them; and the crew of the *Alceste* and their captain having embarked in her on the 7th of March, were comfortably landed on the 9th at Batavia.

Thus happily was terminated the painful sojourn of 200 shipwrecked Britons upon the barren rocky island of Pulo Leat—and the patience, courage, and ingenuity with which they had met every danger and surmounted every trial, formed a theme of admiration for the civilized world at large. Nineteen days had the ordeal lasted, at the close of which they were as brave and confident as ever; and after waiting patiently for the promised assistance until further hope seemed useless, they were ready to free themselves by such resources as still remained to them, and attempt it in the confidence of success. Of their trials during this dreary confinement we have only been able to note a few particulars, while little mention has been made of their brave commander, by whom every operation was directed. And how his conduct was appreciated may be learned from those who shared in, or were cognizant of, his proceedings. In M’Leod’s *Narrative of the Voyage of the Alceste* we have the following testimony:—“It is a tribute due to Captain Maxwell to state (and it is a tribute which all most cheerfully pay), that, by his judicious arrangements, we were preserved from all the horrors of anarchy and confusion. His measures inspired confidence and hope; whilst his personal example in the hour of danger gave courage and animation to all around him.” Equally satisfactory is the following attestation of Mr. Ellis, third commissioner of the embassy:—“Participation of privation and equal distribution of comfort had lightened the weight of suffering to all; and I found the universal sentiment to be an enthusiastic admiration of the temper, energy, and arrangements of Captain Maxwell. No man ever gained more in the estimation of his comrades by gallantry in action than he had done by his conduct on this trying occasion; his look was confidence, and his orders were felt to be security.”

Captain Maxwell, with the officers and crew of the *Alceste*, and Lord Amherst and his suite, returned from Batavia to England in the *Cesar*, and on their voyage the vessel touched at St. Helena, which gave Maxwell the opportunity of an interview with Napoleon. Among other remarks, the fallen emperor observed to him, “Vous étiez très méchant—Eh bien! your government must not blame you for the loss of the *Alceste*, for you have taken one of my frigates.” It was not a bad joke on the part of the illustrious captive; for the *Alceste* had originally been the French frigate *La Minerve*, in the capture of which Captain Maxwell had assisted. How far the British government were from condemning him was shown by the

court-martial held at Portsmouth in August, 1817, upon his return to England, when the following verdict so honourable to himself was given:—"The court is of opinion that the loss of his majesty's late ship *Alceste* was caused by her striking on a sunken rock, until then unknown, in the Straits of Gaspar. That Captain Murray Maxwell, previous to the circumstance, appears to have conducted himself in the most zealous and officer-like manner; and after the ship struck, his coolness, self-collection, and exertions were highly conspicuous; and that everything was done by him and his officers within the power of man to execute previous to the loss of the ship; and afterwards to preserve the lives of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst, his majesty's ambassador, and his suite, as well as those of the ship's company, and to save her stores on that occasion: the court therefore adjudge the said Captain Murray Maxwell, his officers and men, to be *most fully acquitted*." Among the witnesses examined on the trial was Lord Amherst himself, who stated to the court "that he had selected Captain Maxwell on the occasion of the embassy from motives of personal friendship, as well as from the high opinion he entertained of his professional character; which opinion had been much increased by the events of the voyage."

It was a natural sequence of such an acquittal that it should be followed by the open approbation of the government, and accordingly Captain Maxwell, who had been nominated a C.B. in 1815, received the honour of knighthood on the 27th of May, 1818. In the same year, however, when he presented himself at the general election as candidate for the parliamentary representation of the city of Westminster, he experienced very different treatment. On such occasions we know how little any amount of merit or public services will avail, if the competitor cannot pronounce the political shibboleth of the district; and he was subjected not only to insult, but severe personal injuries, by the rabble who surrounded the hustings, and constituted themselves the lords of the election. This was even worse than the Malayan leaguer of Pulo Leat, where he understood the situation, and possessed the means of resistance. More than one example has shown us that a seat in parliament is a rock ahead, which our naval heroes do not understand, and of which they would do well to steer clear. On the 20th of May, 1819, Captain Maxwell was presented by the Honourable East India Company with the sum of £1500, for the services he had rendered to the Chinese embassy, and in requital of his losses sustained in his return from China.

In the peaceful season that had succeeded, there was no particular call upon the services of Captain Maxwell, and his rise was therefore dependent upon professional routine. In June, 1821, he was appointed to the *Bulwark*, a third-rate, bearing the flag of Sir Benjamin Hallowell, at Chatham; and in November, 1822, he was removed to the *Briton* frigate. He was afterwards employed on the South American station. On the 11th of May, 1831, he received the appointment of lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward's Island, and was preparing to take his departure from England to his new sphere of office, when his life was terminated by a very short illness on the 26th of June, 1831.

MAYNE, JOHN. This amiable and talented poet was born at Dumfries, on the 26th of March, 1759, and was educated at the grammar-school of that town, under Dr. Chapman, whose learning and worth his grateful pupil afterwards commemorated in the *Siller Gun*. His stay at school was a short

one, and his progress in scholarship afterwards was chiefly accomplished by self-education, as he became a printer at a very early age, and was employed upon the *Dumfries Journal*, which was conducted by Professor Jackson. He had not been long thus occupied when he left Dumfries for Glasgow, to which latter city he accompanied his father's family, and took up his residence with them at the farther extremity of the Green of Glasgow, this locality being commonly called Greenhead by the citizens, who have, time out of mind, been proud of this their place of public recreation on the banks of the Clyde. At a very early period the chief predilection of John Mayne appears to have been towards poetry, and that, too, in his own native dialect, instead of the stately and more fashionable diction of Pope and Addison. In him such a preference was the more commendable, because it was before the poetry of Burns had arrested the decay of our Doric tongue, and given it a classical permanency. It deserves to be noticed, also, that one of Mayne's poems on *Halloween* appears to have suggested to Burns both the subject and style of the happiest production of the national muse of Scotland.

So early as 1777 John Mayne's chief poem, entitled the *Siller Gun*, was published. The history of this poem is curious, as indicative of a mind that steadfastly adhered to a single idea until it had completely matured it, and that would not rest satisfied with an inferior amount of excellence. At first the *Siller Gun* consisted of not more than twelve stanzas, which were printed at Dumfries on a single quarto page. Soon afterwards it was reprinted in the same town, extended into two cantos. It became so popular that other editions followed, in the course of which it swelled into three cantos; afterwards it extended to four, in an edition printed in 1808; and when the last version, with the author's improvements and final corrections, appeared in 1836, the same year in which he died, the poem, that originally consisted of only a dozen stanzas, had expanded and grown into five goodly cantos. It should be mentioned, also, that this unwonted process of amplification had by no means impaired either the strength or the excellence of the original material; on the contrary, every successive edition was an improvement upon its predecessor, until the last was also the best.

This poem, at present too little known compared with its remarkable merit, is founded upon an ancient custom in Dumfries, called "shooting for the siller gun." This practice, strangely enough, was instituted by James VI., who, of all sovereigns, was the one most averse to every kind of lethal weapon, and has continued till modern times, while the events of such a weapons-haw were generally well adapted for the purposes of a comic poet. Mr. Mayne selected that trial which was held in 1777; and in his subsequent editions he took the opportunity of introducing many of the public characters of his native Dumfries, who were wont to figure at these annual competitions. The preparations for the festival are thus humorously described:—

"For weeks before this fete sae clever,
The fowk were in a perfect fever,
Scouring gun-barrels in the river—
At marks practising—
Marching wi' drums and fifes for ever—
A' sodergerizing.

"And turning coats, and mending breeks,
New-seating where the sark-tail keeks;
(Nae matter though the clout that eeks
Be black or blue);
And darning with a thousand steeks
The hose anew!"

The shooting, as he describes it, was by no means the most efficient kind of practice for the contingency of a French invasion:—

"By this time, now, wi' mony a dunder,
Auld guns were brattling afi like thunder;
Three parts o' whilk, in ilka hunder,
Did sae recoil,
That collar-banes gat mony a lunder
In this turmoil.

"Wide o' the mark, as if to scar us,
The bullets ripp'd the swaird like harrows;
And fright'ning a' the craws and sparrows
About the place,
Ramrods were fleeing thick as arrows
At Chevy Chace."

After the first publication of the *Siller Gun*, Mr. Mayne continued to write poetry, but with that careful fastidiousness, in which quality rather than quantity was the chief object of solicitude. These productions generally appeared in *Ruddiman's Magazine*, a weekly miscellany, and it was there that his *Hallowe'en*, which was to be honoured by such an illustrious successor, first saw the light. He also exchanged verses in print with his fellow-townsmen, Telford, afterwards so distinguished among our Scottish engineers. Among Mayne's few and short poetical productions of this period, may be mentioned his beautiful song of *Logan Water*, which first appeared about the year 1783. The tune of *Logan Water*, one of our most simple and touching old national melodies, for which the verses were composed, and especially the intrinsic merits of the verses themselves, made the song such a universal favourite, that after taking complete hold of Scotland, it was published with the music in England, and established as one of the choice performances of Vauxhall. Burns, also, who mistook it for one of our old Scottish songs, as it was published anonymously, produced an imitation, under the same title, which scarcely equals the original. In simplicity, in tenderness, and classic elegance, we would match the *Logan Water* of Mayne even with the *Fountain of Bandusia* of Horace.

The other chief poetical production of Mr. Mayne, next to the *Siller Gun* in point of extent, was *Glasgow*, a descriptive poem, which was published with illustrative notes in 1803. It is a work of considerable merit, and all the more worthy of attention that it describes a state of men and things that has utterly passed away. Who would recognize in the *Glasgow* of that day the gorgeous Tyre of the west, whose merchants are princes, and whose population is numbered by myriads? In the same year that his *Glasgow* appeared he also published *English, Scots, and Irishmen*, a patriotic address to the inhabitants of the three kingdoms.

Although John Mayne loved his country with all the patriotic ardour of a Scotchman, and celebrated its people and its scenery as few Scotchmen could do, yet, like many of his countrymen, he was doomed, during the greater part of his life, to contemplate it at a distance, and to speak of it to strangers. As a printer his occupation was chiefly with the Messrs. Foulis, of the university press, Glasgow, under whom he entered into an engagement that continued from 1782 to 1787. He visited London, probably for the first time, in 1785; and having been attracted by the facilities that presented themselves there of permanent and profitable occupation, he moved thither in 1787, when his engagement in Glasgow had expired, and, during the rest of his long life, never happened to revisit the land of his nativity. It is well that Scottish patriotism, instead of being impaired, is so often enhanced by the enchantment of distance. In London he was singularly fortunate;

for after the usual amount of enterprise and perseverance in literature, to which all his hopes and energies were devoted, he became printer, editor, and joint-proprietor of the *Star* evening paper. Under his excellent management the journal was a thriving one; and from year to year he continued to indulge his poetical likings not only in its columns, but also in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, to which he occasionally contributed from 1807 to 1817. After a long life of usefulness and comfort, which extended to seventy-eight years, he died in his residence, No. 2 Lysson Grove, South, on the 14th of March, 1836, and was buried in his family vault, Paddington Church-yard.

As a poet, John Mayne must be allowed a much higher standing than is usually given to the Scottish bards of the present century; and in comparing him, it must be with Ramsay, Fergusson, and Hogg, to whom he approached the nearest, rather than with inferior standards. The moral character of his writings, also, cannot be too highly commended. "He never wrote a line," says a popular author, "the tendency of which was not to afford innocent amusement, or to improve and increase the happiness of mankind." Of his private character Allan Cunningham also testifies that "a better or warmer-hearted man never existed."

MELVILLE, ANDREW, one of the most illustrious of the Scottish reformers, whose name stands next to that of Knox in the history of the Reformation, and is second to none in the erudition of the time, was born on the 1st of August, 1545, at Baldovoy or Baldowy, an estate on the banks of the South Esk, near Montrose, of which his father was proprietor. The form in which the family name was generally known at that time in Scotland and in foreign countries was Melvyn or Melvin. Throughout the interesting correspondence, written in Latin, between the subject of this memoir and his amiable and accomplished nephew, whose life is recorded in the next article, the name is uniformly written Melvinus. In Fifehire, at the present day, the name is commonly pronounced Melvin, and at an earlier period it was frequently both pronounced and written Melin, Mellin, and Melling. The Melvilles of Baldovoy were a family of some note in the middle of the sixteenth century, and near cadets of Melville of Raith, who was considered to be the chief of an influential name in the county of Fife. Melville of Dysart, however, was acknowledged by Andrew Melville to have been the chief of the Baldovoy branch of the family. Andrew was the youngest of nine sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, while he was yet only two years of age. The death of his mother, also, soon afterwards took place, and he was thus left an orphan. The loss of his parents, however, was in a great measure compensated by the kindness and tenderness of his eldest brother and the wife of that individual, both of whom watched over his infant years with the most anxious affection and assiduity. The long-tried and unwearied kindness of the latter, in particular, made a strong impression upon Melville, which lasted during the whole of his life.

His brother, perceiving his early propensity to learning, resolved to encourage it, and with this view gave him the best education which the country afforded. He was besides of a weakly habit of body, a consideration which had its weight in determining the line of life he should pursue. Young Melville was accordingly put to the grammar-school of Montrose, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language, and, among other accomplishments, a

knowledge of Greek, which was then a rare study in Scotland. When removed, in his fourteenth year, to the university of St. Andrews, he surprised his teachers by his knowledge of Greek, with which they were wholly unacquainted. He was indebted for this fortunate peculiarity in his education to a Frenchman of the name of Marsilliers, who had been established as a teacher of Greek in the school of Montrose, by John Erskine of Dun. The great progress which young Melville had made in learning excited the astonishment and attracted the attention of the various teachers in the university; particularly Mr. John Douglas, the rector, who, on one occasion having taken the young and weakly boy between his knees, was so delighted with his replies when questioned on the subject of his studies, that he exclaimed, "My silly fatherless and motherless boy, it's ill to witt [to guess] what God may make of thee yet."

The reputation which Melville acquired soon after entering the college increased with his stay there; and he left it, on finishing the usual course of study, with the character of being "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land." Having acquired all the learning which his native country afforded, he resolved to proceed to the Continent to complete his education; and accordingly, with the consent of his brothers, set out for France in the autumn of 1564, being still only in the nineteenth year of his age. At the university of Paris, whither he repaired, he acquired a similar reputation for general talent, and particularly for his knowledge of Greek, with that which he had secured at St. Andrews. Here he remained for two years, when he removed to Poitiers. On his arrival at the latter place, such was the celebrity already attached to his name, he was made regent in the college of St. Marceon, although yet only twenty-one years of age. From Poitiers he went some time afterwards to Geneva, where he was presented with the humanity chair in the academy, which happened fortunately to be then vacant. In 1574 he returned to his native country, after an absence altogether of ten years. On his arrival at Edinburgh he was invited by the regent Morton to enter his family as a domestic instructor, with a promise of advancement when opportunity should offer. This invitation he declined, alleging that he preferred an academical life, and that the object of his highest ambition was to obtain an appointment in one of the universities. He now retired to Baldov, where he spent the following three months enjoying the society of his elder brother, and amusing himself by superintending the studies of his nephew, James Melville.

At the end of this period he was appointed principal of the college of Glasgow by the General Assembly, and immediately proceeded thither to assume the duties of his office. Here the learning and talents of Melville were eminently serviceable, not only to the university over which he presided, but to the whole kingdom. He introduced improvements in teaching and in discipline, which at once procured a high degree of popularity to the college, and greatly promoted the cause of general education throughout Scotland. Melville possessed a considerable share of that intrepidity for which his great predecessor Knox was so remarkable. At an interview, on one occasion, with the regent Morton, who was highly displeased with some proceedings of the General Assembly, of which Melville was a member, the former, irritated by what he conceived to be obstinacy in the latter, exclaimed, "There will never be quietness in this country till half a dozen of you be hanged or banished." "Hark, sir," said Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that

manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared [expended], at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth." It is not said that the regent resented this bold language; but probably his forbearance was as much owing to the circumstance of his resigning the regency, which he did soon after, as to any other cause.

In 1580 Melville was translated to St. Andrews, to fill a similar situation with that which he occupied at Glasgow. Here he distinguished himself by the same ability which had acquired him so much reputation in the western university. Besides giving lectures on theology, he taught the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages, and discovered such an extent of knowledge and superiority of acquirement, that his classes were attended, not only by young students in unusual numbers, but by several of the masters of the other colleges. In 1582 Melville opened, with sermon, an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly, which had been convoked to take into consideration the dangerous state of the Protestant church, from the influence which the Earl of Arran, and the Lords D'Aubigné and Lennox, exercised over the young king. In this sermon he boldly inveighed against the absolute authority which the court was assuming a right to exercise in ecclesiastical affairs, and alluded to a design on the part of France, of which D'Aubigné was the instrument, to re-establish the Catholic religion in the country. The assembly, impressed with similar sentiments, and entertaining similar apprehensions, drew up a spirited remonstrance to the king, and appointed Melville to present it. He accordingly repaired to Perth, where the king then was, and, despite of some alarming reports which reached him of the personal danger to which he would expose himself from the resentment of the king's favourites, demanded and obtained access to his majesty. When the remonstrance was read Arran looked round the apartment, and exclaimed, in a tone of defiance and menace, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "We dare," replied Melville; and, taking a pen from the clerk, he affixed his signature to the document: an example which was immediately followed by the other commissioners who were with him. The cool and dignified intrepidity of Melville completely silenced the blustering of Arran, who, finding himself at fault by this unexpected opposition, made no further remark; and Lennox, with better policy, having spoken to the commissioners in a conciliatory tone, they were peaceably dismissed. It seems probable, however, from what afterwards ensued, that Arran did not forget the humiliation to which Melville's boldness had on this occasion subjected him. In less than two years afterwards Melville was summoned before the privy-council on a charge of high-treason, founded upon some expressions which, it was alleged, he had made use of in the pulpit. Whether Arran was the original instigator of the prosecution does not very distinctly appear; but it is certain that he took an active part in its progress, and expressed an eager anxiety for the conviction of the accused. Failing in establishing anything to the prejudice of Melville, the council had recourse to an expedient to effect that which they could not accomplish through his indictment. They could not punish him for offences which they could not prove; but they found him guilty of declining the judgment of

the council, and of behaving irreverently before them, and condemned him to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in person and goods at his majesty's pleasure. The terms of the sentence, in so far as regarded the place of imprisonment, were afterwards altered by Arran, who substituted "Blackness," where he had a creature of his own as keeper, for Edinburgh. Several hours being allowed to Melville before he was put in ward, he availed himself of the opportunity, and made his escape to England. To this step, being himself in doubt whether he ought not rather to submit to the sentence of the council, he was urged by some of his friends, who, to his request for advice in the matter, replied, with the proverb of the house of Angus, "Loose and living;" which pretty plainly intimates what they conceived would be the result if he permitted himself to be made "fast." On leaving Edinburgh Melville first proceeded to Berwick, and thence to London, where he remained till the November of 1585. The indignation of the kingdom having then driven Arran from the court, he returned to Scotland, after an absence of twenty months. The plague, which had raged in the country while he was in England, having dispersed his pupils at St. Andrews, and the college being, from this and other causes, in a state of complete disorganization, he did not immediately resume his duties there, but proceeded to Glasgow, where he remained for some time. In the month of March following, induced by an appearance of more settled times, he returned to St. Andrews and recommenced his lectures and former course of instruction. These, however, were soon again interrupted. In consequence of the active part which he took in the excommunication of Archbishop Adamson, who was accused of overthrowing the scriptural government and discipline of the Church of Scotland, he was commanded by the king to leave St. Andrews, and to confine himself beyond the water of Tay. From this banishment he was soon afterwards recalled; and, having been restored to his majesty's favour, through the intercession of the dean of faculty and masters of the university, he resumed his academical labours at St. Andrews.

In the year following (1587) he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of parliament. A similar honour with the first was conferred upon him in 1589, and again in 1594. In the year following he was invited to take a part in the ceremonies at the coronation of the queen, which took place in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 17th of May. On this occasion, although he did not know until only two days before, that he was expected to take a part in the approaching ceremony, he composed and delivered, before a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen assembled to witness the coronation, a Latin poem, which, having been printed next day at the earnest solicitation of his majesty, who was much pleased with it, under the title of *Stephaniskion*, and circulated throughout Europe, added greatly to the reputation which its author had already acquired. An instance of the generosity of Melville's disposition, which occurred about this time, cannot be passed over, however brief the sketch of his life may be, without doing an injustice to his memory. Archbishop Adamson, one of his most irreconcilable enemies, having lost the favour of the king, was reduced, by the sequestration of his annuity, which immediately followed, to great pecuniary distress. He applied to Melville for relief, and he did not apply in vain. Melville immediately visited him, and undertook to support

himself and his family at his own expense, until some more effective and permanent assistance could be procured for him; and this he did for several months, finally obtaining a contribution for him from his friends in St. Andrews. Such instances of benevolence are best left to the reader's own reflections, and are only injured by comment.

In 1590 he was chosen rector of the university; an office which he continued to hold by re-election for many years, and in which he displayed a firmness and decision of character on several trying occasions, that gives him a claim to something more than a mere literary reputation. Though a loyal subject in the best sense and most genuine acceptance of that term, he frequently addressed King James in language much more remarkable for its plainness than its courtesy. He had no sympathy whatever for the absurdities of that prince, and would neither condescend to humour his foibles nor flatter his vanity. A remarkable instance of this plain-dealing with his majesty occurred in 1596. In that year Melville formed one of a deputation from the commissioners of the General Assembly, who met at Cupar in Fife, being appointed to wait upon the king at Falkland, for the purpose of exhorting him to prevent the consequences of certain measures inimical to religion, which his council were pursuing. James Melville, nephew of the subject of this memoir, was chosen spokesman of the party, on account of the mildness of his manner and the courteousness of his address. On entering the presence he accordingly began to state the object and views of the deputation. He had scarcely commenced, however, when the king interrupted him, and in passionate language denounced the meeting at Cupar as illegal and seditious. James Melville was about to reply with his usual mildness, when his uncle, stepping forward, seized the sleeve of the king's gown, and calling his sacred majesty "God's silly vassal," proceeded to lecture him on the impropriety of his conduct, and to point out to him the course which he ought to pursue, particularly in matters of ecclesiastical polity. "Sir," he said, "we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and, along with you, the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth, and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the church, whose subject James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." Melville went on in a similar strain with this for a great length of time, notwithstanding repeated attempts on the part of the king to stop him. James expressed the strongest repugnance at the outset to listen to him, and endeavoured to frighten him from his purpose by a display of the terrors of offended royalty, but in vain. He was finally compelled to listen quietly and patiently to all that Melville chose to say. At the conclusion of the speech the king, whose anger, and whose courage also probably, had subsided during its delivery, made every concession which was required; and the deputation returned without any loss, apparently, of royal favour. It was not, however, to be expected that Melville should have gained any ground in the king's affections by this display of sincerity and zeal; nor were the future interviews

which took place between them better calculated for this end. The very next which occurred is thus alluded to in his nephew's diary: "And ther they (the king and Melville) heeled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard mikle, of a large houre. In end the king takes up and dismissis him favour-able."

However favourably James may have dismissed him, he does not seem to have been unwilling to avail himself of the first opportunity which should offer of getting rid of him. At a royal visitation of the university of St. Andrews, which soon afterwards took place, matter of censure against Melville was eagerly sought after, and all who felt disposed to bring any complaint against him were encouraged to come forward with their accusations. The result was that a large roll, filled with charges against him, was put into the king's hands. He was accused of neglecting the pecuniary affairs of the college and the duties of his office as a teacher; of agitating questions of policy in place of lecturing on divinity; and of inculcating doctrines subversive of the king's authority and of the peace of the realm. At several strict examinations he gave such satisfactory explanations of his conduct, and defended himself so effectually against the slanders of those who sought his ruin, that the visitors were left without any ground or pretext on which to proceed against him. They, however, deprived him of the rectorship, on the plea that it was improper that that office should be united with the professorship of theology, the appointment which Melville held in the university.

The accession of James to the English throne did not abate his desire to assume an absolute control over the affairs of the Church of Scotland, and long after his removal to England he continued to entertain designs hostile to its liberties. The attempts which he had made to obtain this supremacy while he was yet in Scotland had been thwarted in a great measure by the exertions of Melville. His intrepidity kept James at bay, and his zeal, activity, and talents deprived him of all chance of succeeding by chicanery or cunning. Melville still presented himself as a stumbling-block in his way should he attempt to approach the Scottish church with inimical designs, and James therefore now resolved that he should be entirely removed from the kingdom. To accomplish this he had recourse to one of those infamous and unprincipled stratagems which he considered the very essence of "kingcraft." In May, 1606, Melville received a letter from his majesty, commanding him to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his majesty might consult with him, and others of his learned brethren, regarding ecclesiastical matters, with the view of healing all differences, and securing a good understanding between his majesty and the church. Letters of a similar tenor were received by seven other clergymen, amongst whom was Melville's nephew.

Though not without some doubts regarding the result of this rather extraordinary invitation, Melville and his brethren set out for London, where they arrived on the 25th of August. The first interview of the Scottish clergymen with the king was sufficiently gracious. He inquired for news from Scotland, and condescended even to be jocular. This, however, did not last long; at the subsequent conferences Melville found himself called upon, by the sentiments which the king expressed regarding church matters, to hold the same bold and plain language to him which he had so often done in Scotland, and this too in the presence of great numbers of his English courtiers, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration of Melville's boldness, and of

the eloquence with which he delivered his sentiments. In the meantime, however, the Scottish ministers were interdicted from returning to Scotland without the special permission of the king. On the 28th September they were required by his majesty to give attendance in the royal chapel on the following day to witness the celebration of the festival of St. Michael. The ceremonies and fooleries of the exhibition which took place on this occasion were so absurd, and so nearly approached those of the Romish church, that they excited in Melville a feeling of the utmost indignation and contempt. This feeling he expressed in a Latin epigram, which he composed on returning to his lodgings. A copy of the lines found its way to his majesty, who was greatly incensed by them, and determined to proceed against their author on the ground that they were treasonable. He was accordingly summoned before the privy-council, found guilty of scandalum magnatum, and after a confinement of nearly twelve months, first in the house of the dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards in that of the Bishop of Winchester, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for four years. The other clergymen who had accompanied Melville to London were allowed to return to Scotland; but they were confined to particular parts of the country, and forbidden to attend any church courts. Melville's nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, and to repair to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and not to go ten miles beyond that town on the pain of rebellion.

In the month of February, 1611, Melville was released from the Tower on the application of the Duke of Bouillon, who had solicited his liberty from the king, in order to procure his services as a professor in the university at Sedan in France. Melville, who was now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, was exceedingly reluctant to go abroad; but as this was a condition of his liberty, and as there was no hope of the king's being prevailed upon to allow him to return to Scotland, he submitted to the expatriation, and sailed for France on the 19th of April. On his arrival at Paris he was fortunate enough to fall in with one of his scholars, then prosecuting his studies there, by whom he was kindly and affectionately received. After spending a few days in the French capital he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university. In the year following he removed to Grenoble, to superintend the education of three sons of the treasurer of the parliament of Dauphiny, with a salary of 500 crowns per annum; but not finding the situation an agreeable one, he returned within a short time to Sedan, and resumed his former duties.

Melville continued to maintain a close correspondence with his numerous friends in Scotland, and particularly with his nephew James Melville, to whom he was warmly attached. Of him, his best, most constant, and dearest friend, however, he was soon to be deprived. That amiable man, who had adhered to him through good and bad fortune, through storm and sunshine, for a long series of years, died in the beginning of the year 1614. The grief of Melville on receiving the intelligence of his death was deep and poignant. He gave way to no boisterous expression of feeling; but he felt the deprivation with all the keenness which such a calamity is calculated to inflict on an affectionate heart. With his fondest wishes still directed towards his native land, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity which might offer of procuring his restoration; and in 1616 a promise was obtained from his majesty that he would be relieved from banishment. This promise, how-

ever, like many others of James', was never realized. Melville, after all that he had done for his country, was doomed to breathe his last an exile in a foreign land. To compensate in some measure for the misfortunes which clouded his latter days, he was blessed with a more than ordinary share of bodily health, and that to a later period of life than is often to be met with. "Am I not," he says, in a letter to a friend written in the year 1612, "threescore and eight years old, unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came; and yet, I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years by-gone, and better than when I was younger—in *ipso flore adolescentiæ*—only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever, yea I use none at all, nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters." With this good bodily health he also enjoyed to the close of his life that cheerfulness of disposition and vivacity of imagination for which he was distinguished in earlier years, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age he is found vying with the most sprightly and juvenile of his colleagues in the composition of an epithalamium on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of his patron the Duke of Bouillon.

Years, however, at length undermined a constitution which disease had left untouched until the very close of life. In 1620 his health, which had previously been slightly impaired, grew worse, and in the course of the year 1622 he died at Sedan, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The benefits which Melville conferred on his country in the department of its literature are thus spoken of by Dr. Mc'Crie:—"His arrival imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instructions and example he continued and increased the impulse which he had first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged." The services which he rendered the civil and religious liberties of his country are recorded by the same able author in still stronger terms. "If the love of pure religion," he says, "rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville."

MELVILLE, JAMES, with whose history are connected many most interesting facts in the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, was born at Baldov, near Montrose, on the 25th of July, 1556.¹ His father was Richard Melville of Baldov, the friend of Wishart the martyr, and of John Erskine of Dun, and the elder brother of Andrew Melville. Soon after the Reformation, this gentleman became minister of Mary-Kirk, in the immediate neighbourhood of his property, and continued so till the close of his life. He married Isobel Scrimgeour, sister of

the laird of Glasswell, a woman of great "godlines, honestie, vertew, and affection." James Melville was therefore, to use his own expression, descended "of godlie, faithfull, and honest parents, bathe lightened with the light of the gospell, at the first dawning of the day tharof within Scotland."

The mother of James Melville having died about a year after his birth, he was placed under the care of a nurse, "an evill inclynit woman;" and after being weaned was lodged in the house of a cottar, from whence, when he was about four or five years old, he was brought home to Baldov. He and his elder brother David were soon afterwards sent to a school, kept by Mr. William Gray, minister of Logie-Montrose, "a guid, lerned, kynd man." This school was broken up, partly by the removal of some of the boys, perhaps to attend the universities, but more immediately by the ravages of the plague at Montrose, from which Logie was only two miles distant. James and his brother therefore returned home, after having attended it for about five years. During the following winter they remained at home, receiving from their father such occasional instruction as his numerous duties permitted him to give them. At this period Richard Melville seems to have intended that both his sons should be trained to agricultural pursuits, there being no learned profession in which a livelihood, even of a very moderate kind, could be obtained. In the spring it was resolved that, as the elder brother was sufficiently old to assist in superintending his father's rural affairs, he should remain at home, and that James should be sent again to school. He accordingly attended a school at Montrose, of which Andrew Milne, afterwards minister of Fetteresso, was master. Here he continued about two years.

Of the whole of this period of his life James Melville has left a most interesting account; and we only regret that, from the length to which this memoir must otherwise extend, we are unable to give anything more than a very rapid sketch of this and the subsequent part of his education. He entered on his philosophical course at St. Leonard's College in the university of St. Andrews, in November, 1571, under the care of William Collace, one of the regents. At first he found himself unable to understand the Latin prelections, and was so much chagrined that he was frequently found in tears; but the regent took him to lodge at his apartments, and was so much pleased with the sweetness of his disposition, and his anxiety to learn, that he made him the constant object of his care, and had the satisfaction of seeing him leave the university, after having attained its highest honours. During the prescribed period of four years Melville was taught logic (including the Aristotelian philosophy), mathematics, ethics, natural philosophy, and law. At the end of the third year, he, according to the usual custom, took the degree of Bachelor, and on finishing the fourth, that of Master of Arts. One of the most interesting events recorded by James Melville to have occurred during his residence at St. Andrews, was the arrival of John Knox there in 1571; and he alludes with much feeling to the powerful effects produced on his mind by the sermons of the reformer.

After finishing his philosophical education, James Melville returned to his father's house, where he prosecuted his studies during the summer months. Having finished that part of his education which was necessary for general purposes, it was now requisite that he should determine what profession he should adopt. His father had destined him for that of a lawyer; but although James had studied some parts of that profession, and had attended the consistorial

¹ In a note on this date in his *Diary* he says, "My vnclie, Mr. Andro, haulds that I was born in an. 1557."

court at St. Andrews, his heart "was nocht sett that way." Deference to his father's wishes had hitherto prevented him offering any decided opposition to his intentions, but he had at this period taken means to show the bent of his mind. Choosing a passage in St. John's Gospel for his text, he composed a sermon, which he put in a book used by his father in preparing his weekly sermons. The MS. was accordingly found, and pleased his father exceedingly. But James was now luckily saved the pain of either opposing the wishes of a kind but somewhat austere parent, or of applying himself to a profession for the study of which he had no affection, by an unlooked for accident—the arrival of his uncle, Andrew Melville, from the Continent. To him his father committed James, "to be a pledge of his love," and they were destined to be for many years companions in labour and in adversity.

James Melville had left the university with the character of a diligent and accomplished student. He had flattered himself that he had exhausted those subjects which had come under his attention, but he was now to be subjected to a severe mortification. When his uncle examined him he found that he was yet but a mere child in knowledge, and that many years of study were still necessary before he could arrive at the goal which he had supposed himself to have already reached. James' mortification did not, however, lead him to sit down in despair. He renewed his studies with the determination to succeed, and revised, under his uncle's directions, both his classical and philosophical education. "That quarter of yeir," says he, "I thought I gat graitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor. . . . And all this as it wer by cracking and playing, sa that I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him [Andrew Melville] in daylie conversation, bathe that quarter and thereafter, nor euer I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

Endowed with such talents and acquirements, it will readily be believed that Andrew Melville was not allowed to remain long idle. He was soon after his return invited to become principal of the university of Glasgow; an appointment which, after a short trial, he agreed to accept. In October, 1574, he left Baldovny to undertake the duties of his office, taking with him his nephew, who was, in the following year, appointed one of the regents. The labours of Andrew Melville at Glasgow have been already noticed in his life, and we shall therefore only extend our inquiries here to the course adopted by the subject of this memoir. For the first year James Melville taught his class "the Greek grammar, *Isocratis Parænesis ad Demonicum*, the first buik of Homers *Iliads*, *Phocylides*, Hesiods *Εργα και Ημεραι*, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Taleus, with the practice in Ciceros *Catalinars* and *Paradoxes*." "The second year of my regenting," says James Melville, "I teachit the elements of arithmetic and geometrie, out [of] Psellus for shortnes; the *Offices* of Cicero; Aristotles Logic in Greek and Ethic (and was the first regent that ever did this in Scotland); also Platoes *Phædon* and *Axiochus*; and that profession of the mathematiks, logic, and morall philosophie, I keipit (as everie one of the regents keipit their awin, the schollars ay ascending and passing throw) sa lang as I regented ther, even till I was, with Mr. Andro, transported to St. Andros." His private hours were devoted to the study of the Hebrew language and of theology. He had already upon one occasion given proof of his talents for public teaching, and he had now an opportunity of continuing his labours. It was a custom that each regent should, for a week in turn, conduct the stu-

dents to a church near the college, where the citizens also attended, to hear prayers and one or two chapters of the Scriptures read. The regents had hitherto confined themselves exclusively to these limits, probably from a feeling of their inability to offer any commentary; but James Melville, taking a general view of the passages read, gave them a summary of the doctrines enforced, and accompanied it with an application to the situations of his hearers. "This pleasis and comfortit guid peiple verie mikle."

The routine of academical instruction affords but few materials for biography. James Melville has therefore recorded little relative to himself at this period of his life, except an attack made upon him by one of the students, and the occurrences consequent upon it. But although this affair originated with him, it belongs more properly to the life of Andrew Melville, who, as principal of the college, acted the most prominent part in all the subsequent proceedings.

Andrew Melville had now accomplished nearly all that zeal or talent could effect for the university of Glasgow. Its revenues were improved,—its character as a seat of learning raised much above that of any of the other Scottish universities,—the number of students was greatly increased, and its discipline maintained with a degree of firmness, of the necessity of which, however sceptical modern readers may be, the attack to which we have just alluded is a most decided proof. The assembly which met at Edinburgh therefore ordained that Melville should remove to the new college of St. Andrews, "to begin the wark of theologie ther with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that universitie, and the new college therof, giffen be the kirk and past in parliament." Availing himself of the privilege thus granted of nominating his assistants, he requested his nephew to accompany him. James had for some time resolved upon going to France, but he had too much respect for his uncle to refuse his request. They therefore removed together from Glasgow in the month of November, 1580, leaving Thomas Smeton, "a man of singular gifts of learning and godlines," and Patrick Melville, a young gentleman who had lately finished his philosophical studies, as their successors.

In December they entered upon the duties of their respective professions. After his preface or inaugural discourse, James Melville commenced teaching his students the Hebrew grammar. There were, probably, few young men in the country who, either from their opportunities of acquiring knowledge, or their desire to improve under them, were better qualified to discharge this office well; but his natural diffidence caused him a degree of anxiety which many, less accomplished masters have not experienced. "The grait fear and cear," says he in his *Diary*, "quhilk was in my heart of my inabilitytie to vnder-tak and bear out sa grait a charge as to profess theologie and holie tounges amangis ministers and maisters, namelie [especially] in that maist frequent vniuersitie of St. Andros, amangis diuers alerit and displacit, and therfor malcontents and mislykers, occupied me sa, that I behovit to forget all, and rin to my God and my buik."

During the earlier period of their residence at St. Andrews, Andrew Melville and his nephew had many difficulties to encounter. The former principal and professors annoyed their successors by "pursuit of the compts of the college." The regents of St. Leonards, enraged that the philosophy of their almost deified Aristotle should be impugned, raised a commotion; and, to quote the appropriate allusion of

James Melville, cried out with one voice, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" The provost and bailies, with the prior and his gentlemen pensioners, were suspected of corrupt proceedings, especially in the provision of a minister for the town, and the opposition and exposures of Andrew Melville thus raised up for him and his fellow-labourers another host of enemies. These were all open and avowed opponents, but they had one to deal with who, as yet wearing the mask of friendship, was secretly plotting their own and the church's ruin—this person was Archbishop Adamson. Add to all this, that immediately after their settlement at St. Andrews, the carelessness of one of the students had nearly been the cause of setting the establishment on fire, and we shall be abundantly persuaded that it required no small energy of mind, such as Andrew Melville indeed possessed, not only to bear up in such a situation, but successively to baffle all the opposition that was offered to him. But amidst many discouragements which the more sensitive mind of James Melville must have keenly felt, he had also many cheering employments. He was engaged in duties which we have seen had been, from an early period, the objects of his greatest desire—he was the teacher of some promising young men who afterwards became shining lights in the church, and he had the gratification of being requested to occupy the pulpit on many occasions when there was no minister in the town, or when the archbishop happened to be absent.

At the assembly which met at Edinburgh in December, 1582, James Melville was earnestly requested to become minister of Stirling. For himself he felt much inclined to accede to the wishes of the inhabitants, and the more so as he was now on the eve of his marriage; but his uncle considering the affairs of the college still in too precarious a state to admit of his leaving it, refused his consent, and James Melville did not consider it respectful to urge his own wishes. It was indeed fortunate that he was not permitted at this period to leave the college, for in the very next year his uncle was required to appear before the king and privy-council, for certain treasonable speeches alleged to have been uttered in his sermons. When the summons (which ordered him to appear in three days) was served, James Melville was in the shire of Angus, and could not upon so sudden a requisition return to St. Andrews in time to accompany him to Edinburgh. He arrived, however, on the second day of his trial, if indeed the proceedings deserved that name. Passing over the minute circumstances of this transaction, our narrative only requires that we should state that Andrew Melville found it necessary to insure his safety by a flight into England.

In these discouraging circumstances James Melville was obliged to return to St. Andrews to undertake the management of the affairs of the college—with what feelings it may readily be judged. When he considered the magnitude of his charge, and the situation of the church, he was completely overpowered; but the duration of his grief was short in proportion to its violence, and he soon found the truest remedy in applying his whole energies to the performance of his increased duties. He taught divinity from his uncle's chair, besides continuing his labours in the department which properly belonged to him. Nor was this all: the economy of the college, finding himself in the service of a party from whom little advantage or promotion could be expected, gave up his office, and thus did the provision of the daily wants of the institution fall to Melville's lot. In the performance of these duties, so arduous and so varied, he was greatly supported by

the masters of the university, who attended his lectures and gave him many encouragements. But his greatest comfort was derived from the society of the afterwards celebrated Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who, abandoning his attendance on the courts of law, had, with his father's permission, begun the study of theology at St. Andrews.

Harmless, however, as a person whose attention was thus so completely occupied by his own duties must certainly have been, the government did not long permit James Melville to retain his station. The acts of the parliament 1584, by which the Presbyterian form of church government was overthrown, were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and protested against by Robert Pont and others in behalf of the church. We have already alluded to the malpractices of Archbishop Adamson. About the beginning of May, 1584, Melville had gone to one of the northern counties to collect the revenues of the college. It had perhaps been conjectured by the Episcopal party, to their no small gratification, that finding himself unable to comply conscientiously with the late enactments, he had retired, with some of the other ministers, into England. If so, they must have been grievously disappointed by his return. It was certainly not long till the archbishop abundantly manifested his real dispositions; for, on the Sunday immediately following, Melville was informed that a warrant for his apprehension was already in that prelate's possession, and that he was to proceed immediately to its execution. At the earnest desire of his friends he was prevailed on to remove to Dundee, where he had no sooner arrived than he learned that a search had been made for him in every part of the college, and that an indictment had been prepared against him for holding communication with his uncle, the king's rebel. But his removal to Dundee could serve only a very temporary purpose, for it must very soon have become known, and would then have ceased to be any security for his liberty. After the most anxious consideration, he resolved to accept an offer, made him by one of his cousins, to take him by sea to Berwick. This gentleman, hiring a small-boat under the pretext of conveying some of his wines to one of the coast towns in the neighbourhood, took in Melville in the disguise of a shipwrecked seaman; and after a voyage not less dangerous from the risk of detection than from a violent storm which overtook them, landed him safely at Berwick, where he met his uncle and the other ministers who had been obliged to flee.

The suddenness with which James Melville had been obliged to leave St. Andrews prevented him taking his wife along with him; to have done so would, in fact, have endangered the whole party. But after arriving at Berwick, he immediately sent back his cousin, Alexander Scrymgeour, with a letter, requesting this lady (a daughter of John Dury, minister of Edinburgh) to join him. This she had very soon an opportunity of doing, by placing herself under the care of a servant of the English ambassador, and she accordingly remained with her husband during the short period of his exile. At Berwick they resided for about a month; and there, as in every other place, James Melville's amiable and affectionate dispositions procured him many friends. Among these was the lady of Sir Harry Widdrington, governor of the town, under Lord Hunsdon. In the meantime he was invited by the Earls of Angus and Mar, then at Newcastle, to become their pastor. Being totally ignorant of the characters of these noblemen, and of the cause of their exile, he felt unwilling to connect himself with their party,

and therefore replied to their invitation that he could not comply with it, as he had never qualified himself for performing the ministerial functions; but that, as he had determined upon removing to the south, he should visit them on his way thither. When he arrived at Newcastle he determined upon immediately securing a passage by sea to London; but John Davidson, one of his former masters at St. Andrews, and now minister of Prestonpans, informed him that it was not only his own earnest desire, but that of all their brethren, that he should remain at Newcastle with the exiled lords, whose characters and cause he vindicated. To their wishes Melville therefore acceded.

Soon after his settlement at Newcastle, Davidson, who had only waited his arrival, departed, and left him to discharge the duties alone. Thinking it proper that, before entering on his labours, the order of their religious observances and their discipline should be determined, he drew up "the order and manner of exercise of the word for instruction, and discipline for correction of manners used in the companies of those godly and noble men of Scotland in time of their abode in Englande, for the good cause of God's kirk, thair king, and country," and prefixed to it an exhortatory letter to the noblemen and their followers. This prefatory epistle commences by an acknowledgment that their present calamities were the just chastisements of the Almighty for their lukewarmness in the work of reformation—for permitting the character of their sovereign to be formed by the society of worthless and interested courtiers—for their pursuit of their own aggrandizement rather than the good of their country—and for the violation of justice and connivance at many odious and unnatural crimes. But while *they* had thus rendered themselves the subjects of the divine vengeance, how great had been the crimes of the court! It had followed the examples of Ahaz and Uzzah, in removing the altar of the Lord—it had deprived the masters of their livings, and desolated the schools and universities—it had said to the preachers, "Prophecy no longer to us in the name of the Lord, but speak unto us pleasant things according to our liking,"—it had taken from others the key of knowledge—it entered not in, and those that would enter in, it suffered not: finally, it had threatened the ministers, God's special messengers, with imprisonment and death, and following out its wicked designs, had compelled them to flee to a foreign land. "Can the Lord suffer these things long," Melville continues with great energy, "and be just in executing of his judgments, and pouring out of his plagues upon his cursed enemies? Can the Lord suffer his sanctuary to be defiled, and his own to smart, and be the Father of mercies, God of consolation, and most faithful keeper of his promises? Can the Lord suffer his glory to be given to another? Can he who hath promised to make the enemies of Christ Jesus his footstool suffer them to tread on his head? Nay, nay, right honourable and dear brethren, he has anointed him King on his holy mountain; he has given him all nations for an inheritance; he has put into his hand a sceptre of iron to bruise into powder these earthen vessels. When his wrath shall once begin to kindle but a little, he shall make it notoriously known to all the world, that they only are happy who in humility kiss the Lord Jesus and trust in him." He then concludes by a solemn admonition, that with true repentance—with unfeigned humiliation—with diligent perusal of God's word—and with fervent prayer, meditation, and zeal, they should prosecute the work of God, under the assurance that their labours should not be in vain. He warns them of the diligence of the

enemies of God's church,—exhorts them to equal diligence in a good cause,—and reminds them that the ministers of Christ shall be witnesses against them if they should be found slumbering at their posts. At the request of Archibald, Earl of Angus, Melville also drew up a "list of certain great abuses;" but as it is in many points a recapitulation of the letter just quoted from, no further allusion to it is here necessary.

About a month after the commencement of his ministrations Melville was joined by Mr. Patrick Galloway, who divided the labours with him. His family was now on the increase, and it was considered necessary to remove to Berwick, where he remained as minister of that congregation till the birth of his first child—a son, whom he named Ephraim, in allusion to his fruitfulness in a strange land. Notwithstanding the stratagems of Captain James Stewart, by which Lord Hunsdon was induced to forbid them to assemble in the church, the congregation obtained leave, through the kind offices of Lady Widdrington, to meet in a private house; and Melville mentions that he was never more diligently or more profitably employed than during that winter. But the pleasure which he derived from the success of his ministrations was more than counterbalanced by the conduct of some of his brethren at home. It was about this period that many of the Scottish clergy, led on by the example of John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, signed a deed, binding themselves to obey the late acts of parliament, as far as "according to the word of God." Melville saw the confusions which the introduction of such an equivocal clause must produce. He accordingly addressed a most affectionate but faithful letter to the subscribing ministers, in which he exhibited, at great length, the sinfulness of their compliance, and the handle which such a compromise must give to the enemies of religion. This letter, as it encouraged the firm, and confirmed the wavering, was proportionally the object of hatred to the court. Two of the students at St. Andrews, being detected copying it for distribution, were compelled to flee; and no means seem to have been omitted to check its circulation, or to weaken the force of its statements.

About the middle of February, 1584–5, the noblemen, finding their present residence too near the borders, determined upon removing farther to the south. James Melville therefore prepared to follow. In the beginning of March he and a few friends embarked for London, where they arrived, after a voyage rendered tedious by contrary winds; and being joined by their companions in exile, were not a little comforted. Soon after his arrival Melville resumed his ministerial labours.

Many circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, conspired to render their exile much shorter than their fondest wishes could have anticipated. As soon as the noblemen of their party had accommodated their disputes with the king, the brethren received a letter (dated at Stirling, 6th November, 1585) from their fellow-ministers, urging them to return with all possible expedition. James Melville and Robert Dury, one of his most intimate friends, therefore left London, and after encountering many dangers during the darkness of the nights, arrived at Linlithgow. There he found his brethren under great depression of mind: they had vainly expected from the parliament, then sitting, the abrogation of the obnoxious acts of 1584; and they had a further cause of grief in the conduct of Craig, the leader of the subscribing ministers. After much expectation, and many fruitless attempts to persuade the king of the impropriety of the acts, they were

obliged to dismiss, having previously presented a supplication, earnestly craving that no ultimate decision respecting the church might be adopted without the admission of free discussion.

During the following winter James Melville was occupied partly in the arrangement of his family affairs, but principally in re-establishing order in the university. The plague, which had for some time raged with great violence, was now abated, and the people, regaining their former confidence, had begun to return to their ordinary affairs. Taking advantage of this change, the two Melvilles resolved to resume their labours, and accordingly entered on their respective duties about the middle of March. In the beginning of April the synod of Fife convened, and it was the duty of James Melville, as moderator at the last meeting, to open their proceedings with a sermon. He chose for his text that part of the twelfth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the Christian church is compared to the human body—composed, like it, of many members, the harmonious operation of which is essential to the health of the whole. After showing by reference to Scripture what was the constitution of the true church—refuting the doctrine of “the human and devilish bishopric”—adverting to the purity of the reformed constitution of their church, and proving that the inordinate ambition of a few had been in all ages the destruction of that purity—he turned towards the archbishop, who was sitting with great pomp in the assembly, charged him with the overthrow of the goodly fabric, and exhorted the brethren to cut off so unworthy a member from among them. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and protests of the prelate, the synod immediately took up the case—went on, with an inattention to *all* the forms of decency and *some* of those of justice which their warmest advocates do not pretend to vindicate, and ordered him to be excommunicated by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. Thus, by the fervour of their zeal, and perhaps goaded on by personal wrongs, did an assembly, composed in the main of worthy men, subject themselves to censure in the case of a man of a character disgraceful to his profession; and whom, had they been content to act with more moderation, nothing but the strong hand of civil power could have screened from their highest censures, while even *it* could not have defended him from deserved infamy. But the informality of the synod's proceedings gave their enemies an unfortunate hold over them, and was the means of baffling their own ends. By the influence of the king the General Assembly, which met soon afterwards, annulled their sentence, and the Melvilles, being summoned before the king, were commanded to confine themselves—Andrew to his native place and James to his college. Thus did matters continue during that summer. James Melville lectured to a numerous audience on the sacred history, illustrating it by reference to geography and chronology. On each alternate day he read lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy, in the course of which he took many opportunities of attacking the hated order of bishops.

Melville was now to obtain what had all along been the object of his highest wishes—a settlement as minister of a parish. In 1583 the charge of the conjoint parishes of Abercrombie, Pittenweem, Anstruther, and Kilrenny, became vacant by the decease of the incumbent, and thus they continued for several years. When the presbytery of St. Andrews resumed their meetings on the return of the banished ministers, commissioners were appointed to visit these parishes, and to bring them if possible to the unanimous choice of a minister. James Melville,

who had been nominated one of these commissioners, soon gained the affections of the people, inasmuch that they unanimously requested the presbytery to send him among them. That court no less warmly urged his acceptance, and he accordingly removed to his charge in July, 1586.

It may be readily conceived that to perform the duties of four parishes was a task far beyond the moral and physical capabilities of any single individual, more especially after they had so long wanted the benefit of a regular ministry. Their conjunction was the result of the mercenary plans of Morton and his friends, but no man was less actuated by such motives than Melville. No sooner did he become acquainted with the state of these parishes than he determined on their disjunction, at whatever pecuniary loss. When this was effected, he willingly resigned the proportions of stipend in favour of the ministers provided for three of the parishes, while he himself undertook the charge of the fourth (Kilrenny)—he obtained an augmentation of stipend, built a manse, purchased the right to the vicarage and teind fish for the support of himself and his successors, paid the salary of a schoolmaster, and maintained an assistant to perform the duties of the parish, as he was frequently engaged in the public affairs of the church. Such instances of disinterested zeal are indeed rare; but even this was not all. Many years afterwards he printed for the use of his people a catechism which cost 500 merks, of which, in writing his *Diary*, he mentions that he could never regain more than one fifth part. While he was thus anxiously promoting the moral and religious improvement of the parishioners, he was also distinguished by the exemplification of his principles in the ordinary affairs of life. An instance of his generosity occurred soon after his settlement in his new charge. In the beginning of 1588 rumours were spread through the country of the projected invasion by the Spaniards. Some time before the destruction of the Armada was known, Melville was waited on, early in the morning, by one of the bailies of the town, who stated that a ship filled with Spaniards had entered their harbour in distress, and requested his advice as to the line of conduct to be observed. When the day was further advanced, the officers (the principal of whom is styled general of twenty hulks) were permitted to land, and appear before the minister and principal men of the town. They stated that their division of the squadron had been wrecked on the Fair Isle, where they had been detained many weeks under all the miseries of fatigue and hunger; that they had at length procured the ship which lay in the harbour; and now came before them to crave their forbearance towards them. Melville replied that, although they were the supporters of Christ's greatest enemy the pope, and although their expedition had been undertaken with the design of desolating the Protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, they should know by their conduct that the people of Scotland were professors of a purer religion. Without entering into all the minute facts of the case, it may be enough to say, that the officers and men were all at length received on shore and treated with the greatest humanity. “Bot we thanked God with our heartes that we had sein tham amangs ws in that forme,” is the quaint conclusion of James Melville, alluding to the difference between the objects of the expedition and the success which had attended it.

But however disinterested James Melville's conduct might be, it was not destined to escape the most unjust suspicions. When subscriptions were raised to assist the French Protestants and the inhabitants of Geneva (cir. 1588), he had been appointed col-

lector for Fife, and this appointment was now seized upon by his enemies at court, who surmised that he had given the money thus raised to the Earl of Bothwell to enable him to raise forces. The supposition is so absurd that it seems incredible that any one, arguing merely on probabilities, should believe that money intended for Geneva—the very stronghold of his beloved presbytery—should be given to an outlaw and a Catholic. Luckily Melville was not left to prove his innocence even by the doctrine of probabilities. He had in his hands a discharge for the money granted by those to whom he had paid it over, and it was besides matter of notoriety that he had been the most active agent in the suppression of Bothwell's rebellion. Still, however, his enemies hinted darkly where they durst not make a manly charge, and it was not till 1594, when sent as a commissioner to the king by the assembly on another mission, that he had an opportunity of vindicating himself. He then demanded that any one who could make a charge against him should stand forward and give him an opportunity of vindicating himself before his sovereign. No one appeared. Melville was admitted to a long interview in the king's cabinet; and "thus," says he, "I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea, a cabinet councillor."

At the opening of the General Assembly in 1590 James Melville preached. After the usual exordium, he insisted on the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline—he recalled to the memory of his audience the history of their country since the Reformation, the original purity of the church, and admonished them of its begun decline—the brethren were warned of the practices of "the belly-god bishops of England," and the people were exhorted to a more zealous support of the ecclesiastical establishment, and to a more liberal communication of temporal things to their ministers—lastly, he recommended a supplication to the king, for a free and full assembly, to be held in the royal presence, for the suppression of Papists and sacrilegious persons. The activity of Melville, and indeed of the ministers generally, against the Catholics, must be considered as one of the least defensible parts of their conduct. We are aware that those who believe religion to be supported by works of man's device will find strong palliations for their actions in their peculiar circumstances; and we do not mean to deny, that when the Popish lords trafficked with foreign powers for the subversion of the civil and religious institutions of the country, the government did right in bringing them to account. They then became clearly guilty of a civil offence, and were justly amenable for it to the secular courts. But when the Catholics were hunted down for the mere profession of their religion—when their attachment to their opinions was considered the mere effect of obstinacy, and thus worthy to be visited with the highest pains—the Protestants reduced themselves to the same inconsistency with which they so justly charged their adversaries. If it be urged in defence, that their religion was in danger, we reply, that the conduct of the Catholics previous to the Reformation was equally defensible on the very same grounds. In both cases was the church of the parties in imminent hazard; and if we defend the attempt of one party to support theirs by the civil power, with what justice can we condemn the other? A remarkable passage occurs in the account which Friar Ogilvie (a Jesuit, who was executed at Glasgow in 1615) has left of his trial. His examiners accused the Kings of France and Spain of exterminating the Protestants. Ogilvie immediately replied: Neither has Francis banished nor Philip burned Protestants on

account of religion, but on account of *heresy*, which is not religion but *rebellion*.¹ Here, then, is the rock upon which both parties split—that of considering it a crime to hold certain religious opinions. Both parties were in turn equally zealous in propagating their ideas—both were justifiable in doing so—and both equally unjustifiable in their absurd attempts to control the workings of the human mind. Truth, which all parties seem convinced is on their side, must and shall prevail, and the intolerant zeal of man can only prove its own folly and its wickedness. We return to the narrative.

When the king, in October, 1594, determined on opposing the Popish lords in person, he was accompanied at his own request by the two Melvilles and two other ministers. Following the Highland system of warfare, these noblemen retired into their fastnesses; and the royal forces, after doing little more than displaying themselves, were ready to disperse for want of pay. In this emergency James Melville was despatched to Edinburgh and the other principal towns, with letters from the king and the ministers, urging a liberal contribution for their assistance. His services on this occasion, and the spirit infused by Andrew Melville into the royal councils, materially contributed to the success of the expedition.

We have mentioned, that at the interview at Stirling, James Melville had regained the favour of the king; but it is probable that that and subsequent exhibitions of the royal confidence were merely intended to gain him, in anticipation of the future designs of the court relative to the church. In the affair of David Black, Melville had used his influence with the Earl of Mar to procure a favourable result; and although the king did not express disapprobation of his conduct—but, on the contrary, commanded him to declare from the pulpit at St. Andrews the amicable termination of their quarrel—he observed that from that period his favour uniformly declined. Finding after two years' trial that his conduct towards James Melville had not induced him to compromise his principles, the king probably considered all further attempts to gain him quite unnecessary.

In May, 1596, the covenant was renewed by the synod of Fife, and in the following July by the presbytery of St. Andrews; on both of which occasions Melville was appointed "the common mouth." After the last meeting the barons and gentlemen resolved that he and the laird of Reiras [Kires?] should be sent to the king, to inform him of the report of another Spanish invasion, and of the return of the Popish lords; but Melville's interest at court was now on the decline, and his mission met with little encouragement. Returning home, he applied himself assiduously to the duties of his parish. He drew up a *Sum of the Doctrine of the Covenant renewed in the Kirk of Scotland*, in the form of question and answer. Upon this the people were catechised during the month of August; and on the first Sunday of September, the covenant was renewed and the sacrament administered in the parish of Kilrenny.

During the next ten years the life of Melville was spent in a course of opposition, as decided as it was fruitless, to the designs of the court for the re-establishment of Episcopacy. While some of his most intimate friends yielded, he remained firm. There was but one point which he could be induced to give up. He was urged by the king (1597) to preach at the admission of Gladstones, the future archbishop,

¹ *Relatio Incarcerationis et Martyrii P. Joannis Ogilbei, &c.*, Duaci, 1615, p. 24. This is, of course, the Roman Catholic account. Ogilvie's trial, and a reprint of the Protestant account of it set forth at the time, will be found in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*.

to the church of St. Andrews, from which David Black had been ejected; and he did so, in the hope of benefiting some of his distressed friends by the concession; but it afterwards cost him much uncomfortable reflection. In the month of October he visited, along with others appointed for that purpose, the churches in the counties of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross. He had entered upon this duty under considerable mental depression and bodily suffering; and it may be supposed to have been but little diminished when he detected, during the journey, the plans of the court for the re-establishment of the Episcopal order. Finding that his labours on behalf of the church had been attended with so little success, he would willingly have retired from public life, and shut out all reflection on so unsatisfactory a retrospect in the performance of his numerous parochial duties; but a sense of what he owed to the church and to his friends in adversity induced him to continue his discouraging labour; and accordingly, till he was ensnared into England, whence he was not allowed to return, he made the most unwearied exertions in behalf of Presbytery. Except the gratification the mind receives from marking the continued struggles of a good man against adversity, the reader could feel little interest in a minute detail of circumstances which, with a few changes of place and date, were often repeated. Vexation of mind and fatigue of body at length brought on an illness, in April, 1601, which lasted about a year; but this did not damp his zeal. When he could not appear among his brethren, and subsequent illness not unfrequently compelled him to be absent, he encouraged or warned them by his letters. Every attempt was made to overcome or to gain him. He was offered emoluments and honours, and when these could not shake his resolution, he was threatened with prosecution; but the latter affected him as little. When he was told that the king hated him more than any man in Scotland, "because he crossed all his turns, and was a ring-leader," he replied in the words of the poet,

"Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram."

His conduct on the first anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy did not tend to mitigate his majesty's wrath. An act of parliament had been passed, ordaining it to be observed as a day of thanksgiving; but as this act had never received the sanction of the church, Melville and others refused to comply with it. They were, therefore, summoned by proclamation to appear before the council, and the king vowed that the offence should be considered capital. They accordingly appeared: but his majesty, finding their determination to vindicate their conduct, moderated his wrath, and dismissed them, after a few words of admonition. The conduct of Melville in relation to the ministers imprisoned for holding the assembly at Aberdeen was not less decided. A short time before their trial the Earl of Dunbar requested a conference, in which he regretted to him the state of affairs, and promised that, if the warded ministers would appease the king by a few concessions, the ambitious courses of the bishops should be checked, and the king and church reconciled. With these proposals Melville proceeded to Blackness, the place of their confinement; but negotiation was too late, for the very next morning they were awakened by a summons to stand their trial at Linlithgow. When they were found guilty of treason, it was considered a good opportunity to try the resolution of their brethren. To prevent all communication with each other, the synods were summoned to meet on one day, when five articles, relative to the powers of the General Assembly and the bishops, were proposed

by the king's commissioners for their assent. On this occasion Melville was confined by illness; but he wrote an animated letter to the synod of Fife, and had the satisfaction of hearing that they and many others refused to comply. This letter was sent by Lord Scone, the commissioner, to the king; but the threat to make it the subject of a prosecution does not appear to have been carried into effect.

The court, backed by the bishops, was now pursuing its intentions with less caution than had formerly been found necessary. An act was passed by the parliament of 1606, recognizing the king as absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal—restoring the bishops to all their ancient honours, privileges, and emoluments, and reviving the different chapters. Andrew Melville had been appointed by his brethren to be present and protest against this and another act in prejudice of the church, passed at the same time; but measures were taken to frustrate his purpose. No sooner did he stand up than an order was given to remove him, which was not effected, however, until he had made his errand known. The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling, and the reasons for it by James Melville. The latter document, with which alone we are concerned, is written in a firm and manly style, and shows in the clearest manner, that, in appointing bishops, the parliament had in reality committed the whole government of the church to the king, the prelates being necessarily dependent upon him.

Some months previous to the meeting of this parliament letters were directed to the two Melvilles, and six other ministers, peremptorily desiring them to proceed to London, before the 15th of September, to confer with the king on such measures as might promote the peace of the church. Although this was the alleged cause for demanding their presence at the English court, there can be little doubt that the real object of the king was to withdraw them from a scene where they were a constant check upon his designs. Their interviews with the king and his prelates have been already noticed in the life of Andrew Melville, and it is only necessary to state here, that, after many attempts, as paltry as they were unsuccessful, to win them over, or to disunite them, and, when both these failed, to lead them into expressions which might afterwards be made the groundwork of a prosecution, Andrew Melville was committed to the Tower of London. At the same time, James was ordered to leave London within six days for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, beyond which he was not to be permitted to go above ten miles, on pain of rebellion. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain some relaxation of the rigour of his uncle's confinement, he sailed from London on the 2d of July, 1607.¹ The confinement of James Melville at Newcastle was attended by circumstances of a peculiarly painful nature. His wife was at this time in her last illness, but notwithstanding the urgency of the case, he could not be allowed the shortest period of absence; he was therefore compelled to remain in England, with the most perfect knowledge that he must see his nearest earthly relation no more, and without an opportunity of performing the last duties. It was considered a matter of special favour that he was allowed to go to Anstruther for the arrangement of his family affairs after her death; and even this permission was accompanied by peremptory orders, that he should not preach nor attend any meetings, and that he should return to England at the end of a month.

¹ M'Crie's *Melville*, second edition, vol. ii. p. 187. The date attached by Wodrow to Melville's embarkation is June 2, and to his arrival at Newcastle June 10.—*Life of Melville*, p. 132.

The opposition of Melville to Episcopacy continued as steady during his exile as it had been during the time of his ministry. When public disputations were proposed, in the following year, between the ministers who had yielded to the government and those who remained opposed, he disapproved of the plan, and stated his objections at full length in a letter to Mr. John Dykes. He considered such meetings by no means calculated for edification, and he well knew that, were their opponents to be persuaded by argument, abundant opportunities had already been afforded them. When the conferences were appointed to be held at Falkland and other places, he opposed them on the same grounds; but, as the measure had been already determined on, he advised his brethren by letter to take every precaution for the regularity of their proceedings and the safety of their persons. As Melville had anticipated, no good effect was produced; the prelates were now quite independent of arguments for the support of their cause, and felt little inclination to humble themselves so far as to contend with untitled Presbyterians.

Notwithstanding the decided conduct of Melville, several attempts were again made, during his residence at Newcastle, to enlist him in the service of the king. In the month of October immediately following his sentence of banishment, Sir William Anstruther¹ waited on him. He was authorized by the king to say that if Melville would waive his opinions, his majesty would not only receive him into favour, but "advance him beyond any minister in Scotland." Melville replied, that no man was more willing to serve the king in his calling than he, and that his majesty knew very well his affection—what service he had done, and was willing to do in so far as conscience would suffer him; adding that the king found no fault nor ill with him that he knew of, but that he would not be a bishop. "If in my judgment and my conscience," he concluded, after some further remarks, "I thought it would not undo his majesty's monarchy and the church of Christ within the same, and so bring on a fearful judgment, I could as gladly take a bishopric and serve the king therein, as I could keep my breath within me, so far am I from delighting to contradict and oppose to his majesty, as is laid to my charge; for in all things, saving my conscience, his majesty hath found, and shall find, me most prompt to his pleasure and service." With this reply the conversation ended.

During his exile various attempts were made by his parishioners to obtain leave for his return. In February, 1608, the elders of the church of Anstruther prepared a petition with that view, to be presented to the commissioners of the General Assembly; and when through stratagem they were prevented from presenting it, another was given in to the assembly which met at Linlithgow in July, 1609. An application to the king on his behalf was promised; but a reply which he made to a most unprovoked attack on the Presbyterians in a sermon by the vicar of Newcastle, afforded the bishops and their friends a ready excuse for the non-fulfilment of this promise. To preserve appearances, the prelates did indeed transmit to court a representation in favour of the banished ministers; but this is now ascertained to have been nothing more than a piece of the vilest hypocrisy. A private letter was transmitted at the same time discouraging those very representations which in public they advocated, and urging the continuation of their banishment in unabated rigour. Equally unfavourable in their results, although we

have less evidence of insincerity, were the fair promises of the Earl of Dunbar and of Archbishop Spotswood.²

We have already noticed the anxious, though unsuccessful, efforts of Melville in behalf of his uncle. During the whole period of the imprisonment of Andrew Melville his nephew's attentions were continued. He supplied his uncle with money and such other necessities as could be sent him, and received in return the productions of his muse. About this period their correspondence, which they maintained with surprising regularity, took a turn somewhat out of its usual course. James Melville had now been for two years a widower; he had become attached to a lady, the daughter of the vicar of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and he earnestly begged his uncle's advice. The match was considered unequal in point of years, and a long correspondence ensued, from which it became evident that while James' respect for his uncle had led him to request his advice, his feelings had previously become too strongly interested to admit of any doubt as to the decision of the question. Finding his nephew's happiness so deeply concerned in the result, Andrew Melville yielded, and the marriage accordingly took place. Whatever may have been his fears, it is but justice to state that this connection led to no compromise of principle, and that it was attended with the happiest results.

It would seem that the bishops, not content with separating James Melville from his brethren, still thought themselves insecure if he was allowed to remain at Newcastle. They accordingly obtained an order for his removal to Carlisle, which was afterwards changed by the interest of his friends to Berwick. About this period he was again urged by the Earl of Dunbar to accede to the wishes of the king, but with as little success as formerly. That nobleman therefore took him with him to Berwick, where he continued almost to the date of his death. This period of his life seems to have been devoted to a work on the proper execution of which his mind was most anxiously bent—his *Apology for the Church of Scotland*. This work, which however he did not live to see published, bears the title of *Jacobi Melvini libellus Supplex Ecclesie Scoticane Apologeticus*. It was printed at London, and appeared in 1645.

About the year 1612 Melville appears to have petitioned the king for liberty to return to his native country. He received for answer that he need indulge no hopes but by submitting absolutely to the acts of the General Assembly of 1610. Such conditions he would not of course accept, and he considered his return altogether hopeless. But the very measures which the king and the bishops had been pursuing were the means of carrying his wishes into effect. The prelates had lately assumed a degree of hauteur which the nobility could ill have brooked, even had they felt no jealousy of a class of men, who, raised from comparative obscurity, now formed a powerful opposition to the ancient councillors of the throne. They therefore determined to exert their influence for the return of the ministers, and to second the representations of their congregations and friends. In this even the bishops felt themselves

² Another representation in behalf of Melville appears to have been presented to the synod of Fife by his parishioners in 1610. Archbishop Gladstones, the only authority for this statement, writes thus on the subject to the king:—"As for me, I will not advise your majesty anything in this matter, because I know not what is the man's humour as yet, but rather wish that, ere any such man get liberty, our turns took settling a while." "Life of Gladstones," in *Wodrow's Biographical Collections* (printed for the Maitland Club), vol. i. p. 274, 275. So little confidence, does it appear, had the bishops in the stability of their establishment.

¹ Wodrow's *Life of James Melville*, p. 133. This gentleman is named Sir John Anstruther by Dr. McCrie, *Life of Melville*, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 234.

obliged to join, and they at the same time determined upon a last attempt to obtain from the ministers a partial recognition of their authority, but in this they were unsuccessful. James Melville therefore obtained leave to return to Scotland, but it was now too late. His mind had for some time brooded with unceasing melancholy over the unhappy state of the church, and his health declined at the same time. He had proceeded but a short way in his return home when he was suddenly taken ill, and with difficulty brought back to Berwick. Notwithstanding the prompt administration of medicine, his complaint soon exhibited fatal symptoms; and after lingering a few days, during which he retained the most perfect tranquillity, and expressed the firmest convictions of the justice of the cause in which he suffered, he gently expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and eighth of his banishment.

The character of Melville is so fully developed in the transactions of his life, that if the present sketch is in any degree complete, all attempt at its further delineation must be unnecessary. A list of his works will be found in the notes to Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*. Of these, one is his *Diary*, which has been printed as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, and which has supplied the materials for the present sketch up to 1601, where it concludes. This *Diary*, combining, as it certainly does, perfect simplicity of style with a thorough knowledge of its principles—containing the most interesting notices of himself and other public men, while it is perfectly free from egotism—and, above all, indicating throughout the best feelings both of a Christian and a gentleman—is one of the most captivating articles in the whole range of autobiographical history.¹ It is no less remarkable than, in our estimation, it is unquestionable, that the most interesting additions to Scottish history, brought to light in our times, are written by persons of the same name. We allude to the *Diary* of James Melville, and the *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville, with which it must not be confounded. There is one point however in Melville's *Diary* which must forcibly strike every one who is acquainted with its author's history—we mean the allusion in many parts of his narrative to whatever evils befell the enemies of the church as special instances of the divine vengeance for their opposition to its measures. Its enemies were undoubtedly highly criminal, but this method of pronouncing judgment upon them cannot be defended upon any ground of Scripture or charity.

But while we condemn this theory in connection with James Melville's name, justice requires the admission that it was by no means a peculiar tenet of his—it was the doctrine of an age rather than of an individual. It is, moreover, let it ever be remembered, to such men as Andrew and James Melville that we owe much of our present liberty; and but for their firmness in the maintenance of those very principles which we are so apt to condemn, we might still have been acting those bloody scenes which have passed away with the reigns of Charles and of James. They struggled for their children—for blessings, in the enjoyment of which they could never hope to participate. And let not us, who have entered into their labours, in our zeal to exhibit our superior enlightenment, forget or underrate our obligations. The days may come when our privileges may be taken away; and how many of those who condemn the zeal and the principles of their forefathers will be found prepared to hazard so much for conscience?

sake, or to exhibit even a small portion of their courage and self-denying patriotism in the attempt to regain them?

MELVILLE, SIR JAMES, a courtier of eminence, and author of the well-known memoirs of his own life and times which bear his name. In that work he has made effectual provision to keep posterity mindful of the events of his life, and the following memoir will chiefly consist of an abridgment of the facts he has himself detailed.² He appears to have been born in the year 1535. His father was Sir John Melville of Raith, one of the early props of the Reformed faith, who, after suffering from the hate of Beaton, fell a victim to his successor, Archbishop Hamilton, in 1549.³ Nor were his children, or his widow, who was a daughter of Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston, spared from persecution. James, who was the third son, was, by the queen-dowager's influence and direction, sent at the age of fourteen, under the protection of the French ambassador returning to France, to be a page of honour to the young Queen of Scotland. The French ambassador Monluc, Bishop of Valence, besides his embassy to Scotland, had before his return to accomplish a secret mission to the malcontents of Ireland, who had begun to breathe a wish to cast off the yoke of England, and might have proved a very valuable acquisition to France. To Ireland Melville accompanied him. Immediately on his arrival Sir James encountered a love adventure, which he tells with much satisfaction. The ship had been overtaken by a storm, and with difficulty was enabled to land at Lochfeul. They were entertained by O'Docherty, one of the bishop's friends, who lived in "a dark tour," and fed his friends with such "cauld fair" as "herring and biscuits," it being Lent. The bishop was observed to bend his eyes so attentively on O'Docherty's daughter that the prudent father thought it right to provide him with the company of another female, in whose conduct he had less interest or responsibility. This lady was so far accomplished as to be able to speak English, but she produced an awkward scene by her ignorance of etiquette in mistaking a phial "of the only maist precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Soliman the great Turc had given in a present to the said bishop," for something eatable, "because it had an odoriphant smell." "Therefore she licked it clean out." The consequence of the bishop's rage was the discovery of his unpriestly conduct. Meanwhile O'Docherty's young daughter, who had fled from the bishop, was seized with a sudden attachment for Melville. "She came and sought me wherever I was, and brought a priest with her that could speak English, and offered, if I would marry her, to go with me to any part which I pleased." But James was prudent at fourteen. He thanked her, said that he was yet young, that he had no rents, and was bound for France. With the assistance of Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh (a Scotsman), Monluc proceeded with his mission. From O'Docherty's house they went to the dwelling of the Bishop of Roy. Here they were detained until the arrival of a Highland boat, which was to convey them to Scotland, and after more storms and dangers, losing their rudder, they at length landed in Bute. In the person to whom the boat belonged, Melville found a friend, James M'Connell of Kiltyre, who had experienced acts of kindness from his father. Soon after their return to Scotland Melville sailed with the

¹ "The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville, with a Continuation of the Diary to A.D. 1610," was also published by the Wodrow Society in 1842.

² From the beautiful edition of his memoirs printed by the Bannatyne Club, 1827.

³ Wood's *Peerage*, ii. 112.

ambassador to France, and landed on the coast of Brittany. The bishop, proceeding by post to Paris, left his young protégé to the attendance of "two young Scottis gentlemen," who were instructed to be careful of him on the way, and to provide him with the necessary expenses, which should be afterwards refunded to them. The three young men bought a nag each, and afterwards fell into company with three additional companions, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and a native of Bretagne—all travelling in the same direction. At the end of their first day's journey from Brest they all took up their night's rest in a chamber containing three beds. The two Frenchmen and the two Scotsmen slept together. Melville was accompanied by the Spaniard. In this situation he discovered himself to be the subject of plot and counterplot. He first heard the Scotsmen—with much simplicity certainly, when it is remembered that a countryman was within hearing—observe, that as the bishop had directed them to purvey for their companion, "therefore we will pay for his ordinaire all the way, and sall compt up twice as meikle to his master when we come to Paris, and so sall won our own expenses."¹ This was a good solid discreet speculation, but it need not have been so plainly expressed. While it was hatching, the Frenchmen in the next bed were contemplating a similar plot, on the security of the ignorance of the French tongue on the part of their companions, and their inexperience of French travelling, proposing simply to pay the tavern bills themselves, and charge a handsome premium "sufficient to pay their expenses" for their trouble. Melville says he could not refrain "laughing in his mind." The Frenchmen he easily managed, but the Scotsmen were obdurate, insisting on their privilege of paying his charges, and he found his only recourse to be a separate enumeration of the charges, and the "louns" never obtained payment of their overcharge. But the Frenchmen were resolved by force to be revenged on the detector of their cunning. In the middle of a wood they procured two bullies to interrupt and attack the travellers, and when Melville and his friends drew, they joined their hired champions. But Melville, by his own account, was never discomfited, and when they saw their "coun-tenance and that they made for defence," they pretended it was mere sport. Melville informs us how, after his arrival at Paris, his friend the bishop was called to Rome, and himself left behind to learn to play upon the lute and to write French. In the month of May, 1553, Melville appears to have disconnected himself from the bishop, of whom he gives some curious notices touching his proficiency in the art magique and mathématique, and came into the service of the Constable of France—an office in the acquisition of which he was much annoyed by the interference of a Captain Ringan Cocburn, "a busy medlar." At this point in his progress the narrator stops to offer up thanks for his good fortune. As a pensioner of France he became attached to the cause of that country in the war with Charles V., and was present at the siege of St. Quentin, where his patron the constable was wounded and taken prisoner, and himself "being evil hurt with a stroke of a mass [mace] upon the head, was mounted again by his servant upon a Scots gelding, that carried him home through the enemies who were all between him and home; and two of them struck at his head with swords, because his head-piece was tane off after the first encounter that the mass had enforced, and the two were standing between him and home, to keep prisoners in a narrow strait;" but Melville's

horse ran between them "against his will," as he candidly tells, and saved his master by clearing a wall, after which he met his friend Harry Killigrew, who held the steed while its master entered a barber's shop to have his wounds dressed. Melville appears to have attended the constable in his captivity, and along with him was present at the conference of Chateau Cambresis, the consequence of which he states to be "that Spayne obtained all their desires: the constable obtained liberty: the Cardinal of Lorraine could not mend himself, no more than the commissioners of England." After the peace the king, at the instigation of the constable, formed the design of sending Melville to Scotland to negotiate its terms with reference to this country, and to check the proceedings of Moray, then prior of St. Andrews, and the rising influence of the Lords of the Congregation. The Cardinal of Lorraine, however, had influence sufficient to procure this office for Monsieur De Buttoncourt, a person whose haughty manner, backed with the designs of the "holy alliance" he represented, served to stir up the flame he was sent to allay; and the more prudent Melville, whose birth and education certainly did not qualify him to conduct such a mission with vigour, or even integrity to his employers, was sent over with instructions moderate to the ear, but strong in their import. A war for mere religion was however deprecated; the constable shrewdly observing, that they had enough to do in ruling the consciences of their own countrymen, and must leave Scotsmen's souls to God. Melville was instructed "to seem only to be there for to visit his friends." He found the queen-regent in the old tower of Falkland, in bitterness of spirit from the frustration of her ambitious designs. Quietly and stealthily the emissary acquired his secret information. The ostensible answer he brought with him to France was that the prior of St. Andrews did *not* aspire to the crown; a matter on which the bearings were probably sufficiently known at the court of France without a mission. Such, however, is the sum of what he narrates as his answer to the constable, who exhibited great grief that the accidental death of Henry, which had intervened, and his own dismissal, prevented a king and prime minister of France from reaping the fruit of Melville's cheering intelligence. Scotsmen becoming at that time unpopular in France, Melville obtained the royal permission to travel through other parts of the Continent. With recommendations from his friend the constable, he visited the court of the elector-palatine, where he was advised to remain and learn the German tongue, and was courteously received. At the death of Francis II. he returned to France as a messenger of condolence for the departed, and congratulation to the successor, from the court of the palatine. He returned to the palatine with "a fair reward, worth a thousand crowns;" whether to the palatine or himself, is not clear. When Melville perceived Queen Mary about to follow the advice of those who recommended her return to Scotland, he called on her with the offer of his "most humble and dutiful service;" and the queen gave him thanks for the opinions she heard of his affection towards her service, and desired him, when he should think fit to leave Germany, to join her service in Scotland. The Cardinal of Lorraine, among his other projects, having discovered the propriety of a marriage betwixt Mary and the Archduke Charles of Austria, brother to Maximilian, Melville was deputed by secretary Maitland to discover what manner of man this Charles might happen to be; to inquire as to his religion, his rents, his qualities, his age, and stature. Melville had a very discreet and confiden-

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 13, partially modernized in orthography.

tial meeting with Maximilian, who made diligent inquiry as to the intentions of the Queen of Scots and her subjects regarding the alleged right to the English throne; while it struck the wily Scot that he was not particularly anxious to advance his brother to a throne, presently that of Scotland, but not unlikely to be that of the island of Britain. To obtain such information as might prove a sure footing for his future steps, he procured his companion, Mons. Zuleger, to drink with the secretaries of Maximilian, and ascertained his suspicions to be well founded. Notwithstanding a cordial invitation to join the court of Maximilian (no other man ever had so many sources of livelihood continually springing up in his path), Melville returned to the palatine. On his way he enjoyed a tour of pleasure, passing to Venice and Rome, and returning through Switzerland to Heidelberg, where the elector held his court. He afterwards revisited Paris on a matrimonial scheme, concocted by the queen-mother betwixt her son and Maximilian's eldest daughter, acting in the high capacity of the bearer of a miniature of the lady. The welcomes of his friend the constable, not on the best of terms with the queen-mother, seem now to have fallen with far less cordiality on the heart of Melville, and he looked with some misliking at that dignitary's taking the opportunity of presenting the picture to appear at court, where "he sat down upon a stool, and held his bonnet upon his head, taking upon him the full authority of his great office, to the queen-mother's great misliking." While at Paris, he received despatches from Moray and secretary Maitland, requesting his immediate return to his native country, to be employed in the service of the queen, a mandate which he obeyed. Meanwhile the palatine and his son, Duke Casimir, showed an ambition for a union of the latter with Elizabeth of England; a measure which Melville found curious grounds for dissuading, in fulfilment of his principle of using such influence as he might command to interfere with the appearance of an heir to the crown of England. But Melville could not refuse the almost professional duty of conveying the young duke's picture to England. He obtained an interview with Elizabeth, who was more attentive to the subject of the marriage of Queen Mary than to her own; expressing disapprobation of a union with the Archduke Charles, and recommending her favourite Dudley. He proceeded to Scotland, and was received by Mary at Perth, on the 5th May, 1564. He was informed that it had been the queen's intention to have employed him in Germany, but she had now chosen for him a mission to England. He is most amiable in his motives for following the young queen. He was loath to lose "the occasions and offers of preferment that was made to him in France and other parts: but the queen was so instant and so well inclined, and showed herself endowed with so many princely virtues, that he thought it would be against good conscience to leave her, requiring so earnestly his help and service;" so that, in short, he "thought her more worthy to be served for little profit, than any other prince in Europe for great commodity." He proceeded to England with ample instructions, the amicable purport of which, either as they were really delivered or as Melville has chosen to record them, is well known to the readers of history. Melville made sundry inquiries at "very dear friends" attending the court of Elizabeth, as to his best method of proceeding with the haughty queen; and having, on due consideration, established in his mind a set of canons for the occasion, stoutly adhered to them, and found the advantage of doing so. He was peculiarly cautious on the subject of

the marriage; he remained to witness the installation of Dudley as Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh, cautiously avoiding any admission of the propriety of countenancing a union betwixt him and the queen, while he bestowed on him as much praise as Elizabeth chose to exact, and consented to join in invectives against the personal appearance of Darnley—his being "lang, lusty, beardless, and lady-faced," &c.—"albeit," continues the narrator, "I had a secret charge to purchase leave for him to pass in Scotland, where his father was already." Melville spent nine days at the court of England, and made excellent use of his time. His memorial of the period contains many most ingenious devices by which he contrived to support the honour of the Queen of Scotland, while he flattered the Queen of England on her superiority. He delighted her much by telling her the Italian dress became her more than any other one, because he saw she preferred it herself—this was no disparagement to his own queen. He said they were both the fairest women in their respective countries; and, being driven to extremities, told Elizabeth he thought her the whiter, but that his own queen was very "luesome;" leaving the inference, when Elizabeth chose to make it, that she was as much more "luesome" as she was whiter, though by no means making so discreditable an admission. It happened fortunately that the Queen of Scotland, being taller than the Queen of England, the latter decided the former to be too tall. Melville, who had no foresight of the more enlarged opinions of posterity, reviews all his petty tricks and successful flatteries with the air of one claiming praise for acts which increase the happiness of the human race. The following paragraph is exemplary to all courtiers. He had been giving moderate praise to the musical abilities of Mary. "That same day after dinner my Lord of Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music; but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the queen play upon the virginals. But after I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood still at the door cheek, and heard her play excellently well; but she left off so soon as she turned about and saw me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her left hand and to think shame; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary her alone, to eschew melancholy; and asked how I came there. I said, as I was walking with my L. of Hunsden, as I passed by the chamber door, I heard such melody that ravished and drew me within the chamber I wist not how; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the court of France, and was willing to suffer what kind of punishment would please her lay upon me for my offence." The result was that he acknowledged Elizabeth a better musician than Mary, and she said his French was good. After so much politeness, his opinion of Elizabeth, which he retailed to Mary, was, "there was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation—emulation that her (Mary's) princely qualities should ever soon chase her out and displace her from the kingdom."

The next public duty in which Melville was engaged was as bearer of the intelligence of the birth of the prince, afterwards James VI., to the court of England, for which purpose he left Edinburgh on the 19th June, 1566. He found Elizabeth dancing after supper in a state of jovialty and merriment, which was momentarily quashed on the reception of what she termed the welcome intelligence. But next morning the queen had prepared herself to

receive her complimentary friend, who had excused his homeliness on the ground of his having been brought up in France, and the spirit of their previous conference was renewed; the courtier turning his complimentary allusions into a very hideous picture of the evils of marriage, as experienced by his own queen, that no little bit of endeavour on his part (according to his avowal) might be lost, conducive to settling in the mind of the English queen a solid detestation of matrimony. He takes credit to himself for having given sage and excellent advice to the Scottish queen on the occurrence of her various unfortunate predilections, particularly on her conduct towards Bothwell during the life of Darnley, and happened to be among those attendants of the queen who were so very easily taken prisoners by the aspirant to the crown. After this event he considered it prudent to obtain leave to return home and enjoy his "rents;" but so long as he was able to transact messages and carry pictures, the atmosphere of a court seems to have been to him the breath of life; he appears to have waited in quiet expectation for whatever little transactions might fall to his lot, and, among other occasions, was present at the marriage of the queen to Bothwell, after that nobleman's "fury" against him, before which he had been obliged to flee on account of his advice to the queen, "more honest than wise," had been propitiated. On the formation of the party for crowning the young prince, he was, as far as his book is concerned, still a zealous servant of his fallen mistress. He was chosen commissioner or emissary to the opposite party—a post he declined to accept, until advised to become the instrument of peace by Maitland, Kirkcaldy, and "other secret favourers of the queen." On the same principle of attention to the interests of Mary, he acted as emissary to meet Moray at Berwick, on his approaching Scotland to assume the regency. He was equally accommodating in furthering the introduction of Lennox, and was engaged in his usual employments under Mar and Morton. It would be tedious to follow him in his list of negotiations, anything which is important in them being more nearly concerned with the history of the times than with the subject of our memoir. The character in which he acted is sufficiently exemplified by the details already unfolded; and it would require more labour and discernment than most men command, to determine for what party he really acted, or on what principles of *national* policy he combated. It may be mentioned that he alleges the busy temper of finding fault with the proceedings of the great, with which he so complacently charges himself on divers occasions, to have lost him the countenance of Morton, while with superlative generosity he recommended the laird of Carmichael to avoid a similar course; and the laird, profiting by the advice, forgot that injured man, the giver of it. When King James wished to free himself from the unceremonious authors of the Raid of Ruthven, he requested the counsel and assistance of Melville, who, although he had taken leave of the court and resolved to live "a quiet contemplative life all the rest of his days," graciously assented to the royal petition. He read his majesty a lecture on the conduct of young princes, and assisted in enabling him to attend the convention at St. Andrews; or, according to his own account, was the sole procurer of his liberty. He was appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber and a member of the privy-council; but Arran, whom he opposed, managed to supplant him, notwithstanding an unmercifully long letter, reminding James of his services and the royal promises, and bestowing much advice, useful for governors.

He was deprived of his offices, and had no more opportunity "to do good." But he was not entirely excluded from the sun of royalty; he was directed to prepare instructions for himself as an ambassador to the court of England, and held a long conference with the king about the state of the nation, full of much sage advice. He was appointed to "entertain" the three Danish ambassadors, whose mission concerning the restoration of the islands of Orkney terminated in the king's marriage with a Danish princess: and when these gentlemen were plunged into a state of considerable rage at their reception, he was found a most useful and pacific mediator. He was appointed the *confidential* head of that embassy proposed to Lord Altry, and afterwards accepted by his nephew the earl-marischal, for bringing over the royal bride; but he had arrived at that period of life when he found it necessary or agreeable to resign lucrative missions. The portion of his memoirs referring to this period introduces a vivid description of the machinations of the witches to impede the wishes of King James, by which a relation of his own was drowned in crossing the Frith of Forth. On the arrival of the queen, Melville was presented to her as her counsellor, and gentleman of her bed-chamber. His last public duty appears to have been that of receiving the presents of the ambassadors at the christening of Prince Henry. He declined following James to his new dominions, but afterwards paid him a visit, and was kindly received at the English court. His latter days appear to have been spent in preparing his memoirs, so often quoted as a model of wisdom for the guidance of his descendants. Two mutilated editions of this curious work were published in English, besides a French translation, before the discovery of the original manuscripts, which had passed through the hands of the Marchmont family, produced the late genuine edition. Sir James died on the 1st November, 1607,¹ in the eighty-second year of his age. In his character there seems little either to respect or admire; but it is to be remembered that he lived in an age when those who were not murderers or national traitors, were of a comparatively high standard of morality.

MELVILLE, VISCOUNT. See DUNDASES OF ARNISTON (RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY).

MICKLE, WILLIAM JULIUS (originally MEIKLE), the translator of Camoens' *Lusiad*, and an original poet of considerable merit, was one of the sons of the Rev. Alexander Meikle, who in early life was a dissenting clergyman in London, and assistant to Dr. Watt, but finally settled as minister of the parish of Langholm, in Dumfriesshire, where the subject of this memoir was born in 1734. The mother of the poet was Julia Henderson, of a good family in Mid Lothian. The Rev. Mr. Meikle, whose learning is testified by his having been employed in the translation of Bayle's *Dictionary*, was his son's first teacher. The young poet was afterwards, on the death of his father, sent to reside in Edinburgh, with his aunt, the wife of Mr. Myrtle, an eminent brewer; there he attended the high-school for some years. It is said, however, that though his passion for poetry was early displayed, he was by no means attached to literature in general, till the age of thirteen, when Spenser's *Fairy Queen* falling in his way, he became passionately fond of that author, and immediately began to imitate his manner. At sixteen Mickle was called from school to keep the ac-

¹ Wood's *Peerage*, ii. 112. The introduction to the last edition of his works says aged seventy-two. This is inconsistent with his having been fourteen years of age in 1549, when he accompanied Monluc to France.

counts of his aunt, who, having lost her husband, continued to carry on the business. Not long after he was admitted to a share in the brewery, and his prospects were, at the outset of life, extremely agreeable. For reasons, however, which have not been explained, he was unfortunate in trade; and about the year 1763 became bankrupt. Without staying to obtain a settlement with his creditors he proceeded to London, and tried to procure a commission in the marine service, but, the war being just then concluded, failed in his design. Before leaving the Scottish capital he had devoted himself, only too much perhaps, to poetry. At eighteen he had composed two tragedies and half an epic poem, besides some minor and occasional pieces. Being now prompted to try what poetry could do for him, he introduced himself and several of his pieces to the notice of Lord Lyttelton, who, it is understood, conceived a respectable opinion of his abilities, and recommended him to persevere in versification, but yielded him no more substantial proof of favour.

Mickle appears to have been rescued from these painful circumstances by being appointed corrector to the Clarendon press, at Oxford. This was a situation by no means worthy of his abilities; but while not altogether uncongenial to his taste, it had the advantage of leaving him a little leisure for literary pursuits, and thus seemed to secure to him what has always been found of the greatest consequence to friendless men of genius—a fixed routine of duties, and a steady means of livelihood, while a portion of the mental energies are left free for higher objects. Accordingly, from the year 1765 Mickle published a succession of short poems, some of which attracted considerable notice, and made him known to the world of letters. He also ventured into the walk of religious controversy, and wrote pamphlets against Voltaire and Mr. Harewood, besides contributing frequently to the newspaper called the *Whitehall Evening Post*.

In his early youth Mickle had perused Castara's translation of the *Lusiad* of Camoens, and ever since had entertained the design of executing an English version. He now, for the first time, found leisure and encouragement to attempt so laborious a task. The first canto was published as a specimen in 1771, and met with so much approbation as to induce him to abandon his duties at Oxford, and devote himself entirely to this more pleasing occupation. Having retired to a farm-house at Foresthill, he applied himself unremittingly to the labour, subsisting upon the money which he drew from time to time as subscriptions for his work. In 1775 the version was completed; and, that no means might be wanting for obtaining it a favourable reception, he published it with a dedication to a nobleman of high influence, with whom his family had been connected. The work obtained a large measure of public approbation, which it has ever since retained; but its reception with the patron was not what the translator had been led to expect. A copy was bound in a most expensive manner, and sent to that high personage; but, months passing on without any notice even of its receipt, a friend of the poet, in high official situation, called upon his lordship, to learn if possible the cause of his silence. He found that some frivolous literary adversary of Mickle had prejudiced the noble lord against the work, and that the presentation copy was, till that moment, unopened. We have here, perhaps, one of the latest instances of that prostration of genius before the shrine of rank which was formerly supposed to be so indispensable to literary success, but was, in reality, even in the most favourable instances, only

productive of paltry and proximate advantages. The whole system of dedication was an absurdity. Books were in reality written for the public, and to the public did their authors look for that honour which forms the best motive for literary exertion. To profess to devote their works more particularly to some single member of the community was an impertinence to all the rest, that ought never to have been practised; and we might the more readily denounce the above instance of "patrician meanness," as Mickle's first biographer terms it, if we could see any rationality in the author expecting so much more from one individual for his labours than from another.

During the progress of his translation Mickle composed a tragedy, under the title of the *Siege of Mar-seilles*, which was shown to Garrick, and rejected on account of its want of stage effect. It was then revised and altered by Mr. Home, author of the tragedy of *Douglas*; and a proposal was made to the author to bring it forward in the Edinburgh theatre. This idea was afterwards abandoned, and the tragedy remained in abeyance till the conclusion of the *Lusiad*, when the author made another effort to bring it out on the London stage. It was shown to Mr. Harris of Covent Garden, and again rejected. After this repulse Mickle relinquished all expectations of advantage from the theatre, though he permitted the unfortunate play to be shown to Sheridan, from whom he never again received it.

The *Lusiad* was so well received that a second edition was found necessary in 1779. In the same year Mickle published a pamphlet on the India question, which was at one time expected to obtain for him some marks even of royal favour. In May the most fortunate incident in his life took place. His friend Mr. Johnston, formerly governor of South Carolina, was then appointed to the command of the *Romney* man-of-war, and Mickle, being chosen by him as his secretary, went out to sea in his company, in order to partake of whatever good fortune he might encounter during a cruise against the Spaniards. In November he arrived at Lisbon, where he was received with very flattering marks of attention, and stayed six months, during which time he collected many traits of the Portuguese character and customs, with the intention, never fulfilled, of combining them in a book. During his residence in Portugal he wrote his best poem, *Almada Hill*, which was published in 1781. The cruise had been highly successful, and Mickle, being appointed joint agent for the prizes, was sent home to superintend the legal proceedings connected with their condemnation. His own share of the results was very considerable, and, together with the fortune he acquired by his wife, whom he married in June, 1782, at once established his independence. The remainder of his life was spent in literary leisure, at Wheatley, in Oxfordshire, where he died, October 25, 1788, after a short illness, leaving one son. Mickle's poems are not voluminous, and have been eclipsed, like so much of the other verse of the last century, by the infinitely superior productions of the present or immediately by-past age. Many of them, however, show considerable energy of thought; others, great sweetness of versification; and his translation has obtained the rank of a classic. It is not to be overlooked, moreover, that the authorship of one exquisite song in his native dialect, *There's nae Luck about the House*, is ascribed to him, though not upon definite grounds.

MILL, JAMES. This talented writer, who distinguished himself as a historian, philosopher, and political economist, was born in the parish of Logie-

Pert, Forfarshire, on the 6th of April, 1773. Like a great majority of his countrymen who have risen to eminence, he was of humble origin, his father being a small farmer upon the estate of Sir John Stuart, Bart., of Fettercairn. After a course of preliminary education at the grammar-school of Montrose, young James, who was originally destined for the church, was sent, through the patronage of his father's landlord, to the university of Edinburgh, where he underwent the usual course of study prescribed to candidates for the ministry. His progress in general literature, although unnoticed at the time, was afterwards well attested by the character of his various writings. Of all the ancient philosophers, Plato seems chiefly to have attracted his attention—a proof, by the way, that his proficiency in the classical languages was greater than that of the generality of our Scottish students; and the impression produced upon his mind by the works of this most eloquent and persuasive of all the sages of antiquity he often afterwards affectionately remembered.

After the usual course of study, Mr. Mill was licensed as a preacher in the Church of Scotland, and had fair hopes, both from patronage and his attainments, to occupy that most comfortable of situations—the situation of a Scottish country minister. But somehow it happened that even this was insufficient to allure him. It may be that his Platonism, and the peculiarity of some of his ideas both in theology and ethics, may have disinclined him to Calvin's *Institutes*; or he may have felt that his intellectual aptitudes required a different field of action than that of a secluded country minister. In his capacity of tutor to the family of Sir John Stuart he accompanied them to London in 1800; but instead of returning with them to Scotland, he resolved to devote himself to a literary life in the metropolis. London therefore became thenceforth his home, where he betook himself to authorship as a profession, and patiently endured all its precariousness, until his talents had secured for him that honourable and independent position to which he was so well entitled. The first writings of Mr. Mill in this character were such as to obtain admittance in the most distinguished periodicals of the day; and among these, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *British*, the *Eclectic*, and *Monthly Reviews*, may particularly be mentioned. He also edited for some time the *Literary Journal*, and was a frequent contributor to a periodical established by the Quakers called the *Philanthropist*.

All this labour, however, was but means to an end, for at an early period of his career Mr. Mill had devoted himself to the collection of materials for a history of British India; and while his researches for this most difficult but necessary undertaking were continued with unflinching perseverance, his other literary occupations were conducted as the means of present subsistence. It is amidst such pressure that intellectual activity is often best nerved for its greatest and most important task; and of the many distinguished productions by which the literature of every age is most impressed, the common wonder is, that the author, amidst his other avocations, should have found time to accomplish it. The history of British India was commenced in 1806, and published in the winter of 1817–18. At first it appeared in three volumes quarto, and afterwards in five volumes octavo; and the narrative, which is comprised in six books, commences with the first intercourse of our nation with India, and terminates with the conclusion of the Mahratta war in 1805.

Among the literary productions of the present day we have histories of India in abundance, while the labour of writing them, on account of the copious

supply of materials, has become a comparatively easy task. But far different was it when Mill commenced his celebrated work, and opened up the way for his talented successors. At that time nothing could be more vague than the commonly received ideas at home respecting our growing eastern empire, and the nations of which it was composed. Every sultan or rajah was thought to be a Xerxes or Giamshid, and every region was flooded with gold, which only waited the lifting, while an Englishman had nothing to do but to enter and sit down as undisputed possessor, amidst a crowd of worshipping and salaaming natives. To bring down these monarchs to their real dimensions, and these states to their native poverty—to show how starvation and taxes prevailed far more abundantly there than among ourselves—and, above all, to show how our East India Company, notwithstanding its crores and lacs of rupees, was continually hampered upon the beggarly financial question of “ways and means,” with bankruptcy in perspective,—all this was not only a difficult but a most ungracious task for the historian: he was the African magician, who filched from us our Aladdin's lamp by giving us a mere common one in exchange. When he passed from these popular delusions to the authenticated records, in order to construct a veritable history instead of an eastern romance, his materials were the most impracticable that can well be imagined—parliamentary speeches and documents; masses of examinations and trials; pamphlets for and against every form of Indian administration, mixed with political intrigues and warlike campaigns, to which the general current of history could afford no parallel. To wade through this seemingly boundless ocean—to reduce this chaos into form and order—was an attempt at which the most enthusiastic historian might well have paused. And then, too, the usual aids that might have helped to counterbalance such a difficulty were wanting in the case of Mr. Mill. It is true indeed that in England there were scores of adventurers who had spent years in India, and returned enriched with its spoils; but in most cases they knew as little of Hindoo character and the formation of our Indian empire as if they had remained at home: all they could tell was, that they had fought or traded under the banner of British supremacy, and found cent. per cent. accumulating in the enterprise. In the absence of better information than this, some personal knowledge was necessary, especially to the first recorder of our wonderful Anglo-Indian empire; but Mill had never been in India, and was little, if at all, acquainted with the languages of the East. All these obstacles it is necessary to take into account if we would understand the nature of that Herculean task which he undertook and accomplished. Under these difficulties he proposed:—

1. To describe the circumstances in which the intercourse of this nation with India commenced, and the particulars of its early progress, till the era when it could first be regarded as placed on a firm and durable basis.

2. To exhibit as accurate a view as possible of the people with whom our countrymen had then begun to transact; of their character, history, manners, religion, arts, literature, and laws, as well as the physical circumstances of climate, soil, and production in which they were placed.

3. To deduce to the present times a history of the British transactions in relation to India, &c.

The history of British India which Mr. Mill produced under these circumstances, and upon such a plan, in spite of subsequent histories written under more favourable auspices, will ever remain a distinguishing

monument of his high talents, research, and perseverance. Much of course had to be written that militated not only against national prejudices but individual interests; and therefore the work, at its first appearance, encountered no small amount of rancorous criticism. It was also faulty in point of style, being frequently marked by carelessness, and sometimes, though not often, disfigured by obscurity. But the immense body of information he had collected, the skill of its arrangement, and vigorous style in which it was embodied, made these defects of little account. On the one hand, the nature and character of the British proceedings in India, and especially the administrations of Hastings and Lord Wellesley, were given with clearness and dispassionate fairness; while on the other, the account of the condition and character of the Hindoos, and their state of civilization, was illustrated by an amount of learning and depth of investigation such as history has very seldom exhibited. The effects of his labours were soon apparent. Not only was a greater interest excited at home upon Indian affairs, of which the public had hitherto remained in contented ignorance; but more enlarged and practical views in the legislation, government, and political economy of India were suggested to our countrymen there, by whom our eastern empire was extended and consolidated.

While Mill had been thus generously devoting himself for years to a labour from which no adequate return, in the way of profit, could be expected; and while the expenses of a growing family were increasing upon him, his literary by-labours appear never to have yielded him above £300 per annum—a small amount for the support of a respectable household in the British capital, and small compared with what his talents and industry might have procured him had he consented to become a mere trader in literature. But his was a contentedness of mind that could be satisfied with little, as well as a dignity and independence that would not stoop to solicitation for either place or patronage. But he who could not seek was now to be sought. His *History of India* had well shown what he was worth; and the East India Company was not long in discovering that one so well acquainted with their interests could not be dispensed with. Accordingly, soon after the publication of his history (in 1819) he was appointed by the East India court of directors to the second situation in the examiner's office; and on the retirement of Mr. William McCulloch, he was raised to the place of chief examiner. His important duties, for which he was so thoroughly qualified, consisted in preparing the despatches and other state-papers connected with our Indian government, and to correspond with it in the management of the revenue; in fact, he might be considered as chief minister for Indian affairs to that most extensive and powerful of all senates, the East India Company.

Notwithstanding the onerous duties with which he was now invested, Mr. Mill did not throw aside his pen, or confine himself exclusively to his office. He wrote several valuable articles in the *Edinburgh Review* upon "Education" and "Jurisprudence," and was a frequent and distinguished contributor to the *Westminster* and *London Reviews*. Some of the best essays also which appeared in the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and were afterwards published in a separate form, were of his production, comprising the important subjects of "Government," "Education," "Jurisprudence," "Law of Nations," "Liberty of the Press," "Colonies," and "Prison Discipline." In 1821-2 he published his *Elements of Political Economy*, which professed to be nothing more than a handbook of that science; and in 1829

his *Analysis of the Human Mind*—a work on which he had bestowed long and careful reflection. These productions gave him a high standing both as a metaphysician and political economist, and added no trivial contribution to these growing and improving sciences in which there is still so much to be accomplished.

In this way the years of Mr. Mill were spent in a life of silent and unostentatious but honourable and useful industry; and while he enjoyed the intercourse of such leading minds as Bentham, Brougham, Romilly, Ricardo, and others of a similar stamp, his society was eagerly sought and highly relished by young men preparing for a public career in literature, who were enlightened by his experience, and charmed with his enthusiasm, as well as directed in their subsequent course by his watchful, affectionate superintendence. He thus lived not only in his own writings, which had a powerful influence upon the opinions of the day; but in the minds which he thus trained for the guidance of a succeeding generation. As the political opinions of such a man were of no trivial importance, we may add that he belonged to the Radical party, and adhered to its principles with uncompromising integrity at a time when they were least valued or regarded. It was a natural consequence of that love of Greek literature and philosophy which he retained to the end of his life. His last five years were spent at Kensington, where he died of consumption on the 23d of June, 1836, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, leaving behind him a widow and nine children, of whom five had attained to manhood.

MILL, WALTER. Of this heroic old martyr little is known beyond the noble adherence to religious truth which his death exhibited, and the impulse which it gave to the Reformation in Scotland. As on these accounts, however, he is too important a personage to be overlooked, we have collected and arranged the few fragments which remain of his personal history.

Walter Mill was probably born about the year 1476, but in what part of Scotland is uncertain. It was the darkest hour of Popery in his native country—but also the hour before the dawn. Having studied for the church and taken priest's orders, he was settled in the county of Forfar, where he was for several years a contented teacher of the religion of Rome; but it is probable that the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, and the dissemination of Protestant doctrines, compelled him to pause and inquire. In such a case, his growing lukewarmness to the requirements of his church at a period when its dangers were so ominously accumulating, may have roused the suspicion of his ecclesiastical superiors—or, it may be that, desirous of further enlightenment, he spontaneously repaired to the land which at that time was the great centre of religious inquiry. In the country of Luther, and under the instructions of the great teachers of the Reformation, his opinions became so confirmed, that he abandoned Popery, and on returning to Scotland he indicated the change by abandoning the priestly office and taking to himself a wife. But this was not all: desirous to communicate to others those truths which were too valuable to be withheld, he appears to have laboured as an evangelist of the Reformation both by preaching and private intercourse, moving in the meantime from place to place, partly to disseminate its doctrines more widely and partly to escape the pursuit of his persecutors. Such a life confirmed the Scottish prelates in their suspicion that he was a heretic; and after a long watch of his movements, he

was at last apprehended at Dysart, Fifeshire, in the year 1558, by Sir George Strachan and Sir Hugh Turrie, two priests, emissaries of John Hamilton, Bishop of St. Andrews and primate of Scotland, and lodged in safe custody in the castle of St. Andrews. Having thus secured the offender, their best policy was to obtain his recantation; and to obtain this, both promises and threats were held out. If he refused to abandon his pernicious tenets he was menaced with torture and death, while his recantation was to be rewarded with the comfortable portion of a monk for life in the abbey of Dunfermline. But Walter Mill was equally inaccessible to these alternatives, and nothing remained but to bring him to trial and punishment. For them, they must have felt it to be a fatal remedy, as every martyrdom had only spread abroad more widely the doctrines of the Reformation, and brought themselves into deeper hatred and contempt. Why had they disturbed him at all? Had they not better have left him alone? But the first steps had committed them to the whole process, and it was now too late to recede from it.

The trial was accompanied with sufficient pomp and circumstance, as if to make the guilt of the heretic more impressive; but it was thereby only the more regarded as an act of the church, and therefore a proof of its thorough and hopeless corruptedness. There were assembled as judges: the Bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Athens; the abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, Balmerino, and Cupar; the provost and principal officials of the university, and a number of friars Black and Gray. The meeting was held in the metropolitan church of St. Andrews on the 20th of April, and Walter Mill brought in to undergo his trial. For the purpose of being examined, his appointed place was the pulpit of the church; but the old man was so enfeebled with his load of years, his trials in wandering from place to place, and the sufferings he had undergone since his imprisonment, that he was unable to climb to the bar without support. It was also feared that his voice would be too weak to be heard; but to the confusion of his judges and the joy of the friends of the Reformation, his utterance was in such clear, trumpet-like tones, as rang and re-echoed through the large building. On entering the pulpit he knelt and prayed, but in this act of devotion he was rudely interrupted by Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishop's priests, who exclaimed, "Sir Walter Mill,¹ arise, and answer to the articles, for you hold my lords here over-long." The other, when he had finished his prayer, meekly answered, "We ought to obey God more than men. I serve one more mighty, even the omnipotent Lord; and whereas you call me Sir Walter, my name is Walter and not Sir Walter. I have been too long one of the pope's knights. Now, say what thou hast to say."

Oliphant now proceeded to the articles of accusation, and these with Mill's answers were as follows:—

"What think you of the marriage of priests?"

"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved it, and also made it free to all men. But you think it not free to yourselves; you abhor it; and in the meantime you take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the bond that God hath made. You vow chastity and break the vow. St. Paul would rather marry than burn, the which I have done; for God never forbade marriage to any man whatever might be his state or degree."

"You say there are not seven sacraments."

"Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest and divide them among you; for if there be seven, why have you rejected one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?"

"You are against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and you assert that the mass is wrong and is idolatry."

"A lord or a king sendeth, and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord turning his back upon them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them:—so do ye."

"You deny the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ, really in flesh and blood."

"The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally but spiritually, and standeth in faith only. And as for the mass, it is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice."

"You deny the office of a bishop."

"I affirm that those whom ye call bishops do no bishop's works, nor use the offices of bishops as Paul commandeth (writing to Timothy); but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called 'my lords.'"

"You spake against pilgrimage, and called it a pilgrimage to whoredom."

"I affirm that, and say, it is not commanded in Scripture; and that there is no greater whoredom in any places than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels."

"You preached secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

"Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship."

"Will you not recant your erroneous opinions? For if you will not, I will pronounce sentence against you."

"I am upon a charge of life and death; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, '*Quod facis, fac cito.*' Ye shall know that I will not recant from the truth, for I am corn, I am not chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both."

Such were the principal charges against Walter Mill, to which other and more trivial matters were added, to aggravate his guilt and justify his condemnation. Already, however, he had spoken enough to satisfy the most merciless inquisitors. He had denounced clerical celibacy with severe but honest warmth, and their ears must have tingled at the justice of his words. He had denied the seven sacraments, the real presence in the eucharist, the office of a bishop as then held and exercised, the efficacy of pilgrimages—the principal doctrines into which the popular theology of Scotland had now shrivelled as a preparative for its extinction—and boldly avowed his readiness to die for the testimony he had delivered. Nothing remained but to pass sentence upon him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge to be burned as a heretic, and this doom was accordingly pronounced by Sir Andrew Oliphant, who had conducted the accusation. But on this occasion the ghostly judges were sadly at fault, for the secular means of the heretic's punishment were found wanting. Patrick Learmont, the provost of St. Andrews and steward of the bishop's regality, to whom the office of temporal judge belonged, refused to have any share in the proceedings; the whole town were indignant and cried out against the sentence; and the bishop's servants could not get

¹ The title of knighthood was at this time bestowed upon the secular priests in Scotland, as also that of Mass or Mess (French, *Messire*), which last was sometimes continued to the parish minister long after the abrogation of Popery.

for money either a cord to bind the culprit to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him. At last the necessary apparatus was somehow obtained, and a servant of the bishop who was appointed temporal judge for the occasion, and accompanied by a band of armed men, conducted Walter Mill to the stake.

On being brought to the place of punishment, the venerable martyr did not belie the courage he had shown upon his trial. On the contrary, his boldness appeared so much increased, that the assembled people thought it miraculous, and that it must be a holy cause for which he was so willing to suffer. On Oliphant bidding him go up to the stake, Mill replied, "Nay, but if thou wilt put me up with thy hand, and take part in my death, thou shalt see me pass gladly; for by the law of God I am forbid to lay hand on myself." His desire being complied with, he ascended triumphantly to the stake, uttering the words of the psalmist, *Introibo ad altare Dei*. He then expressed his desire to address the people; but this was angrily refused by those engaged in the execution, who declared that he had spoken too much already, and that the bishops were offended with the delay that had occurred. But the young men present taking part in the question, expressed themselves so fiercely against the prelates and the prohibition, that Mill's desire could not be otherwise than granted; on which, after kneeling and uttering a short prayer, he stood upright upon the coals, and thus addressed the bystanders: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God), but only for defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testament to us; for which, as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured after the death of their bodies of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life, which, as I have received it of him, so I willingly offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the set of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation." After this short and simple speech, which was received by his auditory with sorrow and loud lamenting, fire was set to the fuel, while among the flames his voice continued to be heard exclaiming, "Lord, have mercy upon me! pray, people, while there is time!" and thus he expired.

Nothing could more effectually show the infatuation of the Scottish priesthood than subjecting Walter Mill to martyrdom. It was the extinction of one old, worn-out man, who in the course of nature would have passed away in a few months, perhaps in a few days, to the place where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. But in their impatience to anticipate such a conclusion, they committed an act of gratuitous cruelty, that consigned them to infamy and their cause to destruction. The Protestant spirit that as yet only lurked in St. Andrews, seemed to kindle and leap up in a blaze from the flame of the old martyr's pile; and in testimony of their abhorrence of his death the townfolks raised a heap of stones, like a cairn, upon the place of his execution. This was a monument most displeasing to the bishop and his coadjutors, who removed the stones, and threatened with excommunication any who should replace them; but as fast as it disappeared it was renewed, so that no remedy remained for the priests and Papists but to carry away the materials in the night, and use them for building. But these were trivial indications compared with

those that followed. On entering St. Andrews in the ensuing year, John Knox was welcomed by its citizens as a veritable national reformer; and in the destructive but necessary storm with which his career was accompanied—the demolition of monasteries and the purification of churches—the images of the great church of the abbey of St. Andrews, which surpassed those of other churches both in number and costliness, were swept from their shrines, and destroyed by fire on the spot where Mill had suffered. The death of Walter Mill also was the last destructive effort of Popery, as no one afterwards was executed in Scotland for holding the principles of the Reformation.

MILLAR, JOHN, professor of law in the university of Glasgow, and author of the *Historical View of the English Government*, was born on the 22d of June, 1735, in the parish of Shotts, of which his father, the Rev. Mr. James Millar, was minister. Two years after his birth, his father was translated to Hamilton, and he was himself placed under the charge of his uncle, Mr. John Millar of Milhaugh, in the neighbouring parish of Blantyre, where he spent almost all his early years. Having been taught to read by his uncle, he was placed in 1742 at the school of Hamilton, in order to be instructed in Latin and Greek. In 1746, being designed for the church, he went to Glasgow College, where he distinguished himself as an attentive and intelligent student. He had the advantage of the society of Dr. Cullen (then professor of chemistry at Glasgow), to whose wife he was related, and of the acquaintance of other persons distinguished by their intelligence. He was particularly fortunate in obtaining the friendship of Dr. Adam Smith, whose lectures and conversation first directed his attention to the particular line of research in which he afterwards became so eminent. As his mind expanded he found that the clerical profession was not agreeable to his tastes or faculties, and he accordingly adopted the resolution of studying for the Scottish bar. About the time when his college studies were finished he became preceptor to the eldest son of Lord Kames, in whose society he spent two years, during which he formed an intimacy with David Hume and other eminent persons. "It seldom happens," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "that we can trace the genealogy of a literary progeny so correctly as the two circumstances which have now been mentioned enable us to do that of Mr. Millar's future studies. It is perfectly evident to all who are acquainted with their writings, that his speculations are all formed upon the model of those of Lord Kames and Dr. Smith; and that his merit consists almost entirely in the accuracy with which he surveyed, and the sagacity with which he pursued, the path which they had the merit of discovering. It was one great object of those original authors to trace back the history of society to its most simple and universal elements; to resolve almost all that has been ascribed to positive institution to the spontaneous and irresistible development of certain obvious principles; and to show with how little contrivance or political wisdom the most complicated and apparently artificial schemes of policy might have been erected. This is very nearly the precise definition of what Mr. Millar aimed at accomplishing in his lectures and his publications; and when we find that he attended the lectures of Dr. Smith, and lived in the family of Lord Kames, we cannot hesitate to ascribe the bent of his genius, and the peculiar tenor of his speculations, to the impressions he must have received from those early occurrences."

Mr. Millar was called to the bar in 1760, and was soon looked upon as one of the individuals likely to rise to eminence in his profession; but having married at this early stage of his career, and finding it improbable that his labours at the bar would for some years be adequate to his support, he was tempted by an opportune vacancy in the chair of civil law in Glasgow College, to apply for that comparatively obscure situation. Having been successful in his object (1761), he applied himself with all the ardour of an uncommonly active and sanguine temperament to the improvement of the class. Here- tofore the professorship of civil law at Glasgow had been in a great measure useless to the community. The students were seldom more than four in number, and sometimes even less. The late professor, however, had broken through the established usage of lecturing in Latin, and Mr. Millar not only persevered in the same popular course, but adopted other means calculated to attract a larger audience. Instead of writing his lectures—a practice which generally induces the professor to adhere to one train of ideas, and resist the introduction of all progressive improvements—he delivered them extempore, and thus not only took a prompt advantage of every new view that arose in the progress of his science, but enabled himself to introduce familiar and lively illustrations, which were calculated to excite and keep alive the attention of his students to an uncommon degree. Discarding the old academical pomp, he reduced himself to a level with his hearers; he talked to them, and carefully observed that they understood all that he said, and acceded to all his propositions. “His manner,” says the *Edinburgh Review*,¹ “was familiar and animated, approaching more nearly to gaiety than enthusiasm; and the facts which he had to state, or the elementary positions he had to lay down, were given in the simple, clear, and unembarrassed diction, in which a well-bred man would tell a story or deliver an opinion in society. All objections that occurred were stated in a forcible, clear, and lively manner; and the answers, which were often thrown into a kind of dramatic form, were delivered with all the simplicity, vivacity, and easy phraseology of good conversation. His illustrations were always familiar, and often amusing; and while nothing could be more forcible or conclusive than the reasonings which he employed, the tone and style in which they were delivered gave them an easy and attractive air, and imparted to a profound and learned discussion the charms of an animated and interesting conversation. No individual, indeed, ever did more to break down the old and unfortunate distinction between the wisdom of the academician and the wisdom of the man of the world: and as most of the topics which fell under his discussion were of a kind that did not lose their interest beyond the walls of a college, so the views which he took of them, and the language in which they were conveyed, were completely adapted to the actual condition of society; and prepared those to whom they had been made familiar, to maintain and express them with precision, without running the least risk of an imputation of pedantry or ignorance.

“It will be admitted to have required no ordinary share of intrepidity and confidence in the substantial merits of his instructions, to have enabled a professor thus to lay aside the shield of academical stateliness, and not only expose his thoughts in the undress of extemporaneous expression, but to exhibit them, without any of the advantages of imposing or autho-

ritative pretences, on the fair level of equal discussion, and with no other recommendations but those of superior expediency or reason.” He carried his system, however, even to a more hazardous extreme: at the conclusion of every lecture he invited his students to gather around him, and in easy conversation to discuss the principles he had been expounding. It has been justly remarked, that no teacher who did not possess an unusually minute and extensive knowledge of his subject could have ventured upon such a practice; which, however, in his case, was attended with the best effects upon his pupils. Such altogether was the success which attended his prelections, that the class was speedily increased to about forty, and the professor in the Edinburgh College, after seeing his students proportionally diminished, was obliged to abandon the practice of lecturing in Latin, in which he had persevered till Mr. Millar’s reputation as an effective lecturer was completely established.

During the whole time of his connection with Glasgow College, Mr. Millar was a zealous and active member of the Literary Society, a club chiefly formed of the professors, and whose practice it was to meet weekly, and after hearing an essay read by some member in rotation, to discuss the views which it advanced. The tenor of Mr. Millar’s life was little marked by events. He spent his time between the college and a small farm called Whitemoss (near Kilbride), which he took great pleasure in improving. Excepting, indeed, two visits to the metropolis, in 1774 and 1792, and the publication of his two books, there is hardly any incident to which we find our notice particularly called.

Amongst his lectures on jurisprudence, those which referred to the subject of government were remarked to possess an unusual interest. In these he delivered a theoretical history of the progress of society, through the various stages of savage, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial life; with a view of the institutions and changes which would naturally be suggested in their political and domestic habits by their successive transformation; illustrating his remarks by an historical review of all the ancient governments, and more particularly by that of Great Britain. The interest which he found they excited, induced him, in 1771, to publish a short treatise on the subject, which was favourably received. Even to cursory readers it was calculated to afford amusement by the various views of human nature which it exhibited, and by the singularity of many of the traits of manners, as well as of national characters and institutions, which it traced to their sources. Some years afterwards Mr. Millar was induced, by the prevalence of what he conceived to be erroneous ideas respecting the origin of the English government, to expand his views on that subject with a view to publication. After a careful preparation, he published in 1787, his *Historical View of the English Government, from the Settlement of the Saxons in Britain to the Accession of the House of Stewart*. By subsequent labour Mr. Millar intended to bring down the history to his own time, but he only completed it to the Revolution; and a new and posthumous edition in 1803, in four volumes 8vo, comprised that period. As a writer Mr. Millar retained little of that vivacity and fertility of illustration which gave such a charm to his extemporaneous lectures. The style of his compositions is nevertheless forcible and distinct. His *Historical View*, containing much inquiry into the remote periods of our government, and many distinctions which it requires some effort of attention fully to understand, could not be of a very popular nature; but it has been justly appreciated by those who were fitted by

¹ The article we are now quoting was probably the composition of Mr. Jeffrey, who, if we are not mistaken, was a pupil of Mr. Millar.

their habits and previous studies to take an interest in such researches; and, considering the nature of the subjects of which it treats, its having gone through three editions is no slight proof of public approbation.

"The distinguishing feature of Mr. Millar's intellect," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "was the great clearness and accuracy of his apprehension, and the singular sagacity with which he seized upon the true statement of a question, and disentangled the point in dispute from the mass of sophisticated argument in which it was frequently involved. His great delight was to simplify an intricate question, and to reduce a perplexed and elaborate system of argument to a few plain problems of common sense. . . . To form a sound judgment upon all points of substantial importance appeared to him to require little more than the free and independent use of that vulgar sense on which no man is entitled to value himself; and he was apt to look with sufficient contempt upon the elaborate and ingenious errors into which philosophers are so apt to reason themselves. To bring down the dignity of such false science, and to expose the emptiness of ostentations and pedantic reasoners, was therefore one of his favourite employments. He had, indeed, no prejudices of veneration in his nature; his respect was reserved for those who had either made discoveries of practical ability, or combined into a system the scattered truths of speculation." For the remainder of a very elaborate estimate of the genius of Professor Millar, we must refer those who take an unusual interest in the subject to the *Review* itself.¹ We may only mention, what every one will have anticipated from the preceding extract, that Mr. Millar was of Whig politics, bordering on republicanism, and that his sentiments had considerable influence with his pupils, some of whom, as Lord Jeffrey, Lord Chief-commissioner Adam, of the jury court, and the Earl of Lauderdale, were distinguished on that side of the great political question which so long divided public opinion in this country.

In his private character Mr. Millar was extremely amiable. His conversation was cheerful, unaffected, and uncommonly agreeable. His countenance was very animated and expressive; his stature about the middle size; his person strong, active, and athletic, rather than elegant. Though devoted chiefly to metaphysical inquiries, he was extensively acquainted with the natural sciences, with history, with the belles-lettres, and indeed almost all branches of human learning. He retained good health till the end of the year 1790, when he was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory complaint, from which he recovered to a certain extent; but a year and a half after, having exposed himself to cold, he was seized with pleurisy, by which he was carried off, May 30, 1801. Professor Millar left four sons and six daughters. A full memoir of his life was written by his nephew, Mr. John Craig, and prefixed to a fourth edition of his *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, published in 1808.

MILLER, HUGH. This was one of those self-educated men who, without the advantages of birth, fortune, or opportunities, and solely by the force of his own talents and perseverance, attained a distinction in the walks of science and literature which placed him among the most eminent of his day. Hugh Miller was born in the obscure town of Cromarty, somewhere in the year 1802. For many generations his progenitors had been seafaring men, and

one of them—John Feddes, his great-grandfather—as yet the most distinguished of the line so far as his descendant could ascertain, had been a buccanier on the Spanish main. The father of Hugh Miller was master of a sloop that traded from Cromarty, and was reckoned the best sailor who ever sailed the Moray Frith. But it was there also that he was to perish with his vessel 'by shipwreck in 1807. Thus the son was left fatherless when only five years old, and unable to realize the calamity, he was wont day after day, from a hillock behind his mother's house that commanded a view of the coast, to watch for the return of his father's vessel. It was fortunate that he had two uncles, the one a working harness-maker, and the other a retired sailor of the navy, both of them intelligent, hard-headed, and warm-hearted men, whose conversation, suited to his capacity, was of itself one of the best of intellectual trainings. In other respects his education had been as unpromising as that of the ordinary run of children. Before his father died he had been sent to a private school kept by a dame, who appears to have received pupils chiefly to keep them out of harm's way—and from a sense of duty, and under the guidance of her instructions and *tawse*, he learned the alphabet, and contrived to struggle through the Shorter Catechism, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the New Testament, and at last to reach the Bible class, which was the highest of all. The difficulty which impeded his progress in learning to read even already indicated his intellectual superiority: he could not tolerate this mechanical process of cramming without learning its use, and knowing whither it tended; while such utilitarian questions an ordinary country schoolmaster of the day was either unable clearly to answer, or to resent as rebellion. No sooner, however, did Hugh discover for himself that the alphabet was the key to printed stories, than his unwillingness fled, and he soon became a fluent reader. He dashed into the literature of boys with more than boyish enthusiasm, and went on in a pursuit of knowledge that was independent of schools and colleges. After he had been twelve months under his preceptor he was transferred to the parish school of Cromarty, and in due time introduced to the study of Latin; but the *Rudiments* appeared to him the dullest and most meaningless of all books, and in Latin itself he could see no such stories as were to be found in the English tongue. His progress was not improved by his removal to a subscription school; the frequent change of teachers which it underwent afforded our young pupil ample leisure to wander along the coast of Cromarty and explore its caves; and in this natural school of scientific knowledge, the lessons of which he was so well fitted to appreciate, he mastered the principles of natural history, and was inspired with the power of poetical description. It was evident that parish schools and subscription schools, however useful for others, were not suited to him, and his connection with all such institutions was abruptly terminated. In the dame's seminary he had been taught to read in the old Scottish fashion, but the fourth teacher who succeeded to the subscription school would make Hugh Miller pronounce the letters and divide the syllables according to the most approved style of modern English reading. At length, for his refusal to divide a word of two syllables, which Hugh deemed a cruel and unnatural dismemberment, the presiding Solomon once and again struck him across the ears with his tawse. This was more than the descendant of the buccanier could brook, and a regular fight between the pair was the consequence, at the close of which he took

¹ Vol. iii. p. 138.

down his cap from the pin, and left the school for ever.

The future occupation of Hugh Miller was now the question, and this he decided by resolving to become a stone-mason. His uncles were both astonished and grieved at his choice. His previous education they had regarded as a preparation for something higher; and although their own means were nothing better than those of common workmen, they offered to assist him at college, until he had qualified himself for one of the learned professions. But he felt in himself no particular vocation either for law or medicine, and was too conscientious to adopt the office of the ministry without a call to the sacred work. Nor had his adoption of such a lowly and laborious calling as that of a mason been without a view to his future studies; for by quarrying among stones he could best pursue his researches in geology, while during the long winter holidays in which his work must be laid aside he could devote himself to the perusal of the best English authors. Having persuaded his uncles to accede to his views, he at the age of seventeen bound himself apprentice to a mason for three years; and as in the country the work of a quarryman was combined with that of a mason, his first employment was in the quarries. It was there that the toil of excavation was to him the opening of a sealed book, in which the secrets of natural science were revealed; and having already studied its alphabet, he was able to read the writing which to others presented only a confused mass of lines. That quarry was an upper bed of the lower old red sandstone, and among its ancient strata he soon detected the same phenomena he had witnessed on the sea-beach when it was laid bare by the ebb-tides. Thus was his lowly occupation already rewarding him—that serf-like doom from which so many shrink abhorrent; and thus justly he could afterwards exclaim of it, “Noble, upright, self-relying toil! who that knows thy solid worth and value would be ashamed of thy hard hands, and thy soiled vestments, and thy obscure tasks—thy humble cottage, and hard couch, and homely fare! Save for thee and thy lessons, man in society would everywhere sink into a sad compound of the fiend and the wild beast; and this fallen world would be as certainly a moral as a natural wilderness.”

Bravely, however, as the young quarryman confronted his daily toil, and richly as his devotedness was rewarded, he found certain penalties attached to his obedience that might have driven the less courageous from the field. So much bodily labour combined with such earnest study was too much for a slim, loosely-knit young lad only seventeen years old, and under such a double avocation it was no wonder that he was often exhausted by weariness and pain. A more formidable symptom was the effect produced upon his mind, so that under these visitations he was subject to such fits of absence that he sometimes walked about or worked like a somnambulist. In these moods he plied his tools so unconsciously, that during the first few months of his apprenticeship he lost seven of his finger-nails by the blows of his mallet. And then also temptation came in the form most congenial to the overwrought and dispirited labourer: he began to regard the contents of the dram-shop as the most effectual of all remedies, and found that his bewilderment could be dissipated and his spirits cheered by the influence of usquebaugh. It was a fearful precipice on which he stood, but where he also was arrested before it was too late. He had joined his companions in drinking a “royal founding pint,” but felt on returning home, and opening the pages of a fa-

vourite author, that the letters danced before his eyes, and that he could no longer master the sense. Warned of his danger and disgusted at the cause, he resolved never more to debase his intellect by such a contemptible indulgence, and this resolution he kept to the end of his life.

On finishing his apprenticeship, the work of a mason having fallen into little demand in his own district, Hugh Miller went to Edinburgh in quest of occupation. He had just attained his majority and won the character of a superior workman, so that he easily found an engagement at Niddry. But his superior intelligence and acquisitions were no sooner discovered by his fellow-labourers, than the recognition was followed with suspicion and envy. He was therefore obliged to live among them “a man forbid,” and console himself for the want of their society with his own thoughts. His visits also to Edinburgh were frequent, and although he had no acquaintance with any of its distinguished literati except Dr. McCrie, his silent observations of the metropolis and its society was a fresh volume of knowledge such as he had not been able to find at Cromarty. After working two years at Niddry, the disease of stone-masons, occasioned by the involuntary inhalation of fine gritty dust while chipping the stones, and under which, notwithstanding their active out-of-door work, they are proverbially a short-lived class, began to attack Hugh Miller, so that a temporary relaxation was necessary, for which purpose he returned to his native town; but several months elapsed before he fully recovered. He then began to execute sculptured tablets and tombstones in Cromarty and its neighbourhood, a task for which his skill as a workman and perceptions of the beautiful admirably qualified him; but the sphere of occupation was too limited to make such employment either profitable or permanent. He therefore removed to the more important town of Inverness, where his skill as a stone-cutter was speedily recognized, and he soon found ample employment. But already his ambition aimed at something higher than being a first-rate carver of tablets. He would also be an author—and as is frequently the case, his first attempt was to be in poetry. He had brought with him to Inverness a bundle of poetical manuscripts, and endeavoured to obtain admission for some of them in a local newspaper; but their rejection by the editor so wrought upon his pride that he resolved to prove himself a veritable poet by letting the whole world read and judge. He accordingly issued from the press *Poems by a Journeyman Stone-mason*, and then sat down to await the verdict. But that at the best was little better than a “Not proven.” Some in the stereotyped phraseology of newspaper criticism dismissed him as “a young man of genius,” while others advised him to throw aside the pen and stick to his chisel. By this experiment he had not discovered where his real strength lay, and all that he had sung in verse he could better have said in prose. This publication, however, was not wholly useless, for it brought him into contact with the talented editor of the *Inverness Courier*, the result of which was a series of papers which Miller contributed to that journal. The subject was sufficiently unambitious, for it was the herring-fishery, but never upon such a humble theme was the true spirit of poetical description so embodied in prose as upon this occasion: it threw its alluring sunshine alike over the occupation and its objects, that made the readers marvel how so much could be said upon such an unpromising subject as catching herrings. The papers were reprinted from the *Inverness Courier*, and it was now acknowledged that their author had the true

spirit of the poet within him. "The Cromarty poet" became the title with which he was recognized by strangers, and in the humble streets of Inverness he was regarded as a great literary celebrity. Acquaintances who were willing to waive all distinctions of rank in behalf of so talented a stone-mason, drew towards him, the chief of whom were Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, and Dr. Baird, principal of the university of Edinburgh. But the best and most influential of all these arrivals was that of a young lady, not only of considerable talents but also of personal attractions, and this acquaintanceship, commenced in literary and scientific pursuits, quickly ripened into the most sentimental of all attachments, so that Miss Lydia Fraser, as soon as her admirer was in a position to marry, became Mrs. Miller.

Soon after the publication of his volume of poems, a branch of the Commercial Bank was opened in Cromarty, and the office of its accountant being offered to him by the agent, he after some hesitation accepted it. The transition from stone-mason to banker was, however, so abrupt, that it could not be made in a day; and to learn the necessary duties of the office he spent two months in one of the branches of the Commercial Bank at Linlithgow. Having learned the preliminary lessons of his new profession, he returned to Cromarty, and became accountant to its bank. During his first year of office he published his *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*. In the following year he married Miss Lydia Fraser. Finding in consequence of this union that his salary of £100 per annum was not so sufficient as he once thought it, he now began to write at his leisure hours for the periodicals to eke out his scanty income, his first attempt in this way being contributions to *Wilson's Tales of the Borders*, which were reckoned the best of the collection. Finding that this serial yielded scanty remuneration, he next offered his services to *Chambers's Journal*, in which he was employed two years upon more liberal terms. Besides these literary occupations, he entered into the squabbles of local and civic politics, especially in defence of his minister, the Rev. Mr. Stewart, and having written some sharp squibs he was rebuked, but very gently, by the authorities of the Commercial Bank, for having compromised their establishment by becoming a political partisan. On account of holding the respectable position of banker, it was natural that Hugh Miller should be elected a member of the town-council of Cromarty; but this distinction he seems to have estimated at its real worth and no more. At one of the meetings of council which he attended, the only serious business was the clubbing of the members to pay a penny each to defray a ninepenny postage, in consequence of the utter destitution of the town-funds.

After having been fifteen years a stone-mason, and about six years a bank-accountant, his talents were to remove him into a higher and more congenial sphere. The non-intrusion question was in agitation, which finally ended in what is termed the Disruption, that rent the national church in twain, and to few the controversy could have greater interest than to Hugh Miller. His knowledge of the ecclesiastical principles and history of the Church of Scotland was greater than that of most men, and his convictions were wholly on the side of the non-intrusionists. Anxiously therefore did he watch every step of the struggle, first in the Court of Session, and afterwards in the imperial parliament. At last, when the decision was given in the House of Lords, Hugh Miller felt that it was time for him to be up and doing; and after a night of sleepless anxiety he composed his memorable pamphlet entitled *A Letter*

from one of the Scotch People to the Right Hon. Lord Brougham. Its conclusive arguments, addressed in that rich and vigorous style of language of which he was now showing himself so complete a master, astonished the leading statesmen of the day, and even compelled the unconvinced to express their admiration. Another pamphlet upon the same topic, and addressed to the public at large, followed, entitled *The Whiggism of the Old School*. His controversial ardour, hitherto so little gratified, had found its proper field; he wrote with all his heart, and therefore with all his might; and men wondered what new and formidable champion had entered so unexpectedly into the field. These tracts were to influence not only the tide of conflict, but of his own fortunes also. The leaders of the non-intrusion party had long seen the necessity of having an organ of their own, in which their cause should be rightly stated and its demands vindicated; but although there was money enough and zeal enough to establish such a newspaper, the difficulty was to find an editor competent for the work. But the appearance of Hugh Miller's pamphlets at once solved the difficulty, and on reading even the first of them, the exclamation followed, "Here is an editor for our *Witness*!" A letter from the chief non-intrusionists was sent to Cromarty, inviting the bank-clerk to meet them in Edinburgh, with which Miller complied, and in the manse of Libberton he accepted the offered editorship, and made arrangements for commencing its duties. Thus he who shrank from the responsibilities of the clerical office, became the constituted advocate and champion of the church in the hour of its difficulty and trial; and there he soon showed himself to be the right man in the right place. His literary and scientific attainments were certain to command respect and procure for him a favourable hearing. His acquaintance with the whole subject at issue was so complete that he could scarcely be taken at unawares. His whole heart was so enlisted in the cause, that those tasks which would have been a very weariness to the hireling journalist, were to him only labours of love, and the charm of his daily life. And what though his adversaries were numerous and strong, and their attacks both fierce and incessant? To him this was only the joy of strife, in which he could return every blow with interest, and hold his own against every comer. Thus equipped at all points, Hugh Miller, on the 15th of January, 1840, commenced his editorial duties, by issuing the first number of the *Witness* newspaper.

Of this remarkable bi-weekly paper we are not called to give the history. It is enough to say that while the petitions of the non-intrusionists to parliament up to the year 1839 bore not more than from 4000 to 5000 signatures from the city of Edinburgh, in 1840, the first year of the *Witness*, they had risen to 13,000 signatures, or more than double their former amount. While the journal was thus successfully discharging its commission, and recommending the subject of non-intrusion to popular interest, it did not confine itself exclusively to ecclesiastical subjects, or sink into that despicable dull thing called a religious newspaper. On the contrary, its many-sided editor dealt largely in articles of criticism, where the subjects of science, literature, and the fine arts were amply discussed, each of them also manifesting a master hand. It was in this way too that he gave in the form of leading articles those imperishable works which he afterwards republished in collected volumes. The earliest of these were his series of papers on the "Old Red Sandstone," which appeared in the *Witness* during the first year of its existence, roused the attention of the scientific world,

and afterwards in a separate form obtained a world-wide reputation. His subsequent publications, the *First Impressions of England and its People*, *Foot-prints of the Creator*, in answer to the *Vestiges of Creation*, and *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, a delightful autobiography of his intellectual training and life, are too well known to require further notice.

As the conflict preceding the Disruption continued to deepen in intensity, the editorial toils of Miller continued to multiply, and required an amount of care, wakefulness, and industry, such as ordinary workmen in whatever department would not desire to encounter. But while indulging his devotedness to science, his chief services were tasked in the religious cause which he had so much at heart, and for which his labours were chiefly in demand. Thus he continued until the memorable year 1843, when the crisis occurred, and the Disruption became an established fact. It was with a sigh of relief that he welcomed this close of a long protracted and harassing uncertainty, and he thus expressed his feelings in the next leading article of the *Witness*: "The Free and Residuary Assemblies have closed their sittings—the over-strung mind of the Scottish public demands its interval of rest; and thrilling excitement and incessant labour give place, for a brief period, to a comparative quiescence and repose. For our own part, for at least a few months to come, we shall see the sun rise less frequently than we have done of late, and miss oftener the earliest chirp of the birds that welcome the first gray of morning from among the old trees of Heriot's and the Meadows. The chapter added to the history of the Church of Scotland has just been completed—the concluding page presents the usual blank interval; and we feel inclined to lay down the volume for a space, and ponder over its contents." But that pondering over the past gave rise in the mind of the editor to dismal apprehensions of the future, to which he gave utterance in these impressive words:—"How very brief a period has elapsed since the government of this country could have settled at small expense the church question! and how entirely has it passed beyond the reach of human adjustment now! In disestablishing the religion of Scotland, there has been a breach made in the very foundations of national security which can never be adequately filled up. The yawning chasm is crowded with phantoms of terror; there are the forms of an infidel Erastianism in front, and surplises, crosses, and triple crowns in the rear; while deep from the darkness comes a voice, as of many waters, the roar of infuriated multitudes broken loose from religion, and thirsting for blood. May God avert the omen! That man must have studied to but little purpose the events of the last twelve days who does not see that there is a guiding hand ordering and regulating all. The pawns of this great game do not move of themselves;—the adorable Being who has 'foreordained whatsoever cometh to pass' is working out his own designs in his own way;—the usurpations of the civil magistrates—the treachery of unfaithful ministers—the errors and mistakes of blind-hearted and incompetent statesmen—all tend to accomplish his decrees; and it would be well, surely, since in one way or other all must forward his purposes, to be made to forward them rather as his fellow-workers than as his blind insensible tools. Let the disestablished church take courage—there is a time of severe conflict before her, but the result of the battle is certain." Such were the views of the wisest upon the great event of their day: it transcended all that had been previously done, and was to form the pivot upon which the fate of Scotland was ultimately to revolve.

But we need not advert to the mellowing effect of years in abating all such anticipations, and reducing events to their due proportion. That which appears to the living generation as the great epic of all time, a few years suffice to convert into an episode.

In the meantime the history of the *Witness* since its commencement had been the history of Hugh Miller himself, as it was the impersonation of his thoughts, his utterances, and his deeds. A journal so pervaded, and by such a commanding intellect, could be of no ordinary merit, and scarcely had it more than started into existence than it secured its place as an authoritative leader of public opinion, and was esteemed one of the ablest and best of our Scottish newspapers. Deeply beneath the surface of society it quarried into the religious and moral evils of the day, making wild havoc alike of these and their perpetrators, so that its editor was as greatly feared and dreaded by the Moderate party in the church, as he was beloved by their opponents. But if his zeal was occasionally blamed as merciless, no one could question its impartiality, and he was as ready to oppose the failings and shortcomings of his own party, as the faults of its adversaries. To maintain the purity of the *Witness* he would not submit it to the dictation of either assembly, presbytery, or oligarchic clique, whether lay or clerical, and to secure its independence he became himself its principal proprietor. In the same high spirit he refused those generous offers by which his liberty of opinion might have been restrained in its utterance, even though they were tendered by his best friends. The money originally invested in the *Witness*, was kindly offered to him through Dr. Chalmers, as an acknowledgment of his valuable services to the Free Church, but firmly declined by the editor. Afterwards, when a party of rich and influential Free-churchmen offered to bestow upon him a mansion, as a testimonial, this also he declined. "I know," he said, "that as the defender of Free Church principles, my intentions have been pure and loyal, but I am not quite sure I have always been successful in doing the right thing, nor have I done anything that is worthy of such consideration from my friends. I believe my way is to make yet." His high literary and scientific fame, and the services his works had rendered to religion at large, made him worthy of some reward, irrespective of church or party; and he was offered a government appointment through the Marquis of Breadalbane. The office, like that held by the poet Wordsworth, was so light, that its duties were little more than nominal, while its salary was a comfortable independence of £800 per annum. This the most tempting offer of all, which pledged him to no new opinions, which came to him in the character of a national honour, and would free him from the heaviest duties of journalism that were becoming too much for him, compelled him to pause and ask a few minutes for consideration. In these few minutes his decision was adopted, and his answer was, "I have made up my mind to refuse. I find my memory not now so good as it was formerly. I forget things I was wont to remember with ease. I am not clear in such circumstances about taking upon me any money responsibility." Having thus decided, no arguments of his friends could persuade him to alter his resolution.

With the commencement of the new Free Church, and the regular progress of its operations, the editorial cares of Hugh Miller had not ended, and the *Witness*, when not employed upon some religious or educational question of the day, teemed with literary dissertations and discussions, that showed the amplitude of his knowledge in every depart-

ment, and the vigour with which he could apply it. Still more abundant were those chapters on science which appeared in a serial form, and were finally republished under the titles we have already mentioned. It was while thus employed that he added to his other cares those of a public lecturer, which he commenced in 1852, and which he continued gratuitously until near the close of his well-spent life. His desire was to popularize science among the working-classes, and make it subservient to the illustration of religious truth; and for this purpose he chose for his principal theme his favourite subject of geology, on which he drew out a series of lectures, afterwards embodied in his *Testimony of the Rocks*. Although so eloquent a writer, and almost equally remarkable by the readiness, eloquence, and correctness of his conversational powers, Hugh Miller was not a practised orator. He had not the versatility and ease of the rostrum, and his commencement was too late in life to acquire them. But, on the other hand, his intellectual superiority was so apparent, and his themes acquired such a new interest from his powers of simplification and illustration, that the absence of the mere graces of rhetoric were dispensed with, and delighted audiences hung upon the charm of his words. Thus it was in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, where, in spite of his deficiencies, he was hailed as a lecturer of superior excellence by admiring crowds. It was the triumph of naked unassisted genius over histrionic pomp and ornament. But amidst this expansion of his fame, the canker-worm that had long slumbered at the root was awakened into deadly activity. It was not merely that his memory was failing, as he had himself acknowledged—that was an event which was certain sooner or later to happen with one who had written so much and upon such a variety of subjects. But even in childhood he had been an enthusiast, and his constitutional enthusiasm had been of that unhealthy kind which sees ghosts, and devoutly believes in omens and prodigies. His entrance into the world of reality, and commencement of the stern battle of life, had been sufficient to exorcise these phantoms, and had his career been more peaceful they might have fled for ever; but the path he had chosen was such as to welcome their return, and prepare a swept and garnished home for their reception. Little did the public guess when the conflict seemed at an end and the victory won—when he walked among them one of the most honoured and distinguished of the day—when his shaggy head was still brown, and his athletic strength in the prime of manhood, that the stalwart intellectual stone-mason, whose gray plaid and russet attire which he wore to the last, and whom strangers on Prince's Street looked at in wonderment, when they were assured that was the world-famed Hugh Miller—little did the public guess that all this glory, and greatness, and true worth, were accompanied with a jarring nerve in the brain under which all availed him nothing. Alas that such an earnest pursuit of knowledge, by which the world has been so much enriched, should be so fatal to the owner, and that one so ennobled by all that is excellent in the religious character, should have been visited by such a fearful and mysterious doom!

The closing period of his life was spent at Portobello, in a large sea-side mansion he had purchased, and to which he had added a museum enriched with specimens of geological and scientific exploration, which had accumulated during a long course of years. Here his days were spent surrounded by wife, children, and friends, and amidst such means of enjoyment as seemed to realize the scholar's utmost dream

of a happy honoured independence. But indications of a wavering intellect were occasionally appearing, which were cautiously concealed even from his physician, until the evil was confirmed, and the revelation made when too late. Haunted by the dread of robbers and assassins in his evening journeys from Edinburgh to Portobello, he carried a loaded revolver in his pocket. A still more causeless apprehension that his museum would be robbed, made him add to the revolver a broad-bladed dagger and claymore, which on retiring to bed he placed within reach of his hand. His sleep was broken or made worse than useless by somnambulism or wild harassing dreams, and his frequent idea on waking up in the morning was that he had been led or dragged by witches whole miles during the night, under which impression he would examine his clothes to see if they were wet or covered with mud—and when he found them all right, he was only the more convinced that he was the victim of supernatural and hellish influence. And yet, during the day, his strong mind rallied and recovered its wonted healthiness, and neither from his looks nor his conversation could his friends surmise that such terrible struggles had been going on under such an unruffled surface. His only chance of cure, or even of temporary relief, would have been the entire abandonment of literary labour; but the power to stop had already forsaken him—and his last days, even his last hours, were given to the revision of the proof-sheets of his *Testimony of the Rocks*, although there was no urgency for their immediate preparation. In like manner, when the physicians had examined his case and issued their prescriptions, he could not be persuaded to take the medicines. As his studies were at irregular hours, often extending far into the morning, and his wife's health was delicate, he occupied alone a sleeping-room at a distance from the family—and there, on the fatal night of the 24th of December, 1856, he must have been attacked by one of his horrible trances that had proved too strong for him, while the opportunities of self-destruction were unfortunately within his reach. On the next morning his body, half-dressed, was found lying dead upon the floor, his left lung being pierced by a bullet from his revolver, while the pistol itself had fallen, or been thrown, into the bath which stood close at hand. On looking round the room, a folio sheet of paper was found lying on the table, and on the centre of the page the following farewell written to Mrs. Miller, probably one moment before the fatal deed was perpetrated:—

"Dearest Lydia,—My brain burns. I *must* have walked; and a fearful dream rises upon me. I cannot bear the horrible thought. God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me. Dearest Lydia, dear children, farewell. My brain burns as the recollection grows. My dear dear wife, farewell. HUGH MILLER."

Of this startling heart-rending farewell, written by such a man and under such circumstances, Dr. Hanna, the eloquent biographer of Dr. Chalmers, has justly observed:—"What a legacy of love to a broken-hearted family! and to us and all who loved him, how pleasing to observe that in that bewildering hour, when the horror of that great darkness came down upon that noble spirit, and some hideous shapeless phantom overpowered it, and took from it even the capacity to discern the right from the wrong, humility, and faith, and affection still kept their hold—amid the ruins of the intellect, that tender heart remaining still unbroken! These last lines remain as the surest evidence of the mysterious power that laid his spirit prostrate, and of the noble

elements of which that spirit was composed—humble, and reverent, and loving to the last.”

MILTON, LORD. *See* FLETCHER (ANDREW).

MINTO, EARL OF. *See* ELLIOT MURRAY KYN-
NIMOND (GILBERT).

MITCHELL, SIR ANDREW, K.B. This able and influential politician, whose history is so intimately connected with that of Frederick the Great, was born in Edinburgh on the 15th of April, 1708. He was the only son who reached maturity of the Rev. William Mitchell, one of the ministers of St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh; his mother was Margaret Cunningham, eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Cunningham of Craigends. While still under the age of twenty-one, Andrew Mitchell married his relation, Barbara Mitchell, the heiress of Thainston in Aberdeenshire; and the cause of this early union was an attempt which had been made to carry off the young heiress, who was unprotected, and espouse her against her will. But brief was the happiness of the young couple, as Mrs. Mitchell died a short time after giving birth to a daughter, who died in infancy. The grief of the husband on account of the decease of his wife was not only acute but lasting, and influenced the whole course of his future life; for, being unable to continue his studies for the Scottish bar, which he had selected for his profession, he sought consolation in travel, which gradually introduced him into a more public and eventful course of life. Amidst these changes he never again married, or resided in his native Scotland. After visiting several countries on the Continent, he became in 1733 a member of the Middle Temple, London, and in 1738 he was called to the English bar. But before he could establish himself in practice, if indeed he had ever sought it, his proper vocation in life found him, and in 1742 he was appointed under-secretary to the Marquis of Tweeddale, principal secretary of state for Scotland. It was an office and a time which furnished material enough for the training of wise skilful politicians. The Jacobite intrigues for the restoration of the Stuarts, which were the matters of life-and-death importance of the period, burst out into more alarming action than ever, and the violence of the rebellion of 1745 was followed by still greater violence for its suppression. Between the two parties also, while their blood was at the hottest, even the most loyal and peaceful were in the situation of the poetical non-combatant at Sheriffmuir, who was menaced with death by the Jacobites, and had his pockets picked by the royalists. Mr. Mitchell was a close observer of these double excesses, and by no means an uninterested one, as several of his own friends devoted to the Hanoverian cause were sufferers by both parties. His public position also brought him into contact with some of the principal leading spirits of the day, among whom it is enough to mention Duncan Forbes of Culloden. The tale is too well known of the shameful neglect manifested towards the latter by an ungrateful government after his labours and sacrifices had mainly tended to establish the Hanoverian succession upon the British throne. The president, when dying all but broken-hearted at such treatment, thus counselled his son John by letter, “I would advise you to go to London, where I believe I may have some friends yet. Mr. Scroop, Mr. Littleton, and Mitchell are kind-hearted, affectionate men, and they will tell the king that his faithful servant, Duncan Forbes, has left you a very poor man.” In his last moments, also, the president showed that his friend was still uppermost in his

remembrance. Bemoaning the poverty in which he would leave his son, he said to him, “Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you, and do what he can for you.” To have been so thought of by such a man as the president, and when memory and life were on the verge of extinction, shows how high and how lovable the character of Mitchell must have been.

It was now the wish of his friends that he should have a seat in parliament, and this feeling accorded with his own. His fortune was not large; he had renounced the profession of the law, and the public service, into which he had now been initiated, seemed the only path open to his active enterprising spirit. He therefore stood for the county of Aberdeen, and was elected its representative on the 28th of July, 1747. On entering parliament he only addressed the house occasionally; but it appears that he was frequently consulted by the ministry on the affairs of Scotland. It was not as a political orator that he was to obtain his chief distinction. His value, however, was appreciated, as appears by the appointments which were successively conferred upon him. In 1751–52 he was made one of his majesty's commissioners at Brussels for settling a treaty of commerce with commissioners appointed on the part of Austria and Holland. In consequence of a new writ ordered for the Elgin burghs, he was returned for that district in December, 1754, and continued to represent it until his death, although an absentee from the country. But the most important appointment occurred in 1756, when Mitchell was selected as British envoy of George II. to the King of Prussia, then about to commence the memorable Seven Years' War.

The causes of this war, in which Mitchell, although a non-combatant, bore so important a part, may be very briefly stated. The ambition of Frederick, afterwards surnamed the Great, and the ease with which it was fancied he might be overcome, and his little kingdom of Prussia partitioned, had raised up enemies against him on every side, and his danger was at the crisis when both France and Austria combined against him. In consequence of the personal dislike of George II. to his cousin of Prussia, and his desire to preserve his Hanoverian possessions (for which he would at any time have sacrificed his three kingdoms), the enemies of Frederick had been befriended and subsidized by the British court. But, in consequence of the coalition of France and Austria against Prussia, and the refusal of these powers any longer to protect the Low Countries, and especially Hanover, the tide of British politics underwent a sudden and violent change, and George II., laying aside his personal animosities, formed an immediate alliance with Prussia. It was to watch over his sovereign's interests, so far as the safety of Hanover was concerned, that Sir Andrew Mitchell, who was soon after created a knight of the Bath, was now appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Berlin.

This was an office which, owing to its dangers and difficulties, few statesmen would have coveted. A little kingdom, poor and still in its childhood, and with a population of only five millions, had wealthy and powerful kingdoms, containing sixty millions of souls, combined against it. Nor was it a combination of barbarians against the civilized, where intellectual superiority might have matched the brute force opposed to it; but a meeting of equals, in which the greater number is generally thought certain to prevail. Against such odds, if the weaker could even stand its ground, it could only be under such a leader as history exhibits but once in the course of five

centuries, for the envy or astonishment of mankind. In the trial we know that Frederick proved himself such a man; but as yet the trial had only commenced, and all but himself feared for the result. And being sent as ambassador to a sovereign under such desperate circumstances, and where he might share in the obloquy of disaster and defeat, Sir Andrew could not comfort himself in the thought, that at the worst he would still be safe in some snug ambassadorial residence at Berlin. By the express orders of his sovereign he was to attend Frederick in all his campaigns, and thus passively endure all their dangers and privations, without entering the active struggle of the fight that makes danger unknown and fear unfelt. It was some such situation as the novelist Smollett, a contemporary of Mitchell, assigned to Roderick Random, when he perched him aloft in the cradle of the mainmast, with his feet in the bilboes, amidst the close and heavy cannonade of a sea-fight. But Sir Andrew did not shrink from a duty so trying. He accompanied Frederick through the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, and was by his side during their hardest fought battles, especially at Zorndorff, when cannon-balls fell around them like hail. In this way he endured the dangers of war but without any share of its glory, and acquired the practical experience of a general without the slightest prospect of reducing it to use. Still it was better to live among such stirring scenes than to nurse a widowed heart in a companionless home, or inhabit a country torn by factions, and with the wounds of the late civil war unhealed. Even the hardships of the Prussian camp or the dangers of the battle-field were better than such an alternative.

To follow the course of Sir Andrew Mitchell through these campaigns would be to give a history of the war, which is not our intention. It would be equally unnecessary to detail his diplomatic proceedings, merging as they did more or less into the political movements of the day. It is more to our purpose to give a few traits of his individual character and proceedings, and in this we cannot do better than betake ourselves to Thiebault's *Original Anecdotes of Frederick II.* His account of the British ambassador is as follows:—"Sir Andrew Mitchell, knight of the order of the Garter,¹ had been for several years the English ambassador to Berlin when I first arrived there; some time, however, elapsed from this time before I had the least acquaintance with him, not only because it was little to be expected that Englishmen should be desirous of the society of Frenchmen, but also because Sir Andrew Mitchell was of the number of those meritorious characters who stand in no need of perpetual society to his existence, and have the philosophy to prefer being occasionally alone. When he first arrived at Berlin, he had caused the persons who necessarily invited him to their houses considerable perplexity; for he played at no game of cards, so that his hosts constantly said to each other, 'What shall we do with this Englishman who never plays at cards?' In a few days, however, the contest was, who should withhold himself from the card-table, and have the advantage of conversing with a man in whom they had discovered every requisite to afford the highest pleasure in colloquial intercourse. In reality his understanding was no less admirable than the virtues of his character. Of this I cannot give a more substantial proof than by observing, he was united by the strictest bonds of friendship with the author of *L'Esprit des Lois*."

Many of his bon-mots came into circulation, and

were long afterwards remembered; and of these Thiebault has recorded a few, which exhibit both humour and good sense. On one occasion when three English mails were due, Frederick said to him at the levee, "Have you not the spleen, M. Mitchell, when the mail is thus delayed?" "No, sire, *not* when it is delayed, but often enough when it arrives duly," was Mitchell's reply. He was often dissatisfied with the proceedings of his own court, and had good cause of being so.

During the momentous events of the Seven Years' war, when the fate of the great Frederick so often was perilled upon contingencies which did not depend upon himself, the English government had promised to send a fleet to the Baltic for the protection of commerce, and to keep off the Swedes and Russians. The fleet never appeared, and the Swedes were enabled to transport their army with all its stores and munitions to Pomerania, and also provisions to the Russian troops, and to lay siege to Colberg. It was a breach of promise very damaging to the interests of Frederick, and which of course he acutely felt, while Sir Andrew was at a loss how to answer the king's complaints, or apologize for the omission. Hitherto he had been daily invited also to dine at the royal table, but now this distinction was withheld. The generals meeting him about the hour of the king's dinner, said to him, "It is dinner-time, M. Mitchell." "Ah, gentlemen," he replied, "no fleet, no dinner!" This being reported to Frederick, he renewed the wonted invitation.

After the affair of Port Mahon the king said to him, "A pretty beginning you have made, M. Mitchell! What! your fleet beaten, and Port Mahon taken in your first campaign! The trial in which you are proceeding against your admiral Byng is a bad plaister for the malady. You have made a pitiful campaign of it; that is certain." "Sire, we hope, with God's assistance, to make a better next year." The king sneered, and exclaimed, "With God's assistance, say you, sir? I did not know you had such an ally." "We rely much upon him," replied Sir Andrew, "though he costs us less than our other allies." "Spare no expense with him," rejoined the other; "you will see he will give you money's worth for your money."

Among the faults of Frederick the Great was an unhappy tendency of uttering bitter sarcasms not only against his enemies, but his allies when they displeased him—a practice by which he was apt to abate the zeal of his well-wishers, and convert those who were neutral into downright foes. The king indeed valued himself as much upon his wit as his victories, and was of that class of men who would rather lose his friend than his jest. In this way he had provoked almost every court of Europe, with which he was now at war; even Britain, his only ally, was the frequent subject of his caustic mots. These, however, Sir Andrew, who loved the king for his many great qualities, kept concealed from his own government, well knowing what irritation they would produce. His reticence displeased the English minister at home, and in writing to Mitchell he expressed his wish that the latter would include some of these splenetic effusions in his official despatches. Sir Andrew's answer was wise and temperate. He said "that, in accepting his mission, he considered himself as intrusted with the care of maintaining and strengthening the ties that existed between his country and a valuable ally; that his desire had been to prove a minister of peace and union; that if it were intended to make of him a minister of hatred, pitiful bickerings, and despicable tale-bearings, he wished nothing more than that they would name him a suc-

¹ A foreigner's mistake for the order of the Bath.

cessor immediately, as he should never be prevailed upon to play a part so unworthy of his sentiments and character; that it was not on this account to be believed he was less devoted to his country than the persons they might appoint to succeed him; that he knew perfectly how to distinguish between what was of a nature to be injurious, and what was merely indifferent; that if any change should happen in the dispositions of his Prussian majesty, this he could not fail to be informed of, and would have lost not a moment in his communications to the court of London; but he begged them to consider that all the circumstances they had particularized in their letter, and with which he was perfectly acquainted at the time, were nothing more than the first impulses of a man possessed of no less irritability of temper and sensibility than of genius; that they might even have been nothing more than simple pleasantries, brought forward either with the intention of deceiving some of his hearers, or to put them off their guard as to what they might themselves have to conceal; that, in a word, it was his duty to remind them, that to judge accurately respecting a man so extraordinary, or even of what he says, it was doing little indeed to collect the mere words he uttered, if to these were not added a knowledge of the time in which they were pronounced, under what circumstances, and with what views." This account of his official reply Sir Andrew communicated to Thiebault, and added, "Well, my remonstrance produced the effect I desired. I never was ignorant of all the bitter sarcasms and little epigrammatic railery that issued from the king against whoever fell in his way; but I carefully avoided mentioning them in my official despatches. I was never afterward solicited on this point. I should blush for the vocation I follow, if I were compelled to descend to such disgraceful meddling."

His health having been considerably injured by the anxieties and fatigue of the campaigns during the Seven Years' war, Sir Andrew in 1765 visited England, in the hope of recruiting his health by a change to his native climate. In the following year he returned to Berlin, and resumed his diplomatic duties, which he continued to discharge uninterruptedly until his death, after a short illness, on the 28th of January, 1771. Faithfully and ably though he had served his government, he was so poorly requited that he was scarcely richer at his death than when he entered upon office; but he lived at a period peculiarly one of political selfishness, in which our statesmen were too intent upon the payment of their own services to recognize the merits of others. Now that the cloud has cleared away, and his services been estimated according to their real worth, he has been declared by competent judges "the best ambassador England ever had." The funeral of Sir Andrew was attended by the court of Berlin, and it is said that the stern cold Frederick, who looked at the procession from a balcony, burst into tears. His personal appearance has been thus described by his biographer and descendant:—"Mitchell has been described by those who remember him as in person a man strongly built, and rather above the middle height, and as 'taking in his manners, though bluntish.' His countenance, as depicted in a very good portrait of him at Thainston, in his robes of a knight of the Bath, is that of a bold, open, straightforward, and withal most sagacious man. It is somewhat broad and bluff, with thought and resolution visibly written in every line of the broad forehead, the strongly-marked nose, the massive chin, and firm full lips, as well as the well-opened clear blue eyes. The features altogether are expressive of the honesty, sagacity, and goodness, and the quiet resolution, the silent un-

obtrusive courage, which formed the character of the man. "What has been said by a great living writer of an illustrious countryman of Mitchell, I think I may venture to apply to Mitchell, that 'when he departed he took a man's life along with him.'"

MITCHELL, MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN. This literary soldier was born in Stirlingshire on the 11th of June, 1785. His father, Mr. John Mitchell, an able and accomplished diplomatist, had distinguished himself in early life, first as attaché to the British legation under Mr. Elliot, afterwards Earl of Minto; and subsequently as consul-general in Norway. In this last situation, when the American war and the early revolutionary movements in France had disturbed the commerce of the northern European states, he was intrusted in 1787, by the Duke of Leeds, at that time our foreign secretary, to examine and report on the maritime trade, the departments of industry, the revenue, and the military and naval forces of the northern kingdoms. This he did, and his report was so full and able that he was thanked for it by the Board of Trade, before which it was read by the president, Lord Hawkesbury. Some years later he was engaged in missions to the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen; and having been sent in 1797 to Berlin, when William III. had just ascended the throne, he there placed his son, John, then a boy twelve years old, in the Ritter academy at Lüneburg, a seminary of high reputation, and which limited its pupils to the sons of the nobility. After an active and useful political life, Mr. Mitchell died at Edinburgh on the 17th of October, 1826.

At the Ritter academy of Lüneburg John Mitchell distinguished himself by the study of languages, geography, and history, and acquired that love of German literature which afterwards qualified him to be the biographer of Wallenstein. In 1801 his education was transferred to a mathematical academy in London, taught by Mr. Nicholson, a gentleman who had gained considerable reputation by his writings on scientific subjects, and of whose instructions Mitchell during the rest of his life entertained a pleasing recollection. Having finished his military education, John Mitchell in 1803 was commissioned in the 57th regiment, and afterwards transferred to a lieutenancy in the Royals, at the express desire of the Duke of Kent (the father of her majesty, Queen Victoria), who was its colonel, and who wished to have him in his regiment. He soon after was sent to active service in the West Indies, and in 1807 was promoted to the rank of captain; he subsequently continued to serve in the West Indies until he was removed with his regiment to Valcheren. After having weathered that disastrous campaign, in which swamps and malaria were more destructive to the British than all the other calamities of war combined, Captain Mitchell served from 1810 to 1812 in the Peninsula, and was engaged in the battles of Busaco and Fuentes d'Onore, for which he received the war-medal and two clasps. He afterwards accompanied the expedition to Germany under General Gibbs in 1813, and during the following year he served on the quartermaster-general's staff in Holland and Flanders, and went with the army of occupation to Paris. It was chiefly as a linguist, however, that his services at this time were in requisition; and as he was acquainted with nearly all the European languages, he was frequently employed by the Duke of Wellington in his correspondence and negotiations with the allied powers.

With the establishment of peace throughout Europe, and the exile of Napoleon in St. Helena, the military life of Mitchell was ended. But in

hanging up his sword to rust upon the wall, he did not, like too many of his brethren, feel that his sole occupation was gone, and that for all the purposes of life he too might accompany his sword. A nobler career still lay before him, and a second harvest awaited him that was richer than the first. During his military life he had not contented himself with being merely a military machine: on the contrary, it was the intellectuality of his profession that he loved; and to make himself master of it, he had studied war as a science both in its modern and ancient applications, as illustrated in the deeds of nations and heroes. He thus combined in himself a full knowledge of the subject both as to theory and practice, a union which few military historians can boast; while his intellectual character and habits had furnished him with the pen of a ready writer. It was natural therefore that he should write of martial deeds, and write well upon subjects with which he was so conversant. The life of Major-general Mitchell was henceforth to be that of a military biographer and historian.

At the age of forty-five, with a mind stored and a judgment matured, he became an author in earnest. The commencement also was with light anonymous attempts, by which he could feel his way, and acquire the necessary knowledge of the mechanical part of his new profession. This commencement seems to have been made in 1830, but what were his first attempts we have been unable to ascertain. It is only known that in the years 1833 and 1834 he published a series of articles in *Fraser's Magazine*, fifteen of these being military sketches and biographies, and seventeen light and humorous sketches on men, fashions, and things in general, the whole under the assumed name of Captain Orlando Sabretash. These papers, by their talent, spirit, and valuable information, arrested the public notice, and excited much inquiry as to the real name of their author. Having thus made fair trial of his literary capacity, he resolved to attempt some great single historical composition, and the result was the *Life of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland*, which was published in 1837, and of which a second edition appeared in 1853. To the choice of such a subject Mitchell was probably directed by his early sojourn and education in Germany, and by his chivalrous desire to vindicate the character of a distinguished hero, who has been undeservedly buried under a cloud of calumny, which but lately has begun to clear away. The earnestness of the author's interest in his subject was manifested not only by his study of every source that might throw light upon it, but by his repeated visits to the principal places where Wallenstein's exploits were performed—and the effect of all this pains and research was greatly to clear the character of the hero from those charges of treason by which the court of Vienna attempted to justify his assassination. It is superfluous to add, that Mitchell's work gave stimulus to fresh inquiry, and that Wallenstein's innocence of the imputed crime is now generally recognized.

In 1838, a year after the *Life of Wallenstein* was published, Mitchell produced his "*Thoughts on Tactics and Military Organization*, together with an Inquiry into the Power and Position of Russia." That this work was by no means unnecessary or useless has been shown by the fact, that several of the military reforms introduced of late years may be traced to his suggestions. Most of the essays in this volume had been previously published in the *United Service Journal*.

The next publication of Major-general Mitchell was the *Fall of Napoleon*, a historical memoir in three volumes, which issued from the press in 1845.

In this work he abates much of the marvellous which so dazzled and captivated in the deeds of Napoleon, and endeavours to show that his victories were more owing to the skill of his subordinates and the valour of his troops, than to his own combinations and arrangements. This work was acceptable to all who were not worshippers or admirers of the modern Cæsar, and the following judgment of it was expressed by Sir Robert Peel, in a letter to the author:—"I think it very important to the cause of truth that there should be some severer and more impartial scrutiny into the real merits of military achievements than it is usual to institute. It was in this work that I first read the facts stated with respect to the battle of Marengo, and to the authorized history of that battle. I am not aware whether they have been contradicted or questioned by French military writers, admirers of Napoleon. If not, they naturally provoke inquiry into every other achievement for which he has the credit of signal success." The following congratulatory epistle also from Varnhagen von Ense, one of the ablest historians and critics of the day, to Mitchell, must not be omitted:—"Your work on Wallenstein has sufficiently established your powers as a historian and historical investigator, and the one on Napoleon again proves this in the most brilliant manner. It at the same time, and at the first glance, shows the great advantage which arises when military subjects are described by the hand of a soldier. I hope, and I am sure every friend of true and impartial history does so with me, that you may yet have many opportunities of writing on similar subjects."

In the year after the publication of the *Fall of Napoleon*, Mitchell resumed the literary recreation of contributing to *Fraser's Magazine*, by a series of nine essays *On the Principal Campaigns in the Rise of Napoleon*, which formed a kind of introduction to his work on the "Fall" of that hero. His last work published, although not latest written, appeared in 1842, under the title of "*The Art of Conversation*, with Remarks on Fashion and Address, by Captain Orlando Sabretash." A work which was published in 1865, after his death, entitled *Biographies of Eminent Soldiers of the last Four Centuries*, was a collection of memoirs written by Major-general Mitchell, and edited by Leonhard Schmitz, LL.D., from whose biography of the author, with which the publication is prefaced, the foregoing facts have been derived. Mitchell's intervals of leisure between these more serious attempts were employed for the improvement of the army and of military science, which he had so much at heart, and for this purpose he regularly contributed to the *United Service Journal* from 1841 to 1855, besides writing a series of seven letters in the *Times* from 1841 to 1842. The gist of these communications was the defects in the British army, and suggestions for the improvement of our military establishments; and among the evils he complained of, that of promotion by purchase was not the least conspicuous, or the most tenderly handled. During the later period of his life he had also made considerable preparations for writing a *Life of the Duke of Alba* (or *Alva*, as the name sometimes appears in histories), but the great difficulty of obtaining access to authentic documents compelled him to abandon the design.

While Mitchell during so long a portion of his career had exchanged his sword for the pen, his military promotion was not neglected. In 1835 he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel "unattached," and in 1854 to that of major-general. After peace had succeeded the battle of Waterloo, he always spent a considerable portion of every year on the

Continent, occupying his time partly in intercourse with old associates, and partly in collecting materials for his literary productions; but after 1848 his failing health confined him to his native country, and he generally resided in the house of his sisters in Edinburgh, employed chiefly with his studies, which had now become to him an important necessary of life. He died in Edinburgh on the 9th of July, 1859, and his remains were buried in the family vault in the Canongate Churchyard.

Although a man of very handsome exterior, of pleasing manners and address, great conversational powers, and a happy buoyant spirit which he retained to the last, General Mitchell was never married: study was his bride, and the books which he wrote were his children. And how completely he identified his character with his authorship—how all his writings were pervaded with his own individual qualities, the slightest perusal of them will suffice to show. Whether investigating a historical difficulty, or describing an important event, he is always cheerful and always in earnest; while his style, which is lucid, simple, and forcible, brings out into strong relief whatever he aims to inculcate. Little indeed is known of his career as a soldier beyond what we have mentioned; but in his superior excellence as an author, and the interesting works he has written, the public at large is reconciled to the defect.

MITCHELL, SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE. This distinguished traveller and explorer in the unknown fields of Australia was the son of John Mitchell, Esq., of Craigend in Stirlingshire, and was born at his father's residence in 1792. As the eldest son of the family and representative of the Mitchells of Craigend, Sir Thomas held the additional name of Livingstone, which had been assumed by his predecessors in consequence of the marriage of a laird of Craigend with the heiress of J. Livingstone, Esq. of Halning, brother to Lord Viscount Kilsyth, who was attained in 1716. When only sixteen years of age, Thomas Livingstone Mitchell entered the army serving in Portugal, and was on the staff of the Duke of Wellington until the close of the Peninsular war, by which time he had attained the rank of major. During this period of service his talents as a military surveyor were so highly distinguished, as to attract the attention of the late Sir George Murray, on whose recommendation Major Mitchell was sent back to the Peninsula to make surveys of the ground on which the great battles of the war had been fought. The military maps which he constructed from these surveys are preserved in the Ordnance Office, and are admirable specimens of accuracy and professional skill. In 1818, when all prospect of war had subsided, he married the daughter of Lieutenant-general Blunt, after which there is little record of his proceedings until 1827, when he published *Outlines of a System of Surveying for Geographical and Military Purposes*, 8vo, London. It is possible that this publication recalled him to the memory of the ruling powers, when his services were most needed; and in the same year he was appointed deputy surveyor-general of New South Wales, under Mr. Oxley, whom he afterwards succeeded as surveyor-general. Australia was now the home of Major Mitchell, and here, with the exception of some necessary visits to the mother-country, he resided until the close of his life.

The ordinary duties of his office at this time were of no easy or trivial character. The country was so wide, and its occupation so recent, that its nature and extent were still unknown; and beyond the British settlement, which formed comparatively but

a stripe of it, all the rest was a sort of *terra incognita*. As such, however, it was a tempting field for exploration, and not the less so that, unlike Africa or the northern regions, the whole field was our own. It was a country for such a man as Major Mitchell, and he resolved to alternate the routine of his office with the more laborious and hazardous duties of exploration and discovery. The first occasion for enterprise seemed at hand, in consequence of the capture by the colonial police of a runaway convict who had escaped into the interior, assumed the habits and appearance of a native, and signaled himself among the wild tribes by organizing a system of foraging upon the white men's cattle. On being apprehended he endeavoured to obtain the remission of his offences by a circumstantial account of the unknown regions of the interior, and especially of a large river called the Kindur, by following which in a south-west direction he had twice, as he alleged, reached the sea. The bait was tempting and quickly swallowed; and Mitchell, in 1831, accompanied by ten selected men, set off on an expedition which had for its chief object the discovery of this miraculous river. But it was as unreal as a *mirage* of the sandy desert, and the convict upon whose testimony they had set out acknowledged its worthlessness by breaking prison, and escaping to his old haunts in the bush. But although no Kindur was found, the discoveries made by Mitchell in this exploratory expedition were consolation enough for the disappointment. After a journey of 300 miles northward from Sydney, a distance which at this time formed the boundary of the British settlement, he advanced into the unknown regions; and during four months continued his investigations, by which much valuable information was added to our knowledge of the country, and its capacities for industrial occupation, besides ascertaining the existence and course of the rivers Peel and Nammo, in which the report of the runaway convict was found correct, and for which his life, on his subsequent apprehension, was spared by the New South Wales government. The beneficial effect of these discoveries was, that grazing establishments for cattle were soon formed in the most eligible parts of the new districts, and future localities fixed for colonial settlement and cultivation.

After this expedition of 1831-2 Major Mitchell resumed the ordinary duties of his department, and the construction of roads and bridges which had been placed under his direction, until his services as a traveller were once more required in exploring the course of the river Darling. As failure in the means of water-conveyance had formed the chief obstacle of the former expedition, the major was provided on the present occasion with two light whale-boats, and a boat-carriage, expressly built for the purpose. Accompanied by a larger party than before, he commenced his journey at the end of March, 1835. It was an equipment fit for such an undertaking. "The boats," he writes, "appeared to *swim* very well in the boat-carriage, which was followed by seven carts, and as many pack-horses, affording the means of carrying provisions for five months. Two mountain barometers were borne by two men, this being the only service required of them while the party was travelling. The whole party in motion towards the unknown interior, and prepared for sea or land, was to me a most gratifying spectacle." After crossing the Blue Mountains, and leaving the plains of Bathurst behind them, the operations of the expedition were commenced 170 miles from Sydney. On reaching the Darling, after a journey of 500 miles, and erecting a stockade, which in honour of the governor was named Fort Bourke, they proceeded,

using both land and water conveyance; and after an absence of two months and two days from the fort, they had travelled 600 miles in direct distance. Returning to Fort Bourke, after having traced the course of the Darling, they continued their homeward course by the river Bogan, and arrived at Sydney in September. This journey made fresh and important additions to the map of Australia, but not without the cost of great toil and danger; for in addition to the miserable sterility of the soil in its natural state, and the scarcity of animals and water, by which their subsistence was rendered precarious, there was the treachery of the natives, whose interest it was to mislead the travellers on their route, and their readiness to murder every white man who strayed from his companions or fell behind them in their march. In this manner Mr. Richard Cunningham, who was attached to the expedition as botanist, on wandering from the encampment was set upon and treacherously murdered by the savages.

After his return to head-quarters Major Mitchell was soon to be recalled into his favourite field of enterprise. Towards the end of the same year (1835) the desire of the governor of New South Wales was intimated that the survey of the Darling should be completed with the least possible delay. For that purpose his excellency proposed that the major should return to the point which his last journey had reached; and that after having traced the Darling into the Murray, he should embark on the latter river, and proceed upwards by water as far as practicable, and regain the colony somewhere about Yass Plains. He set out early in the following year, having most of the equipment of his former expedition still fit for use; his party on this occasion consisting of an overseer and storekeeper, six bullock-drivers, two blacksmiths, three horse-carters, one medical attendant, a collector of birds, a collector of plants, two sailors, a shepherd, a groom and trumpeter, two carpenters, a shoemaker, and a cook. With this curious little nomade army, and a drove of cattle to serve for draught and subsistence by the way, Mitchell resumed his quest. Having retraced the steps of his former route, and reached its termination, the major and his followers advanced into unknown regions which the foot of the white man had never traversed. He found the point where the Darling joins with the Murray, and besides accomplishing the chief object of his expedition, he discovered new regions and new tribes, of which he has given an interesting account. But how completely the hand of industry is already altering the aspect of these districts!—and how the tribes are melting away in the process! In a few years more the records of Mitchell and other Australian travellers will form the only memorial of the numerous tribes who inhabited the vast continent of Australia. In 1838 the major published in London an account of his colonial travels and discoveries, in a work of two volumes 8vo, with the following title, “*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and the Present Colony of New South Wales.*” These narratives, besides giving a full account of the regions he surveyed and the useful discoveries he made, are accompanied with maps illustrative of the country and his route, pictures of its natural productions and phenomena, portraits of the principal chiefs with whom he came in contact, and sketches explanatory of the manners and customs of the aborigines. A short time before this work appeared, he had published his “*Map of the Colony of New South Wales*, compiled from Actual Measurements with the Chain and Circumferentor, and accord-

ing to a Trigonometrical Survey, in Three Sheets.” For the purpose of superintending these publications he found it necessary to come to England; and in 1839, on presenting the maps of this most important addition to the British empire, the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him by her majesty Queen Victoria. He was also elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Geographical Society, and invested with the honorary degree of D.C.L. by the university of Oxford. Soon after he returned to his professional duties in New South Wales.

Although now graced with such literary and scientific distinctions, Sir Thomas Mitchell did not seek repose so long as any work was left for him to perform; and in 1845 he set out upon a new expedition, the chief object of which was to discover a route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The benefits of such a discovery were so obvious, that a desire was prevalent among the colonists that the attempt should be made. At this time a trade in the horses of New South Wales to remount the Indian cavalry had commenced, but the communication of the Australian colony with India was impeded by the dangerous navigation of Torres Straits. The Indian Ocean being also connected with England by steam navigation, it was desirable that a way should be found to the shores of that ocean by an inland route from Sydney to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria—a feat which at the time it was thought possible to accomplish. It was thought also, from a study of the map of Australia, that a considerable river would be found which terminated at the Gulf. But although every preparation had been made for the expedition that prudence and experience could suggest, and although the party consisted of twenty-nine persons, and was provisioned for a twelvemonth, it was unable to reach the Gulf of Carpentaria, owing to the loss of horses and cattle from drought and want of pasture. Sir Thomas, however, advanced as far as $21^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat.; and was the first to discover the river of which he was in search, and which he named the Victoria. He was gratified also by seeing that it took a north-western course towards the gulf. Animated by this promise of a full discovery, Edmund B. Kennedy, Esq., the assistant surveyor of the colony, who accompanied this expedition as second in command, retraced the route in 1847, but found that the river makes a great bend to the southward, and he traced its course in that direction as far as $26^{\circ} 14'$ S. lat. Here his attempt ended, and, as in the case of Sir Thomas, he was compelled to return from want of water and pasturage. On the return of Mitchell from this his fourth expedition, he published an account of it in 1848, under the title of “*Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia, in search of a Route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria.*” 8vo, London. In the preface to the narrative he thus sums up the enterprise and its results: “The journey narrated in this work was undertaken for the extension of arrangements depending on physical geography. It completes a series of internal surveys, radiating from Sydney towards the west, the south, and the north, which have occupied the author’s chief attention during the last twenty years; and, as on former occasions, it has enabled him to bring under the notice of the men of science some of the earth’s productions hitherto unknown. . . . The new geographical matter is presented to them with confidence in its accuracy, derived as it is from careful and frequent observations of latitude; trigonometrical surveying with the theodolite, wherever heights were available; and by actual measurement of the line of route. This route was connected, at its commencement and termina-

tion, with the trigonometrical survey of the colony; and in closing on Mount Riddell a survey extending two degrees within the tropics, the near coincidence of his intersections with that summit, as fixed by his survey of 1830, could not but be very satisfactory to the author." The zeal of Sir Thomas in every department of science is attested by the following concluding paragraph of the preface: "The geological specimens collected during this journey have been deposited in the British Museum, and their original locality is shown on the maps by the numbers marked on the specimens, so that they may be available to geologists; hence, in the progress of geological science, the fossils now brought from these remote regions will be accessible at any future time, and something known of the geology as well as of the geography of the interior."

After his fourth and last expedition into the interior of Australia had been accomplished, Sir Thomas Mitchell returned to the wonted duties of his office, which had every year been increasing in magnitude and importance. His solicitude for the advance of colonial education in the right direction was shown in 1850, when he published an excellent manual, entitled "*Australian Geography, with the Shores of the Pacific and those of the Indian Ocean*," designed for the Use of Schools in New South Wales," 12mo, Sydney. Having invented a new propeller for steam-vessels on the principle of the boomerang, a strange missile weapon used by the Australian natives alone, he visited England in 1853, and delivered a lecture on the subject which excited much interest, and which he afterwards published with the title of "*Origin, History, and Description of the Boomerang Propeller*," a Lecture delivered at the United Service Institution," 8vo, London. In 1854 Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell was promoted to the military rank of colonel, and on the 5th October in the following year he died at his residence near Sydney, New South Wales. His death was justly regarded by all classes in the colony as a general bereavement, and his remains were honoured with a public funeral.

MOIR, DAVID MACBETH. This gentle, amiable, and talented poet and physician, was born at Musselburgh on the 5th of January, 1798. His father was a respectable citizen of that ancient burgh, and had a family of four children, of whom David was the second. After having learned the usual branches of education at one of the private town seminaries and the grammar-school of Musselburgh, he at the early age of thirteen commenced the study of his future profession by becoming apprentice to Dr. Stewart, a medical practitioner in Musselburgh, and soon began to evince that devotedness to the duties of the healing art which he continued till the close of his life. So early as 1812 David Moir wrote poetry. Not long after this he showed the bent of his ambition for authorship by sending two short prose essays to a little Haddington periodical called the *Cheap Magazine*, and their appearance in print was enough to confirm the tendency. It is gratifying to learn that in these youthful preludings he, like many who have attained a much higher elevation than himself, was fortunate in possessing not only an affectionate but a talented mother, to whom he read his early productions, and by whom his efforts were encouraged and his taste improved. And well was she rewarded for her care; for she lived till 1842, when her son's reputation was at its height, and strangers regarded her with respect as the mother of Delta.

After a four years' apprenticeship, and attendance upon the medical classes in Edinburgh, David Moir,

at the age of eighteen, obtained the diploma of surgeon. He was as yet young for business, and especially the laborious business of a country doctor; but in 1817 his mother was a widow, and no labour was too much for his filial affection. He therefore became partner of Dr. Brown of Musselburgh, who had an extensive practice, and toiled so earnestly in his profession, that his mother's difficulties were removed, and her home made comfortable. As his love of literature, instead of abating, continued to grow and strengthen, he was wont, when he returned home at nine or ten o'clock at night, after the harassing labours of the day, to light his candle in his bed-room, and continue his studies into the hours of morning. Under these circumstances he produced many excellent contributions both in prose and verse to *Constable's Edinburgh Magazine*. His regular mode of life and close application to business may in the meantime be learned from the fact, that from the year 1817 to 1828 he had not slept one night out of Musselburgh.

Soon after the establishment of *Blackwood's Magazine* Moir became one of its most frequent and popular contributors, and was known to its numerous readers under the name of Delta, from the Greek letter Δ, with which he was wont to subscribe his graver productions. From this signature he was wont to be called the Pyramid or the Triangle by his mirthful literary companions. But besides the tender lays and ballads with which he enriched the pages of the magazine, drolleries occasionally appeared of which he was the author, but to which he did not append the serious triangular *imprimatur*; and while the world laughed loudly and heartily at these effusions, they little wotted that their own sentimental Delta had penned them, or that all this was the production of a young surgeon in an obscure country town. Some of these were imitations of the most distinguished living poets; and to our thinking they were better caricature resemblances than even the *Rejected Addresses*, that obtained such a wide popularity. We would particularly instance Moir's "Eve of St. Jerry," "Billy Routing," and the "Ancient Waggonere," in which Scott, Wordsworth, and Coleridge were successively imitated, or rather mimicked, with most comic aggravations. We can remember as if it had been yesterday, the loud explosion of laughter from the Tweed to Caithness which the last-mentioned poem produced, when the readers of *Maga*, who had been wont to revere the "Ancient Mariner" as the most awe-inspiring of poetical productions, were suddenly shaken from their propriety at finding it, notes and all, travestied with such singular effect. In 1823 he had for his neighbour and acquaintance John Galt, who was then residing near Musselburgh; and so well was the literary reputation of Moir now established that the distinguished novelist, on being suddenly called off to America before he had finished the *Last of the Lairds*, intrusted the winding-up of the tale to Delta, which he accomplished to the author's satisfaction.

As his poetical productions in *Blackwood* had met with such success, Mr. Moir collected and published the best of them, with a few new additions, at the close of 1824, under the title of *Legend of Genevieve, with other Tales and Poems*. But the wide circulation of the magazine had already made them so well known that they had no longer the freshness of novelty, and therefore the reception of the volume, as compared with its merits, was but indifferent. At the same period he was employed in a prose work, from which perhaps he has derived a wider, if not so lasting a popularity as he has done from his poetical productions. This was the *Autobiography*

of *Mansie Wauch*, which he supplied in a series of chapters during three years to *Blackwood's Magazine*, and afterwards published as a separate work, with several additions and improvements. And what reader of this singular tale can fail to persuade himself that he has met with the veritable Mansie in flesh and blood? He is sure that he has seen the man somehow and somewhere, although whether as a flying tailor or not he cannot distinctly remember. Such is the great charm of the tale: the character and events are thrown off with such truthfulness, that the fun and fiction have all the worth of reality, or something very like it. Like Scott and Galt, midway between whom Delta at once took his place as a novelist, he collected events that had actually happened, and sayings that had been audibly uttered, and after improving them, grouping them, and throwing over them such a colouring of his own imagination as gave them harmonious uniformity as well as picturesque effect, he embodied them all in the doings and blunders of a half-silly, half-pawkie, vainglorious, and good warm-hearted creature, who lives, fights on, stumbles through the ups and downs of life, but still manfully does his duty, and finally attains comfort, substance, and worship as the most thriving of village tailors. The work was also admirably suited to the Scottish national character, which abounds in sly grave humour, rather than in the buoyant and more imaginative attribute of wit. Hence the favour with which *Mansie Wauch* was received, especially in Scotland, where it was best understood, and the permanent place which it has obtained in our northern literature of fiction as one of the choicest productions of its day; and he who holds an interview with Mansie departs, not a sadder, but a merrier, and withal a wiser man than before.

While Mr. Moir was thus so industrious in authorship, and deriving from it the reputation he so justly merited, he did not on that account suffer himself to be allured from the daily toils of his profession. How many young aspirants for literary fame, after reaping but a tithe of Delta's success, have flung their occupation to the winds, in the fond conceit that they had entered upon the track that would lead them to fame and fortune—and have found, when too late, that they had foregone the substance for a shadow, which at the best was not worth catching. And a strong proof it was of Moir's well-balanced, well-regulated mind, that instead of devoting all his energies to win his way into the front rank of poetry or novel-writing, he still persevered in his laborious, self-denying vocation, as if he had never compounded aught but a drug, or written anything higher than a prescription. Instead of making literature his crutch, it was his staff, or rather perhaps we should say his switch—a light, graceful thing, to flourish in very buoyancy of heart, and switch with it the hedges as he bounded onward in the path of duty. In this way he was better known among the good folks of Musselburgh as a painstaking skilful physician than a poet of high mark and standing; and his sphere of occupation kept steadily on the increase. This professional ability suggested to his friends in Edinburgh a change, by which his position in life, as well as the means of gratifying his literary tastes, would have been greatly increased. This was nothing more than to locate himself as a physician in the Scottish capital, where his medical reputation was as well established as his poetical excellence, and where troops of influential friends were ready to insure him an extensive practice. It was a tempting offer, more especially as no risk was involved in it. And yet it was rejected. Moir thought himself already so well circumstanced, that he would not hazard his already-con-

firmed contentment by seeking to make it better; and besides, his affections had so thoroughly entwined themselves with the families of that circle in which he had grown up, and among whom he moved and laboured, that he could not endure the thought of forsaking them, even though it should be for wealthier and more numerous patients. Besides, was he not now the healing as well as tuneless Apollo of Musselburgh; and, like Apollo, might say, though with a very slight variation, "Opiferque per urbem ditor?" Even genuine ambition, had there been no better motive, would have told him with the authoritative voice of Julius Cæsar, that it was better to be the first doctor in Musselburgh than the third or even the second in Edinburgh, to which rank he must inevitably be limited there. These were sound dissuaves, and Moir showed his good sense by estimating them at their full value, and acting accordingly. Such a man was worthy more than most men of the highest of domestic rewards, and this he obtained on the 8th of June, 1829, at Carham Church, Northumberland, where he received the hand of Miss Catherine E. Bell, of Leith—

"Catherine, whose holy constancy was proved
By all that deepest tries, and most endears."

After his happiness in the married state had been crowned by the birth of his first-born, a daughter, the life of Moir went on as usual, with the daily task and evening recreation, till 1831, when even those the least disposed to meddle with politics were obliged to take a side, and speak stoutly in its behalf. This was the year of the reform bill, and Moir, although a Conservative, was an earnest advocate for its passing, and officiated as secretary to the reform committee. It seems, however, to have been mainly in a religious spirit that he saw the need of a political reform, and he thus writes upon the subject to a friend:—"When a House of Commons could pass a detestable Catholic bill, against the constitution of the country and the petitions of nineteen-twentieths of its inhabitants, it was quite time that an end should be put to such a delusive mockery of representation." Towards the close of the same year he was presented with the freedom of his native town, and elected a member of its town-council. This year, also, he ventured upon a new field of authorship, by publishing his "*Outlines of the Ancient History of Medicine*, being a View of the Progress of the Healing Art among the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabians." This work was intended to have been comprised in three parts; but the second and third, in which the history of the medical sciences was to be brought down from the dark ages to the middle of the last century, were never written. The first part of the work, which appeared under the title of the *Ancient History of Medicine*, was favourably received, both by the faculty and the critical press. In the following year another and still more urgent demand was made upon his pen on a subject connected also with his own profession. Europe will not soon forget that terrible visitation of cholera, which, after quivering like the bolt of heaven in its erratic progress, blasting and destroying wherever it happened to strike, fell at last upon Britain, and shook it to its deepest sea-girt foundations. Never was medical aid more needed, or the medical practitioner more imperilled; and never perhaps were the true chivalry and martyr-like devotedness of the healing art more severely tried and tested. On this occasion, while many physicians abandoned their duty in despair, or fled from it in terror, Moir was to be found daily and hourly at the bedsides of the infected, endeavouring to alleviate the sufferings of the sick by the resources

of his skill, or to comfort the dying with the consolations of religion. Even this was not enough; and therefore, after doing and daring the uttermost within his own round of occupation, he set himself to write his experience of the nature and treatment of the disease, and published a pamphlet, called *Practical Observations on Malignant Cholera*. At this time any suggestion by which the terrible pestilence could be retarded, was clutched as with a death-grasp; and no wonder, therefore, if a work on the subject by such a writer went through two editions in a few days. Soon after he produced his equally interesting *Proofs of the Contagion of Malignant Cholera*.

When the disease had abated, and the danger passed away, it was full time that Dr. Moir, never at any time a wanderer from home, should enjoy the recreation of travel. He decided upon a trip to London, not so much, however, for the purpose of a pleasure tour, as to visit his talented and beloved friend Galt, now shattered with paralysis, and hastening to decay, but with a mind shining as fiercely as ever through the crevices of the material ruin, and bearing up as bravely against the coming downfall. Moir also attended the meeting of the British Association, and made a visit to Cheltenham. Among the few intellectual giants with whom he came in contact during his short residence in London, was Coleridge, then living at Highgate; but like many others who have enjoyed the privilege of an interview with this marvellous poet, philosopher, and theologian, Moir came away delighted, he could not tell wherefore, and musing upon he knew not what. He had been in a land of dreams, and breathing an atmosphere of poppies, but the fresh air of reality brought him round in a few minutes. Indeed, the Archimagus of Highgate always found our Scotsmen the most stiff-necked of all his worshippers. Soon after his return from England, and in the beginning of 1833, Dr. Moir, from the retirement of his senior partner, became head of the business—a change which, while it increased his occupation, also lessened his opportunities for literary study and authorship. “Our business,” he writes to his friend Macnish, “has ramified itself so much in all directions of the compass, save the north, where we are bounded by the sea, that on an average I have sixteen or eighteen miles’ daily riding; nor can this be commenced before three or four hours of pedestrian exercise has been hurried through. I seldom get from horseback till five o’clock, and by half-past six I must be out to the evening rounds, which never terminate till after nine. Add to this the medical casualties occurring between sunset and sunrise, and you will see how much can be reasonably set down to the score of my leisure.” The wonder is, that with such a harassing amount of occupation, and almost total want of leisure, Moir should have continued to write so much as he did, or even that he should have written at all.

In February, 1838, affliction visited the happy home of Delta, and bereaved him of two children, the eldest four and a half years old, the other only fifteen months. The first of these, Charles Bell, who named himself in childish frolic, Casa Wappy, is well known to the world, and especially to many a mother’s tender heart, by the touching poetical commemoration of his grieving father, who lamented him in an elegy which he never surpassed, or perhaps even equalled. Who can read unmoved the following stanzas?—

“Do what I may, go where I will,
Thou meet’st my sight;
There dost thou glide before me still—
A form of light!

I feel thy breath upon my cheek,
I see thee smile, I hear thee speak,
Till, O! my heart is like to break,
Casa Wappy!

* * * * *
The nursery shows thy pictur’d wall;
Thy bat, thy bow,
Thy cloak and bonnet, club and ball;
But where art thou?
A corner holds thine empty chair;
Thy playthings idly scattered there,
But speak to us of our despair,
Casa Wappy!”

Of his five children he could still remember that three were left to him, and he consoled himself with the thought; but only a year after he was bereaved of a third child, David Macbeth Moir, his little namesake. “Three blessed beings,” he thus exclaims—

“Three blessed beings! ye are now
Where pangs and partings are unknown,
Where glory girds each sainted brow,
And golden harps surround the throne:
O! to have hail’d that blissful sight,
Unto the angels only given,
When thy two brothers, robed in light,
Embraced thee at the gates of heaven!”

In this manner Delta was wont to express and chronicle the chief feelings of his own private life, and at first they were only circulated among his friends. But the approbation they called forth from Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Montgomery among the poets, from Jeffrey and Lockhart among the critics, and from Dickens, Warren, and Ferrier among our eminent writers of fiction, and their urgent request that these productions should be given to the world, was a call too powerful to be refused, and he published them accordingly in 1843, under the title of *Domestic Verses*.

Moir, now at no more than the age of confirmed manhood, when health is strongest and hope often at the brightest, bade fair, from his firm constitution and temperate habits, to be destined for a long life of usefulness, that to the eyes of his friends loomed in bright perspective. But even at this period a series of accidents commenced by which his term was to be hastily drawn to a close. In 1844, from sitting in wet clothes a whole night by the bedside of a patient, he caught a severe internal inflammation, from the effects of which his constitution never fully recovered. Two years after, while visiting Borthwick Castle with a small party of friends in a phaeton, the horse took fright, ran off, and upset the carriage; the whole party, who were thrown out, escaped with little hurt, except Dr. Moir, whose hip-joint was so injured by the fall that it made him lame for life. As his medical duties still continued, he was obliged on this account to remit his literary avocations, as the evening usually found him fit for nothing but his bed. And truly it was no wonder, for on an average he travelled about 220 miles per week, independently of his numerous professional visits to short distances on foot. With all this, and diminished bodily powers, he was still able, however, to give attendance to those literary and scientific meetings at which his name was in high request; and his last exertion of this kind, in which he delivered six lectures at the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh in 1851, on the poetical literature of the past half century, will long be affectionately remembered by the lecture-loving inhabitants of our capital. These lectures too, be it remembered, were composed after the hours of ten and eleven at night, when over-toiled mortals like himself had contentedly retired to rest. At length, on the 22d of June, 1851, while dismounting from his horse, a work of difficulty in his case on account of his lameness, he sus-

tained so severe a wrench that pain and debility followed, so that on the 1st of July he set off on a jaunt to Dumfries, in the hope that change of scene and cessation from labour might restore him. It was a vain hope, for at Dumfries he rapidly sank, and expired on the morning of the 6th of July. His last hours were spent in Christian peace and hope, and he died in the assurance that his solemn petition was answered, "May the Lord my God not separate between my soul and my body till he has made a final and eternal separation between my soul and sin."

In consequence of the request of the inhabitants of Musselburgh, the funeral of Dr. Moir, which took place on the 10th of July, was a public one; and it was attended not only by the provost, magistrates, and town-council of the burgh, and the kirk-session of Inveresk, but the chief professors, clergymen, and literati of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood. A public monument has been erected to his memory in the churchyard of Inveresk, where his ashes repose.

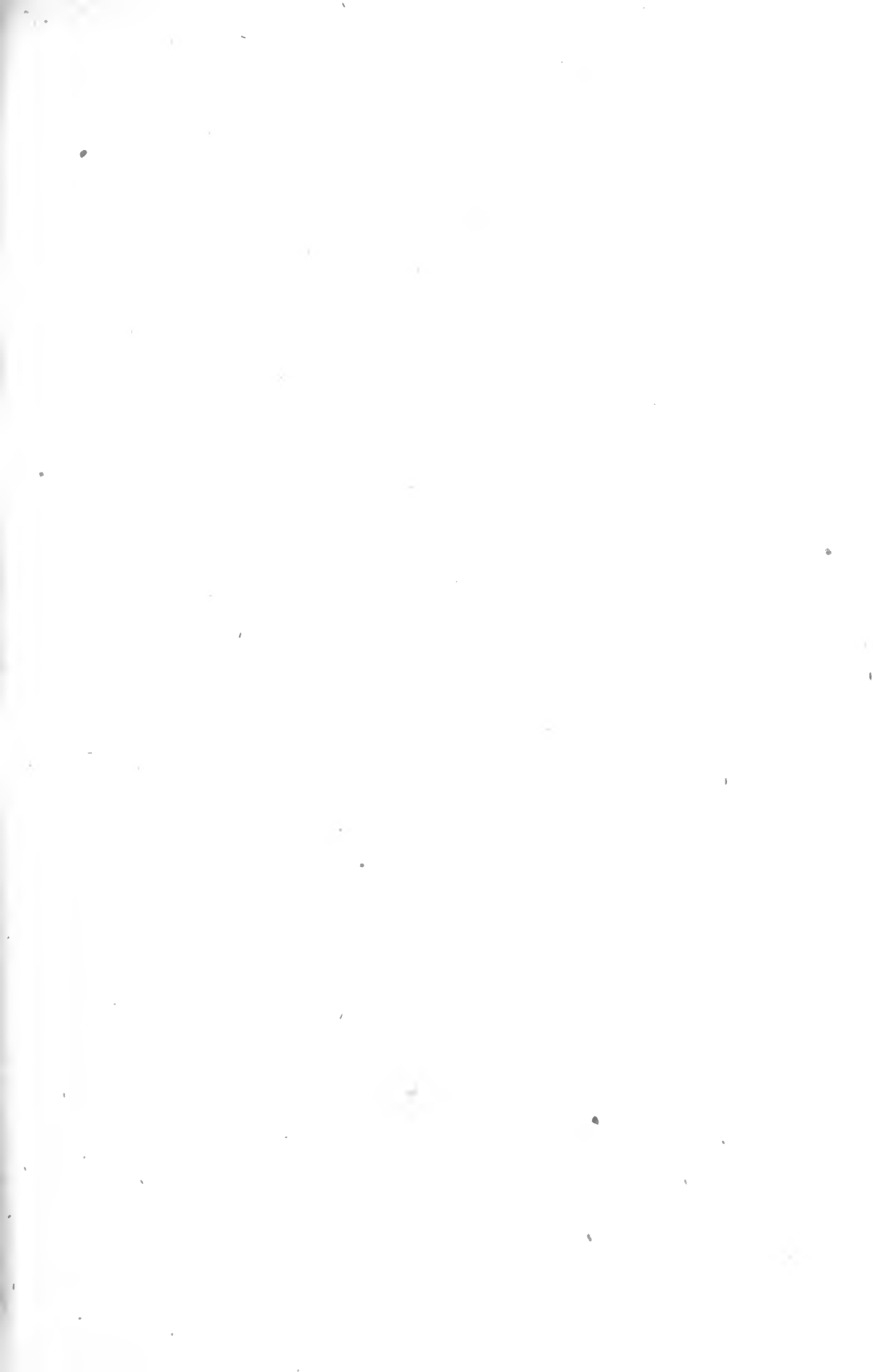
MONCREIFF, SIR JAMES WELLWOOD, Bart., of Tullibole. This eminent judge, one of those distinguished ornaments of the Scottish bar and bench for which the present century has been so remarkable, but who have successively disappeared and left a void which will not easily be filled, was the second son of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, one of the ministers of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. His mother was Susan Robertson, eldest daughter of James Robertson Barclay, of Keavil, in Fifeshire. He was born in the second-charge manse of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, on the 13th of September, 1776. As he was one of a family of five sons and two daughters, and as the hereditary estate of the ancient family of the Moncreiffs had lapsed into the possession of a younger branch nearly two centuries previous, James, the subject of the present memoir, was destined to a life of active industry, for which purpose his education was commenced at the high-school of Edinburgh, and afterwards continued at the university of Glasgow. At the latter institution he was so fortunate as to obtain one of its exhibitions to Baliol College, Oxford—an appointment which secured to him for ten years a complete course of literary and professional training at the same seminary which has produced, for many generations, the master-spirits and leading intellects of Europe. Sir James, however, found that, even in Oxford, the attainment of this high distinction depended more upon a diligent course of self-training than the parental care of his new *alma mater*, whose monastic institutes, worn out with old age, could no longer be screwed up to the full coercive pitch. That happy reformation had not yet commenced under which Oxford has assumed a new life, and commenced a fresh history, that promises to be more glorious than its old. In spite, however, of the prevalent looseness which at that time characterized the discipline of these colleges, and the facility with which their pains and penalties could be eluded or confronted, he became an accomplished scholar, and was enabled to prepare for active exercise those high intellectual qualities for which he was so distinguished in the course of his future career.

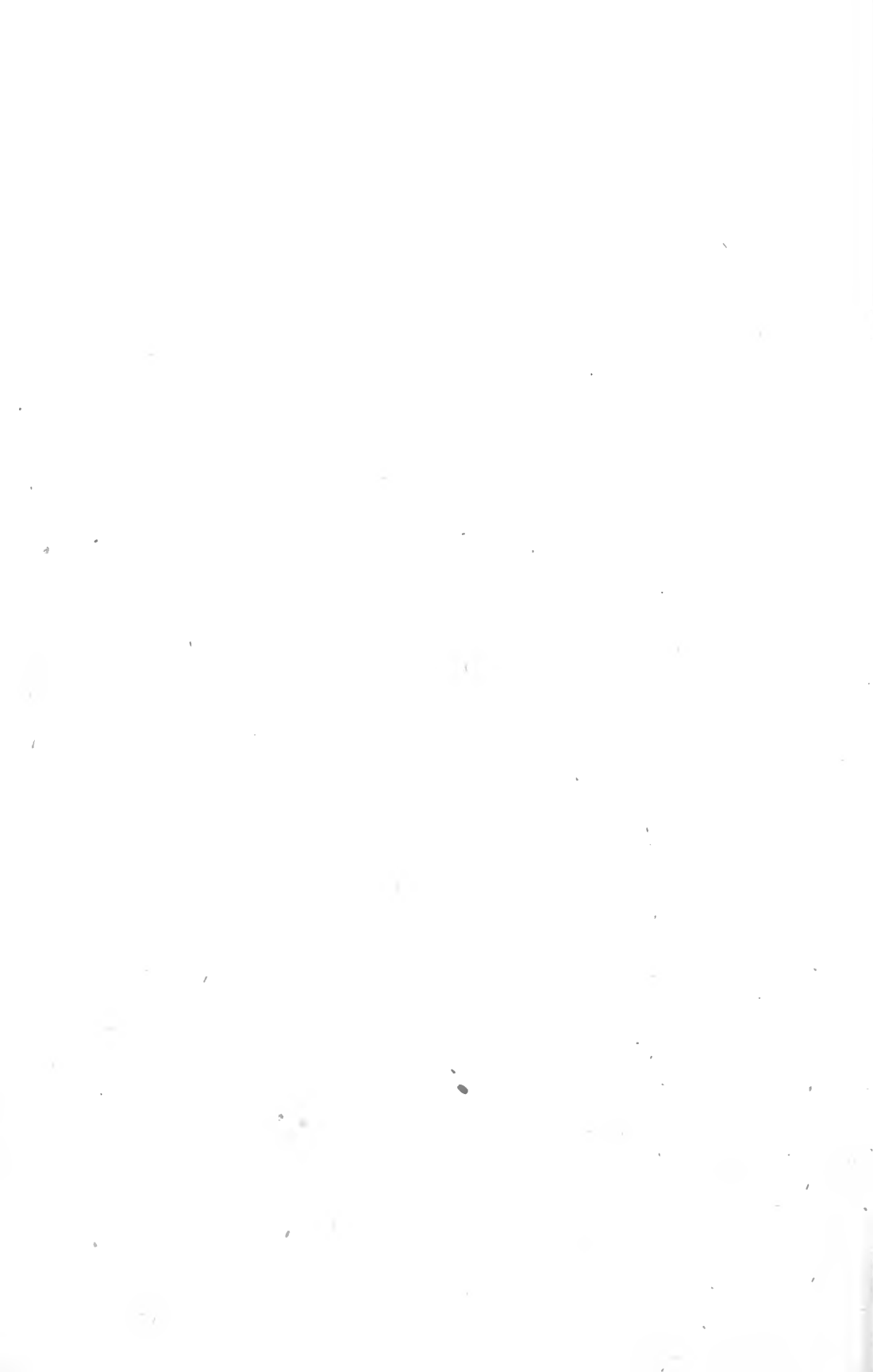
As Mr. Moncreiff had selected the law for his profession, and the Scottish bar for his place of occupation, his studies at Oxford had been chiefly directed to this effect; and on the 26th of January, 1799, he was admitted a member of the faculty of advocates at Edinburgh. At first his progress as a barrister was slow, and his prospect of advancement unpromising; but for this, the solid, substantial character

of his mind, which required longer time for full development, was a sufficient excuse. A profound reflective lawyer seldom starts into full maturity at the age of twenty-three, or even gives large promise of his future excellence. But a still greater obstacle to early success might be found in Mr. Moncreiff's politics, which were by some years in advance of the period; they were those uncompromising independent principles which he had learned, from the example of his venerated father, to cherish and avow, in spite of Tory ascendancy and government patronage; and in this way Mr. Moncreiff, instead of having the tide at its height to bear him onward, was obliged to confront it in its rise, and when it was set full against his progress. Like his illustrious contemporary Jeffrey, he adopted the losing side in politics when there was least hope of its obtaining the ascendancy.¹ But both were finally no losers by their disinterestedness. In the meantime Mr. Moncreiff held onward perseveringly in his course, and the first distinguished token of his growing success occurred on the 7th of February, 1807, when he was appointed sheriff of the united counties of Clackmannan and Kinross. This fortunate rise, by which his income was doubled, and a fresh starting-point attained, occurred during the short-lived administration of Lord Grenville. In the following year (1808) he married Ann, daughter of Captain George Robertson, of the royal navy.

The career of an advocate at the bar is not an eventful one: it is simply a history of pleadings and their results, with which none but the parties concerned can be expected to feel any interest. On this account it is enough to state that every year increased Mr. Moncreiff's professional reputation; and at a period when the most illustrious of our Scottish pleaders were at the full height of their fame (Jeffrey, Cranstoun, Cockburn, Clerk), he held a rank inferior to none. Some of them, indeed, might excel him in ready or persuasive eloquence; but this inferiority was more than counterbalanced by the depth and accuracy of his legal knowledge, and his power of turning it to the best account. In this way his professional character is thus summed up by one of that illustrious confraternity who knew and could well appreciate his merits:—"Though a good thinker, not quick, but sound, he was a still better arguer. His reasoning powers, especially as they were chiefly seen concentrated on law, were of the very highest order. These, and his great legal knowledge, made him the best working counsel in court. The intensity of his energy arose from that of his conscientiousness. Everything was a matter of duty with him, and therefore he gave his whole soul to it. Jeffrey called him the whole duty of man. Simple, indifferent, and passive when unyoked, give him anything professional or public to perform, and he fell upon it with a fervour which made his enemies tremble, and his friends doubt if it was the same man. One of his cures for a headache was to sit down and clear up a deep legal question. With none, originally, of the faculties of speaking which seem a part of some men's nature, zeal, practice, and the constant possession of good matter, gave him all the oratory that

¹ His early adoption and avowal of Whig politics is thus commemorated in Cockburn's *Life of Lord Jeffrey*:—"The public meeting in 1795, for attending which Henry Erskine was turned out of the deanship, was held in the circus, which their inexperience at that time of such assemblages had made them neglect to take any means to light, and Erskine was obliged to begin his speech in the dark. A lad, however, struggled through the crowd with a dirty tallow-candle in his hand, which he held up during the rest of the address before the orator's face. Many shouts honoured the unknown torch-bearer. This lad was James Moncreiff, then about sixteen."









he required. He could in words unravel any argument, however abstruse, or disentangle any facts, however complicated, or impress any audience with the simple and serious emotions with which he dealt. And for this purpose his style, both written and spoken, was excellent—plain, clear, condensed, and nervous." In another sketch, by a different writer, we have a view of all these intellectual equipments in full vigorous action, at the time when Moncreiff was in the prime of his manhood as well as professional reputation: "He has a countenance full of the expression of quick-sightedness and logical power, and his voice and manner of delivering himself are such as to add much to this the natural language of his countenance. He speaks in a firm, harsh tone; and his phraseology aspires to no merit beyond that of closeness and precision. And yet, although entirely without display of imagination, and though apparently scornful to excess of every merely ornamental part of the rhetorical art, it is singular that Mr. Moncreiff should be not only a fervid and animated speaker, but infinitely more keen and fervid throughout the whole tenor of his discourse, and more given to assist his words by violence of gesture, than any of the more imaginative speakers whom I have already endeavoured to describe. When he addresses a jury, he does not seem ever to think of attacking their feelings; but he is determined and resolved that he will omit no exertion which may enable him to get the command over their reason. He plants himself before them in an attitude of open defiance: he takes it for granted that they are against him, and he must and will subdue them to his power. Wherever there is room to lay a finger, he fixes a grappling-iron, and continues to tear and tug at everything that opposes him, so that incredulity is glad to purchase repose by assenting to all he demands. . . . His choleric demeanour gives a zest to the dryness of the discussions in which he is commonly to be found engaged. His unmusical voice has so much nerve and vigour in its discords, that after hearing it on several occasions I began to relish the grating effect it produces upon the tympanum."¹

From these two delineations, although the latter is somewhat overcharged, a distinct idea may be formed of James Moncreiff in his professional character and bearing. These also had won their way to such just estimation, that on the 22d of November, 1826, he was elected dean of faculty, although the senior, and in some respects superior, claims of Jeffrey to the office were against him. But in Jeffrey himself, with whom he had fought many a hard legal tournament, he found that best of all friends—a generous, open-hearted antagonist—and the great critic and eloquent barrister not only maintained Mr. Moncreiff's claims as superior to his own, but seconded his nomination. While he held this office, the dean showed his upright disinterested love of justice in a case where many in similar circumstances would have quailed. This was in reference to the West Port murders, and the trial of their infamous perpetrators, Burke and Hare. So deep was the popular abhorrence over the whole of England and Scotland on the detection of this hideous system of Thuggism, and so overwhelming was the outcry for justice—for vengeance—that it was thought no advocate could be so hardy as to plead the cause of these assassins, who were already tried and doomed by universal acclamation. It was then that several leading advocates of the Scottish bar, with Mr. Moncreiff as dean at their head, stepped forward in defence of truth and right against the universal cry,

and while the storm was at the wildest; and through their exertions the two malefactors obtained a fair dispassionate trial, in which one of them, who turned king's evidence, was absolved, when both might otherwise have been torn to pieces without a hearing. The exertions of the dean of faculty in this thankless and most revolting case—his earnestness to vindicate the claims of justice, whether to acquit or condemn, though a whole world might be arrayed against them—and the discriminating talent with which he sifted the evidence of the whole perplexing affair, until it stood out in all its distinct reality—were long afterwards remembered with grateful commendation, not only by his professional brethren, whom the example honoured and encouraged, but the public at large, whose hasty judgments it restrained and rebuked.

By the death of his revered father, on the 7th of August, 1827, Mr. Moncreiff succeeded to the family baronetcy, under the title of Sir James Wellwood Moncreiff, of Tullibole; his elder brother, who was king's advocate in the Admiralty Court of Malta, having died unmarried in 1813. In 1829 Sir James was appointed a lord of session, in consequence of a vacancy in the bench, occasioned by the death of Lord Alloway. This appointment was the more honourable to Sir James, that it proceeded, not from his own party, but his political opponents. They had no occasion to regret their choice, for as a judge he equalled, or perhaps even surpassed, the reputation he had won as a barrister. "In the civil court," it is stated in a short notice of his life, "his judgments were admirable for learning and sagacity; and on the bench of the criminal court his dispassionate weighing of evidence, his sound appreciation of the rules of law, the impressive solemnity of his charges on great occasions, carried a conviction, and gained a confidence, which the people of Scotland have not always yielded to their judges." Before his elevation to the bench he had also risen to high public mark and importance, independently of his professional displays, by his speeches at public meetings, on affairs both political and ecclesiastical. This was especially the case at the great meeting held in Edinburgh in favour of Catholic emancipation; and when Dr. Chalmers and Lord Jeffrey delivered their eloquent and memorable speeches on that important occasion, the first resolution had been previously moved and enforced with great power by Sir James Moncreiff. It was, however, as a member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that his great talents for investigation and debate, combined with his well-known integrity, were chiefly valued; so that on several important occasions he was called to lead the deliberations of that august body.

So close a connection with the church, and such a hearty devotedness to its interests, which marked the professional career of Lord Moncreiff, is not to be wondered at when we remember his clerical descent through not less than seven generations! Like his father, also, he adhered to that party in the church known by the title of Evangelical, in opposition to the Moderate side, which might be called the Toryism of the Scottish Kirk. While he held the office of a ruling elder, his attendance at church courts was frequent and his aid effectual, and he had the satisfaction to witness the rise, from year to year, of those principles of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical polity with which he was connected. At length, when his party had acquired such strength as to bring their controversy to a decisive issue upon the great question of patronage, he was called, in 1832, to give evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed to

¹ *Peter's Letters to his Kingsfolk.*

inquire into the origin and exercise of church-patronage in Scotland. His lordship's answers to the searching questions which were put to him on his examination, the flood of light which he threw upon this difficult subject, and the simple, earnest, impressive language and manner in which his testimony was delivered, were long afterwards remembered. For a considerable time before the Disruption he had retired from the conflict in consequence of his judicial position; and when at last it occurred, in 1843, his attention was too mournfully engrossed by the death of his lady, which happened at the same period, to allow him to join in the events of that great movement. After the Disruption, although he ceased to be an elder, he continued to hold church membership in the Free Church of Scotland, with whose leading principles his whole course of life had been identified.

On nearing the venerable age of seventy-five, Lord Moncreiff began to yield to the decay of nature; and for several weeks before he died the state of his health was such, that although the physicians held out hopes of his recovery, he felt assured that his end was at hand—a result which he contemplated without dismay, and for which he prepared with Christian resignation and confidence. His death occurred at his house in Moray Place, Edinburgh, on the afternoon of March 30, 1851, and his remains were interred in the Dean Cemetery, within a few feet of the grave of his old friend Lord Jeffrey. His character is thus briefly and emphatically summed up by Lord Cockburn: "I am not aware how his moral nature could have been improved. A truer friend, a more upright judge, or a more affectionate man, could not be."

The family of Lord Moncreiff consists of five sons and three daughters. Of these, the eldest son, Sir Henry Wellwood Moncreiff, is minister of the Free West Church of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh; the second, who followed his father's profession, is now dean of faculty of the Scottish advocates.

MONRO, ALEXANDER, M.D., usually called *Secundus*, to distinguish him from his father, an eminent medical writer and teacher. Before entering upon the memoirs of this individual, it is necessary to give some account of his father, Dr. Monro, *Primus*, the founder of the medical school of Edinburgh, who, having been born in London, is not precisely entitled to appear in this work under a separate head.

Dr. Monro, *Primus*, was born in London, September 19, 1697. He was the son of Mr. John Monro, a surgeon in the army of King William, descended from the family of Monro of Milton, in the north of Scotland. His mother was of the family of Forbes of Culloden. Having retired from the army, Mr. Monro settled in Edinburgh about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and entering the College of Surgeons, soon acquired considerable practice. His favourite employment, however, was to superintend the education of his son, whose talents he perceived at an early period. Though medical and anatomical chairs at that time existed in the university of Edinburgh, they were quite inefficient, and hence it was found necessary to send young Monro elsewhere for the completion of his education. He went successively to London, Paris, and Leyden, and became the attentive pupil of the great men who then taught at those universities, among whom were Cheselden, Hawksby, Chowel, Bouquet, Thibaut, and Boerhaave. Not content with listening to the instructions of these teachers, he studied assiduously by himself, especially in the department of anatomy.

While attending Cheselden in London, he made numerous anatomical preparations, which he sent home; and while here, even laid the foundation of his important work on the bones, a sketch of which he read before a society of young surgeons and physicians, of which he had been elected a member. Before his return his father had presented several of his preparations to the college, so that his skill was already well known. The titular professor of anatomy to the College of Surgeons had even formed the resolution of relinquishing his appointment in favour of this promising young anatomist, who, he thought, would be able to convert it into a useful profession. Accordingly, on his arrival in Edinburgh, in 1719, when only twenty-two years of age, he was nominated to this dignity. Early in the ensuing year he commenced the first regular course of anatomical and chirological lectures and demonstrations which were ever delivered in that city. From his abilities and zeal, and the preparations with which he illustrated his discourses, success could hardly fail to attend his labours. It could not, however, be expected that an anatomical and surgical course alone, however valuable, or a single professor, however great his abilities, could be sufficient to raise the fame of a medical school which had to combat many rival seminaries of deserved eminence. It became, therefore, a matter of the utmost consequence to obtain such associates as could second and support his labours. His father, to whose zeal for the establishment of a medical school in Edinburgh much of his son's success is to be attributed, prevailed on Dr. Alston, then king's botanist for Scotland, to begin a course of lectures on the *materia medica*. He also took an expedient for improving his son's mode of lecturing. Without the young teacher's knowledge he invited the president and fellows of the College of Physicians and the whole company of surgeons to honour the first day's lecture with their presence. This unexpected audience threw the doctor into such confusion that he forgot the words of the discourse which he had written and committed to memory. Having left his papers at home, he was at a loss for a little time what to do; but, with much presence of mind, he immediately began to show some of the anatomical preparations in order to gain time for recollection, and very soon resolved not to attempt to repeat the discourse which he had prepared, but to express himself in such language as should occur to him from the subject, which he was confident that he understood. The experiment succeeded; he delivered himself well, and gained great applause as a good and ready speaker. Thus discovering his own strength, he resolved henceforth never to recite any written discourse in teaching, and acquired a free and elegant style of delivering lectures.

The want of lectures on other branches, which still remained as an obstacle to the creation of a medical school, was soon altogether overcome by the zeal of the elder Monro, through whose influence his son and Dr. Alston were put upon the college establishment, together with co-operative lectureships, undertaken by Drs. Sinclair, Rutherford, and Plumer. Such was the origin of the medical school of Edinburgh, which for more than a century has been one of the most eminent and most frequented in Europe. The system was completed in the course of a few years by the establishment of the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, which was chiefly urged forward by Dr. Monro, with a view to the advantage of his pupils, and by George Drummond, the lord-provost of the city. In this institution Dr. Monro commenced clinical lectures on the surgical, and Rutherford a similar course on the medical, cases. The former,

in his various capacities of physician, lecturer, and manager, took an active part in the whole business of the infirmary. He personally attended the opening of every body; and he not only dictated to the students an accurate report of the dissection, but, with nice discrimination, contrasted the diseased and sound state of every organ. Thus, in his own person, he afforded to the students a conspicuous example of the advantages of early anatomical pursuits as the happiest foundation for a medical superstructure. His being at once engaged in two departments, the anatomical theatre and the clinical chair, furnished him with opportunities for experiment both on the dead and living body, and placed him in the most favourable situation for the improvement of medicine; and from these opportunities he derived every possible advantage which they could afford.

None of the professors connected with medicine in the Edinburgh university contributed so much to the formation of the school as Dr. Monro, who was indefatigable in the labours of his office, and in the cultivation of his art, and soon made himself known to the professional world by a variety of ingenious and valuable publications. During a period of nearly forty years he continued, without any interruption, to deliver a course of lectures, extending from the end of October to the beginning of May; and so great was the reputation which he acquired, that students flocked to him from the most distant parts of the kingdom. His first and principal publication was his "*Osteology*, or Treatise on the Anatomy of the Bones," which appeared in 1726, when he was as yet under thirty years of age. This treatise, though intended originally for the use of his pupils, speedily became popular among the faculty in general, and was translated into most of the languages of Europe. The French edition, in folio, published by M. Sue, demonstrator of sculpture to the Royal Academy of Paris, was adorned with masterly engravings. In the later editions Dr. Monro added a concise "*Neurology*," or description of the nerves, and a very accurate account of the lacteal system and thoracic duct.

In every society at Edinburgh for the improvement of arts or of letters, Dr. Monro was one of the most distinguished ornaments. He was a member of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons; of the Medical Society; of the Philosophical Society; of the Select Society for Questions in Morality and Politics; and of the Society for Promoting Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures in Scotland. He was also a member of several foreign societies, to which he had been recommended by his great reputation. It was to his zeal and activity that the world was chiefly indebted for the six volumes of *Medical Essays and Observations*, by a society at Edinburgh, the first of which appeared in 1732. Dr. Monro acted as editor of this work, and contributed to it many valuable papers on anatomical, physiological, and practical subjects; the most elaborate of which was an "Essay on the Nutrition of the Fœtus," in three dissertations. On this society being afterwards revived under a different title, Dr. Monro again took an active part in its proceedings as one of the vice-presidents, and was a liberal contributor to its publications, of which three volumes appeared, under the title of *Essays, Physical and Literary*. His last publication was *An Account of the Success of Inoculation in Scotland*, written originally as an answer to some inquiries addressed to him from the committee of the faculty of physicians at Paris, appointed to investigate the merits of the practice. It was afterwards published at the request of several of his friends, and contributed to extend the practice in

Scotland. Besides the works which he published, he left several manuscripts, written at different times, of which the following are the principal: "A History of Anatomical Writers"—"An Encheiræsis Anatomica"—"Heads of many of his Lectures"—"A Treatise on Wounds and Tumours"—"A Treatise on Comparative Anatomy"—and an "Oration De Cuticula." The last two were printed in an edition of his whole works, in one volume, 4to, published by his son, Dr. Alexander Monro, 1781.

The advance of age and infirmity induced Dr. Monro to resign his chair, in 1759, in favour of his son; but he continued almost to the close of his life to perform his duties in the Royal Infirmary. Several of his latter years were embittered by a severe disease, a fungous ulcer in the bladder and rectum; but he bore his distresses with great patience and resignation, and at last died in perfect calmness, July 10, 1767, in the seventieth year of his age.

Dr. Monro had in early life married Miss Isabella Macdonald, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, of Sleat, by whom he had eight children, four of whom, three sons and a daughter, reached maturity. Two of his sons became distinguished physicians—namely, Dr. Donald Monro, who attained an eminent practice in London, and became the author of several valuable treatises: an *Essay on Dropsy*, 1765; on the *Diseases of Military Hospitals*, 1764; on *Mineral Waters*, 1771; on *Preserving the Health of Soldiers*, &c.; and died in 1802: and Dr. Alexander Monro, *secundus*, of whose life we shall proceed to give an extended notice.

DR. MONRO, *secundus*, was the youngest son of Dr. Alexander Monro, *primus*, whose life has just been commemorated, and was born at Edinburgh on the 20th of March, 1733. He learned the first rudiments of classical education under the tuition of Mr. Muddell, then an eminent teacher of languages at Edinburgh. At the university of his native city Dr. Monro went through the ordinary course of philosophy, preparatory to his medical studies. During that course he was a pupil of the celebrated MacLaurin for mathematics—of Sir John Pringle for ethics—and of Dr. Matthew Stewart for experimental philosophy. About the eighteenth year of his age he entered on his medical studies under his illustrious father, who, from his lectures and writings, had by that time justly obtained very great celebrity. Young Monro soon became a very useful assistant to his father in the dissecting-room, and was highly respected for his early acquirements among the companions of his studies; several of whom, Dr. Hugh Smith of London, Dr. Matthew Dobson of Liverpool, Dr. William Farr of Plymouth, and some others, were afterwards justly celebrated in the annals of medicine by their writings.

Dr. Monro, after completing the academical course of medical study at Edinburgh, under Drs. Rutherford, Plumer, Sinclair, Alston, and other eminent men, obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine on the 17th of October, 1755. On that occasion he published and defended an inaugural dissertation, *De Testibus et Semine in Variis Animalibus*. That dissertation, which manifests his accurate knowledge of minute anatomy, was illustrated by five capital engravings, each plate containing several different figures; and it laid the foundation of the important discoveries which he afterwards made with regard to the lymphatic system. The public testimony which Dr. Monro thus gave of his anatomical knowledge, and the reputation which he had acquired both as a demonstrator and lecturer, when occasionally assisting his father, naturally attracted the attention of the patrons of the university of Edinburgh; and

to secure to the seminary under their care a young man of such distinguished abilities, he was, on the 12th of July, 1755, when he had but just entered on the twenty-third year of his age, admitted into the university as professor of anatomy and surgery, in conjunction with his father; but that father, still in the vigour of life, and fully able to execute every part of the duties of his office, did not require the immediate assistance of his son. Accordingly, young Monro, after finishing his academical studies at home, resolved to prosecute them abroad. With this intention he visited both London and Paris, where he had an opportunity of being a pupil of the most eminent professors in these cities. But his foreign studies were principally prosecuted at the university of Berlin. There he had every opportunity of improving himself under the celebrated professor Meckell, who was at that time justly esteemed one of the first anatomical teachers in Europe. During his residence in Berlin, he was not only a pupil at the prelections of Meckell, but lived in his house, and thus enjoyed the benefit of his instructions both in public and private. That from these sources his natural and acquired abilities were much improved may readily be supposed; and he himself was so fully sensible of what he owed to so eminent a preceptor as Meckell, that during the long period in which he taught anatomy at Edinburgh, he allowed not a single year to pass without repeatedly expressing his gratitude for the instruction he had received under the roof of this justly celebrated professor.

From Berlin Dr. Monro returned to Edinburgh in summer, 1758. Immediately upon his return he was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and entered upon actual practice. As soon as the regulations of the college would permit he was raised to the rank of fellowship, and took his seat as a member of that respectable body on the 1st of May, 1759. After that date, for more than half a century, he continued to exert himself with unwearied activity, not only as a professor and practitioner, but as an improver of the healing art, and of our knowledge of the philosophy and structure of the animal frame. This will abundantly appear from a short review of the different publications with which he has enriched the treasury of medical philosophy, conveying important instruction both to his contemporaries and to the latest posterity.

Very soon after he settled in Edinburgh, he not only became a colleague of his father in the college, but succeeded him also as secretary to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. In the volumes published by the society Dr. Monro first appeared as an author. His first publication was printed in the first volume of a well-known and justly celebrated work, entitled *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*, read before a society in Edinburgh, and published by them. This volume of their memoirs appeared in 1754, and contains two anatomical essays by Alexander Monro, student of medicine in the university of Edinburgh; from both of which he obtained very great credit as an intelligent and industrious young anatomist. In their second volume, published in 1756, are contained also two articles from his pen; the "Dissection of a Monster," and the "History of a Genuine Volvulus of the Intestines;" both of which served materially to improve the philosophy of medicine, and to do credit to the author. His next three publications were more of a controversial nature than calculated to extend our knowledge of the structure or philosophy of the human body. From a very early period, as appears from his inaugural dissertation, he had adopted the idea that the valvular lymphatics over the whole of

the animal body were one general system of absorbents: and with the view of promulgating this doctrine, he published at Berlin, in 1758, a short treatise, *De Venis Lymphaticis Valvulosis*. The grand idea, however, which this short treatise contained, was afterwards claimed by Dr. William Hunter of London; and this claim drew from the pen of Dr. Monro two other publications—*Observations, Anatomical and Physiological, wherein Dr. Hunter's Claim to some Discoveries is Examined*; and, *Answer to the Notes on the Postscript to Observations, Anatomical and Physiological*. Here the only difference between these two eminent men was not with regard to the extent or use of the valvular lymphatics, but with regard to the merit of being the discoverer of their use. A judgment on that controversy is now of very little importance; and perhaps neither of them is justly entitled to the merit of the discovery. For, prior to either, that the lymphatics were a general system had been explicitly stated by the illustrious Hoffman. But that the anatomical labours, both of Monro and Hunter, independently of any information which the one derived from the other, tended very much to extend our knowledge of the lymphatic system, will not be denied by any intelligent reader.

In the year 1771 the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, which Dr. Monro tended not a little to support, by fulfilling all the duties of an intelligent and active secretary, published the third and last volume of their *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*. This volume, among many other valuable essays, is enriched by a production of Dr. Monro, entitled "An Attempt to Determine by Experiments, how far some of the most Powerful Medicines, Opium, Ardent Spirits, and Essential Oils, affect Animals, by acting on those Nerves to which they are primarily applied, and thereby bringing the rest of the Nervous System into suffectance, by what is called Sympathy of Nerves; and how far these Medicines affect Animals after being taken in by their Absorbent Veins, and mixed and conveyed with their Blood in the course of Circulation; with Physiological and Practical Remarks." This elaborate dissertation, highly interesting in the practice of medicine, afforded ample proofs of the genius, the judgment, and the industry of the author.

In 1783 Dr. Monro published a large folio volume, entitled *Observations on the Structure and Functions of the Nervous System*. This volume, which was illustrated by numerous engravings, was soon afterwards translated into German and into other modern European languages; and, high as his reputation was before, it tended both to support and to increase his fame. The same consequences also resulted from another folio volume which he published in the year 1785, entitled "*The Structure and Physiology of Fishes*, explained and compared with those of Man and other Animals, illustrated with Figures." In 1788 he published a third folio volume, entitled *A Description of all the Bursa Mucosa of the Human Body*; their Structure explained, and compared with that of the Capsular Ligaments of the Joints; and of those Sacs which line the Cavities of the Thorax and Abdomen; with Remarks on the Accidents and Diseases which affect these several Sacs, and on the Operations necessary for their Cure." For these three works the folio form was necessary, on account of the size of the plates with which they were illustrated, and which had been engraved at a very great expense. Although all these three folios were presented to the learned world within the short space of five years, yet they may be considered as the scientific fruits of the best part of Dr. Monro's life. For,

although a large portion of his time was necessarily occupied in teaching anatomy to numerous classes, and in extensive practice as a physician, yet, amidst all his important avocations, he prosecuted with unwearied assiduity the extension of discovery, and neglected no opportunity of increasing our knowledge of the philosophy of the human body. Of his success in these interesting pursuits, the three works now mentioned will transmit incontrovertible evidence to the latest posterity.

Dr. Monro, *primus*, as already noticed, had officiated for more than thirty years as secretary to a medical society in Edinburgh, which was formed of the most eminent physicians of the city at that time. During this period he had published in their name, six volumes of *Medical Essays*, which had obtained the approbation of the most eminent physicians in every country of Europe, insomuch that the illustrious Haller had represented it as a book *quem nemo carere potest*. But about the year 1750 a proposal was made to unite the physicians and philosophers of Edinburgh into one society. This proposal was strenuously supported by Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames, and Mr. David Hume. The union was accordingly accomplished; and in place of the Medical they assumed the name of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Dr. Monro, *primus*, still continued to be one of their secretaries, and had conjoined with him Mr. David Hume, the historian, for the philosophical department. This society published three volumes of *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*. The first volume, as has already been observed, contains some papers written by Alexander Monro, *secundus*, when a student of medicine. But after his return from his studies on the Continent, and after his conjunction with his father in the professorship of anatomy, he was also conjoined with him as secretary to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh; and although Mr. Hume still retained the name of the Philosophical secretary, yet Dr. Monro, *secundus*, may justly be considered as the editor of the two last volumes. With the venerable Lord Kames as their president, and Dr. Monro, *secundus*, as their acting secretary (for Mr. Hume not long after his appointment left Edinburgh, to act in a diplomatic character in France), the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh had regular meetings. The physicians and philosophers who were then the greatest ornaments of Edinburgh—Lord Kames, Sir George Clerk, Mr. John Clerk, Drs. Cullen, Home, Hope, Black, Young, Monro, and many others—constituted the strength of the association; and the *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*, which they published to the world, will ever hold a distinguished place in marking the progress of science. The third and last volume published by the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, in 1771, contains several papers from the pen of Dr. Monro, *secundus*. Besides the interesting experiments on opium, ardent spirits, and essential oils, of which mention has already been made, it contains important observations, communicated by him, on “Polypus in the Pharynx and Œsophagus,” and on the use of mercury in convulsive diseases. Soon after the publication of this third volume, a plan was projected for putting the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh upon a still more respectable footing and extensive scale, and of comprehending not only medical and physical science, but every species of literary and philological discussions. This extension was particularly enforced by Dr. Robertson, then principal, and Mr. Dalzell, then professor of Greek, in the university of Edinburgh. The negotiation terminated in the Philosophical Society as a body, with the addition

of many other eminent scholars, being incorporated by royal charter in the year 1782, under the title of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

On the establishment of the Royal Society Dr. Monro, whose time was much occupied with extensive practice in medicine, declined any longer officiating as secretary; but he continued not only to be one of their councillors, but to be an active and useful fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and he enriched their *Transactions* with several valuable communications, particularly with the description of a human male monster; with an elaborate series of experiments on animal electricity or galvanism, which, from the discoveries of Galvani, professor of anatomy of Bologna, has engaged the attention of almost every philosopher in Europe; and with observations on the muscles, particularly on the effects of their oblique fibres.

The last publication with which Dr. Monro enriched medical science was a quarto volume, consisting of three treatises on the “Brain;” the “Eye,” and the “Ear,” published at Edinburgh in the year 1797. And although these organs had before been examined with the utmost attention by anatomists of the first eminence, yet, from careful examination, he made no inconsiderable addition to our knowledge both of the structure and functions of these important organs.

Dr. Monro's talents extended his fame over all Europe, and he had the honour of being admitted a member of the most celebrated medical institutions, particularly of the royal academies of Paris, Madrid, Berlin, Moscow, and other learned societies. His eminence as an author was not superior to his fame as a teacher of medicine. For a long series of years his class-room was attended by crowded audiences; and no hearer of real discernment could listen to him without being both pleased and instructed by his prelections. He began to teach medicine immediately upon his return from the Continent at the beginning of the winter session 1758–59. During that winter his father, Dr. Monro, *primus*, gave the introductory lectures and a very few others. But by much the greater part of the course was given by the young professor; and for forty succeeding years he performed the arduous duties of the anatomical chair without any assistant. No teacher could attend to the business of his chair with more assiduity. Indeed, during the whole of that period he made it an invariable rule to postpone to his academical duties every other business that could possibly admit of delay.

While we thus state Dr. Monro's character as an author and a teacher, his worth as a man and a citizen must not be forgotten. With his brethren of the profession and his colleagues in the university he lived on the most amicable terms. He seems to have had constantly in his mind the admirable observation of Seneca: “Beneficiis humana vita consistit et concordia; nec terrore, sed mutuo amore, in fœdus auxiliumque commune constringitur.” No man could enjoy to a higher degree, or more successfully lead others to enjoy, innocent mirth at the social board. He was one of the earliest members and most regular attendants of the Harveian Society—a society which was formed with the intention of encouraging experimental inquiry among the rising generation, and in promoting convivial cheerfulness among its living members. In every respect Dr. Monro was an honest and an honourable man. He was no flatterer; but he did not withhold applause where he thought it was merited. Both the applause and the censure of Dr. Monro upon all occasions demonstrated the candid, the open, and the honest man.

As a citizen, a friend, and a parent, his conduct was amiable and affectionate in the highest degree; and as a medical writer and teacher he had few equals among his contemporaries. His various published works may be recapitulated as follows:—*Treatise on the Lymphatics*, 1770; *On the Anatomy of Fishes*, 1785; *On the Nerves*, 1783; *On the Bursæ Mucosæ*, 1788; and three treatises on the *Brain*, the *Eye*, and the *Ear*, 1797.

Dr. Monro's chief amusements lay in the witnessing of dramatic performances and in the cultivation of his garden. Not many years after his establishment in Edinburgh he purchased the beautiful estate of Craiglockhart, on the banks of the Water of Leith, within a few miles of the city. He planted and beautified some charmingly romantic hills, which afforded him such delightful prospects of wood and water, hill and dale, city and cottage, as have seldom been equalled; and here he spent many hours stolen from the labours of his profession. In 1800, finding his health declining, he began to receive the assistance of his son, Dr. Alexander Monro, *tertius*, who succeeded him as professor of anatomy; but he continued to deliver the most important part of the lectures till 1808-9, when he closed his academical labours, to the regret of his numerous students. At the same time he gave up his medical practice, but survived till the 2d of October, 1817, when he died in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

MONTEATH, GEORGE CUNNINGHAM, author of a *Manual of the Diseases of the Human Eye*, was born, December 4, 1788, in the manse of Neilston, Renfrewshire, of which parish his father, the Rev. Dr. John Monteath (laterly of Houston and Killallan), was then minister. After passing through the medical and surgical classes in the university of Glasgow, the subject of this short memoir attended the hospitals in London, where he attracted the notice of Sir Astley Cooper and other eminent anatomists, and received a diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons. In 1809, by the recommendation of Dr. M. Baillie, he was appointed surgeon to Lord Lovaine's Northumberland regiment of militia, in which situation he remained four years, honoured with the affection and esteem of all his brother officers. He then resigned his commission, and commenced practice in Glasgow as a physician and oculist. In 1813 he commenced with a friend a series of lectures on practical anatomy, but was soon obliged, by the rapid increase of his practice, to relinquish this duty. Being the first practitioner in Glasgow who devoted particular attention to the diseases of the eye, he soon became celebrated, not only in the city, but over all the west of Scotland, for his skilful treatment of that class of complaints, and had many important and difficult cases intrusted to him. In 1821 he published his *Manual of the Diseases of the Human Eye*, which became a popular work on the subject. Though possessed originally of a good constitution, Dr. Monteath gradually sank under the pressure of his multifarious duties; and having been seized with inflammation in consequence of a night journey, he was cut off, January 25, 1828, in the fortieth year of his age.

Dr. Monteath was characterized by one who knew him well, and who undertook the task of commemorating his death in the public prints, as "at once an accomplished physician and an eminent surgeon." His mind, distinguished as it was by clearness of method, minuteness of observation, and soundness of judgment, was particularly fitted for the investigations of the former profession. His power of distinguishing (perhaps the power upon which

success in the practice of medicine depends more than any other), added to his thorough knowledge of what others had discovered, and his readiness in applying what either his erudition or his experience supplied, made some regret that he did not devote himself to the business of a physician alone.

"As a surgeon, however, his success was perhaps still more remarkable. It was not the success of chance—it was the result of patient application at an early period of life to that science, without which all attempts at eminence in this department must necessarily fail—we mean the science of anatomy. It was the result of close and emulous attention to the practice of the ablest surgeons in the metropolis. It was attributable in no small degree to an accuracy in planning his operations, and a collectedness of mind at the time of operation, such that no accident could occur which had not been preconsidered, or which could in the slightest measure discompose him. Every surgical operation which he undertook had evidently been the subject of much previous thought—every ordinary circumstance had been carefully investigated—many circumstances which a common mind would probably have overlooked, had been weighed with deep attention—and neither the honour of his art nor the safety of his patient was at any time left to what might occur at the moment.

"Dr. Monteath was particularly distinguished as an oculist, and was unquestionably the first individual in this city who materially improved the treatment of the diseases of the eye. It was here that the qualities of mind to which we have already alluded were of the greatest service to him—namely, his power of minute observation, and the art, in which he so highly excelled, of distinguishing cases, which, though they might seem alike when viewed superficially, were in fact very different, and might require even opposite means of cure.

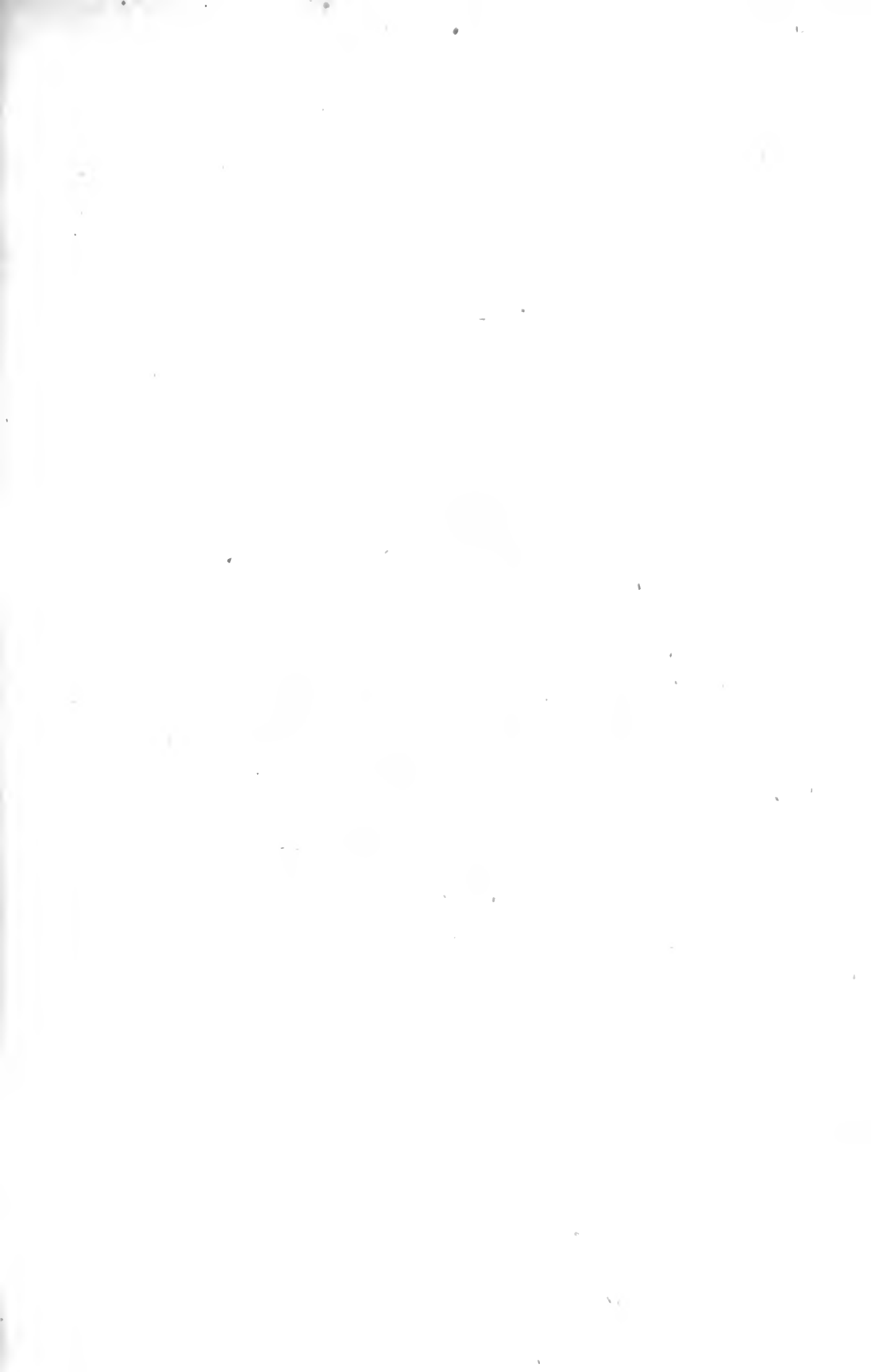
"Dr. Monteath's attention to his patients was particularly deserving of approbation—it extended to the poorest as well as the richest, and allowed no circumstance to escape notice which could tend, even in a remote degree, to alleviate suffering or secure recovery. Those who had no other means of judging of his superiority as a medical practitioner must have been struck with this trait of his character, and acknowledged it as an excellence of no mean value. His manner was soothing, and his politeness fascinating. None who had ever employed him as a medical attendant could see him approach without feeling their distress already in part subdued, their fears allayed, and their hopes invigorated, by the presence of one in whose ample skill and unwearied pains they could so implicitly confide."

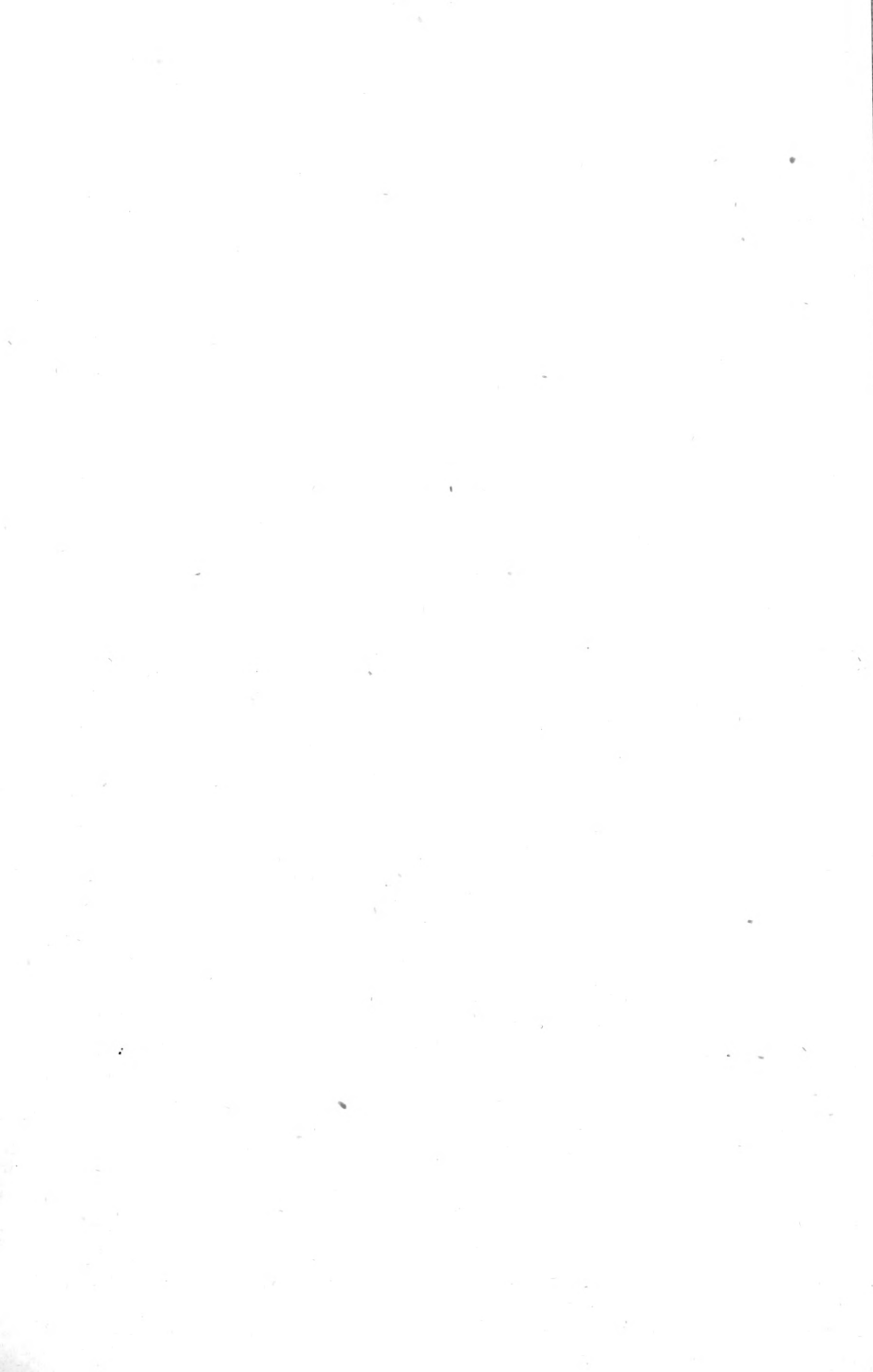
MONTGOMERY, ALEXANDER, an early poet of considerable fame, appears to have been a younger son of Montgomery, of Hazelhead Castle in Ayrshire, a branch of the noble family of Eglintoun. He flourished in the reign of James VI., but probably wrote verses at an antecedent period, as some of his compositions are transcribed in the *Bannatyne Manuscript*, which was written in 1568. The date of his birth—further than that it was upon an Easter-day—the place and nature of his education, and the pursuits of his early years, are all involved in obscurity. He is said to have been brought up in the county of Argyle—a fact which seems to gather some confirmation from a passage in Dempster—"eques Montanus vulgo vocatus,"—as if he had acquired some common nickname, such as "the Highland trooper;" for Montgomery never was knighted. There is some reason to suppose that he was at one time a domestic or commander in the guard of the

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regent Morton. His most familiar title, "Captain Alexander Montgomery," renders it probable that the latter was the nature of his office, for the word *captain* seems to have been first used in Scotland in reference to officers in the immediate service of the sovereign. Melville, in his *Diary*, mentions that when Patrick Adamson was promoted to the archbishopric of St. Andrews (an event which occurred in the year 1577), there was then at court "Captain Montgomery, a good honest man, and the regent's domestic," who, recollecting a phrase which the new primate had been accustomed to use in his sermons, remarked to some of his companions, "for as often as it was reported by Mr. Patrick, *the prophet would mean this*, I never understood what the prophet meant till now."

Montgomery appears afterwards to have been in the service of King James, who, in his *Revels and Cautelis*, published in 1582, quotes some of the poems of the subject of this memoir. His services were acknowledged by a pension of 500 merks, chargeable upon certain rents of the archbishopric of Glasgow, which was confirmed in 1583, and again in 1589. Various places throughout Scotland are pointed out by tradition as having been the residence of Montgomery, particularly the ruins of Compston Castle, near Kirkcudbright, now involved in the pleasure-grounds connected with the modern mansion-house of Dundrennan. In 1586 the poet commenced a tour of the Continent. After his return he was involved in a tedious and vexatious lawsuit respecting his pension, which drew from him some severe remarks upon the lawyers and judges of that time. Of his principal poem, *The Cherry and the Slae*, the first known edition was printed by Robert Waldegrave in 1607. The poet appears, from a passage in a memoir of Mure of Rowallan,¹ his nephew, to have died between this date and 1611.

"The poems of Montgomery," says Dr. Irving, "display an elegant and lively fancy; and his versification is often distinguished by a degree of harmony, which most of his contemporaries were incapable of attaining. He has attempted a great variety of subjects as well as of measures, but his chief beauties seem to be of the lyric kind. It is highly probable that his taste was formed by the study of the Italian poets: he has left many sonnets constructed on the regular model, and his quaint conceits seem not unfrequently to betray their Italian origin. The subject of love, which has afforded so fertile a theme to the poets of every age and nation, has furnished Montgomery with the most common and favourite topic for the exercise of his talents. . . . His most serious effort is *The Cherry and the Slae*, a poem of considerable length, and certainly of very considerable ingenuity. . . . The images are scattered even with profusion; and almost every stanza displays the vivacity of the author's mind. In this, as well as in his other productions, Montgomery's illustrations are very frequently and very happily drawn from the most familiar objects; and he often applies proverbial expressions in a very pointed and pleasing manner. . . . The genuine explanation of the allegory may perhaps be that virtue, though of very hard attainment, ought to be preferred to vice: virtue is represented by the cherry, a refreshing fruit, growing upon a tall tree, and that tree rising from a formidable precipice; vice is represented by the sloe—a fruit which may easily be plucked, but is bitter to the taste."

The Cherry and the Slae has longer retained popularity than any other poetical composition of the reign of James VI. It continued to be occasionally

printed for popular use till a recent period; and in 1822 this, as well as the other poetical works of Montgomery, appeared in a very handsome edition under the superintendence of Mr. David Laing. Dr. Irving contributed to the publication a biographical preface, from which we have chiefly derived the present memoir.

MONTGOMERY, JAMES, was the last of the brilliant galaxy of poets (excepting Samuel Rogers) which illuminated the hemisphere of British literature in the early part of the present century. He was born at Irvine, in Ayrshire, November 4, 1771. His father was a Moravian minister stationed at that time in Irvine. The house where the poet was born still exists, and is an object of interest to strangers visiting the town. It was originally a detached building, situated in the centre of an open space, and consisted of a pretty large room, which was used as a chapel by the Moravian congregation, and a separate apartment in which the family lived, and where the poet was born. The house is now surrounded by other buildings, and what was once the chapel is occupied as a weaver's shop. The poet's father must have been in straitened circumstances, as he found it necessary to devote part of his time to a manual occupation; and a townsman and friend of the poet's, who has furnished the writer with several other particulars of his early history, remembers being informed by an old friend, about forty years ago, that he recollect attending the chapel one evening in his youth, when the poet's father closed the service by addressing the congregation in substance as follows:—"I am a man of simple tastes and habits, but I cannot live upon air; and therefore, individuals present will have an opportunity when they retire of leaving behind them what they think proper towards my support." The Moravian cause seems not to have found a genial soil in Irvine, as, on the removal of the poet's father to Ireland, in 1775, no preacher appears to have succeeded him. The town of Ayr now possesses the only Moravian congregation in Scotland. From the period when his father was ordered by the Moravian body to do duty at their establishment of Gracehill, near Ballymena, in Ireland, and whither he accordingly removed his family, till the year 1841, being a period of sixty-six years, James Montgomery had not once visited Scotland. He was between four and five years of age when he left Irvine, but his recollections of his early years were extremely vivid, and on the occasion of his visit to his native town he related some of them with great delight to a meeting of the inhabitants assembled to do him honour. One of these anecdotes was connected with his removal from Ireland to the Moravian school at Fulneck, near Leeds, in Yorkshire. He had received the elements of his education from "Jemmy M'Caffery," the village schoolmaster at Gracehill, and being now between six and seven years of age, it was determined to send him to school in England. Taking a child's farewell of his mother, he and his father embarked in a vessel bound for Liverpool, and were overtaken by a violent storm. The poet remembered how his childish terror was soothed by the affection of his father, and his confidence restored by his expressions of trust in the providence of God and the love of his Redeemer. The effect produced upon the boy attracted the attention of the master of the vessel, who, himself evincing considerable solicitude in the trying circumstances, observed—"I would give a hundred guineas for the faith of that child." Mr. Montgomery took great pleasure in looking back upon the incidents of the voyage, as having called forth

¹ Lyle's *Ballads*, London, 1827.

memorable evidence of the simple faith and piety of his father. James was placed in the Moravian institution at Fulneck, in October, 1777. Another of his early reminiscences related to this school. It was visited on one occasion by the celebrated Lord Monboddo, whose figure the poet recalled as dressed in a rough closely-buttoned coat, with top-boots, and carrying in his hand a large whip, such as huntsmen use. He inquired if there was any Scotch boy in the school; and the teacher having produced young Montgomery, Lord Monboddo looked the future poet sternly in the face, and, after addressing to him some counsels suitable to his years—holding the whip towards him, as the boy thought, in unpleasant proximity—"Mind, sir," he added, "that I trust you will never do anything to disgrace your country." "This," said the poet, "I never forgot, nor shall I forget it while I live. I have, indeed, endeavoured so to act hitherto, that my country might never have cause to be ashamed of me; nor will I, on my part, ever be ashamed of her." In 1783 John Montgomery and his wife, the father and mother of the poet, proceeded to the West Indies as missionaries. The only allusion in Montgomery's poems to the place of his birth occurs in the verses written on revisiting Fulneck school in 1806, and the remembrance of Irvine recalled the image of his sainted parents, both of whom had died in the West Indies:—

"The loud Atlantic ocean,
On Scotland's rugged breast,
Rocks, with harmonious motion,
His weary waves to rest,
And gleaming round her emerald isles
In all the pomp of sunset smiles.
On that romantic shore
My parents hailed their first-born boy;
A mother's pangs my mother bore,
My father felt a father's joy;
My father, mother—parents now no more!
Beneath the Lion Star they sleep,
Beyond the western deep,
And when the sun's noon-glory crests the waves,
He shines without a shadow on their graves."

The boy remained for ten years at Fulneck, where he was carefully educated, it being the wish of the Brethren to train him for the ministry; but the bent of his mind not being in that direction, the intention was not persisted in. His first poetical impulse was received from reading Blair's *Grave*. At the age of twelve he produced some small poems, and his taste for poetry was cherished by reading extracts from Milton, Thomson, and Young, together with such books as he could procure and enjoy by stealth. He was sent to earn his bread as an assistant in a chandler's shop, but did not take kindly to the occupation, ran away from his master, and after another year of service with a second, at last set off to London with 3s. 6d. in his pocket to seek fame and fortune. He offered a manuscript volume of verse to Mr. Harrison, publisher, Paternoster Row, who rejected the poetry, but engaged the poet as a clerk. In this situation he continued for eight months, but feeling the drudgery irksome, he made his way back to Yorkshire. In 1792 he obtained employment in the establishment of Mr. Gales, a bookseller in Sheffield, who had commenced a newspaper named the *Sheffield Register*. Montgomery found the labour of a journalist congenial to his tastes; but those were difficult times for men who entertained and propagated liberal opinions, as the young poet soon discovered. Mr. Gales was obliged to flee from England, to avoid prosecution for printing an article which incurred the displeasure of the despotic government of the day. The poet now became the editor and publisher of the paper, changing its name to the *Sheffield Iris*. Although more prudent and

moderate than his predecessor, he was also more gifted, and therefore more obnoxious to men in power, who set a watch for his halting. The whole nation was convulsed by the example and influence of the French revolution, and political feeling ran high in Sheffield, when Montgomery undertook the labours and responsibility of editorship. Reverting thirty-one years afterwards, in his valedictory address to his readers, to this era of his life, he said:—"With all the enthusiasm of youth, for I had not then arrived at years of discretion, I entered into the feelings of those who avowed themselves the friends of freedom, justice, and humanity. Though with every pulse of my heart beating in favour of the popular doctrines, my retired and religious education had laid restraints upon my conscience, which (I may fearlessly say so) long kept me back from personally engaging in the civil war of words raging in the neighbourhood, beyond occasional rhyme, paragraph, or essay in the newspaper, written rather for the purpose of showing my literary than my political qualifications. Ignorant of myself, and inexperienced in the world as a child of seven years old, having actually not lived so long among its everyday inhabitants, even when I became editor of the *Iris*, I nevertheless was preserved from joining myself to any of the political societies till they were broken up in 1794, when, I confess, I did associate with the remnant of one of them for a purpose which I shall never be ashamed to avow—to support the families of several of the accused leaders, who were detained prisoners in London, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and who were finally discharged without having been brought to trial." The rule of his editorial conduct, he adds, was, "a plain determination, come wind or sun, come fire or water, to do what was right." It was in 1794 that the *Iris* was commenced, and it was carried on "through a series of sufferings, desertions, crosses, and calamities without a name," persecuted by the aristocrats and abandoned by the Jacobins; yet the editor outlived the hostility of his enemies, won their confidence and friendship, and for years after 1805, which ended, as he observes, the "romance" of his life, he was supported by the same arms that had fought against him, in a path of moderate prosperity. The more romantic incidents of the period referred to were his being twice prosecuted and imprisoned for alleged political offences. An example was wanted, as he tells us, to deter others from doing what *he* had not yet done, but what *they* were doing with impunity. He had scarcely been installed a month in the editorial chair when he was one day called into the bookseller's shop, where business-orders were received, to see an old grotesque-looking ballad-monger, who was offering twelve songs for a penny, and running glibly over a catalogue of their names. Presenting Montgomery with a specimen of the article, he inquired what would be the cost of six quires of the same. The reply was that the presses were better employed than in printing such commodities, and he was recommended to apply elsewhere. "But you have *this* standing in your office," was the rejoinder; whereupon, expressing his ignorance of the fact, Montgomery took up the printed leaf, and found that it contained two copies of verses, with each of which he had long been familiar, although he had never before seen them in that particular form. In a wood-cut figure of Liberty and the British lion he now recognized the frontispiece of an extinct periodical conducted by his predecessor; and on inquiring in the printing-office, he found that the ballads had been put in type surreptitiously by one of Mr. Gales' apprentices, for the use of his companions, and that

the ballad-vendor had lately, for old acquaintance sake, been furnished by the foreman with a quantity for sale. On learning these particulars Montgomery allowed the poor fellow to obtain what he wanted. Eighteenpence worth of the ballads was accordingly worked off, and paid for. In two months afterwards Montgomery was arrested, on a magistrate's warrant, for publishing a certain seditious libel respecting the war then waging between his majesty and the French government, entitled *A Patriotic Song by a Clergyman of Belfast*, which song had, in fact, been composed in 1792, a year before the war with France commenced, and referred solely to the invasion of France by the armies of Austria and Prussia. It was enough that the song had been printed by Montgomery, and vended by a ballad-monger, who went about crying "Straws to sell!" and giving away the ballad into the bargain. A constable purchased a straw, obtained the ballad to boot, and took the ballad-seller into custody. Upon the evidence of the constable and the ballad-monger, Montgomery was found guilty of the publication, by a jury at Doncaster sessions, January 22, 1795; and the sentence of the court was three months' imprisonment in the castle of York, and a fine of £20. Forty-four years afterwards, in 1839, Mr. Montgomery received a packet, containing several of the original documents connected with his trial. Amongst these was a letter from the Duke of Portland, then the home-secretary, to a local magistrate, approving of the steps taken against the song-seller and the publisher. The "compliments" of the attorney-general, Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, were, according to instructions from Mr. White, solicitor to the treasury, to accompany the brief to three counsel named, and the Sheffield solicitor's bill of costs was endorsed *Rex v. Montgomery*. "Thus (says the poet) I learned that I had actually suffered, not to say enjoyed, the honour of a state prosecution." A fragment of the original draft of the brief was also received, stating that "this prosecution is carried on chiefly with a view of putting a stop to the meetings of the associated clubs in Sheffield; and it is hoped that, if we are fortunate enough to succeed in convicting the prisoner, it will go a great way towards curbing the insolence they have uniformly manifested." The second offence for which Mr. Montgomery was tried and imprisoned, was the printing in his paper of a paragraph reflecting hardly upon the conduct of a magistrate in quelling a riot at Sheffield in 1795. The trial took place at Doncaster sessions in 1796, a verdict was given against the defendant, and he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in York Castle, to pay a fine of £30 to the king, and to give security to keep the peace for two years. Mr. Montgomery never complained of this trial and sentence; and he records, in the introduction to his *Prison Amusements*, that the magistrate whom he had offended took the opportunity, a few years afterwards, of showing him both kindness and confidence in an affair of business, and that his conduct evinced that his mind was as much discharged of hostile feeling towards his editorial opponent, "as, I trust (says the latter), mine was of resentment against him." In the same spirit the poet in his valedictory address, in 1825, said—"I can now add that all the persons who were actively concerned in the prosecutions against me in 1794 and 1795 are dead, and without exception they died in peace with me. I believe I am quite correct in saying, that from each of them distinctly, in the sequel, I received tokens of goodwill, and from several of them substantial proofs of kindness."

Having failed to obtain poetical renown by his

youthful effusions, Mr. Montgomery informs us that he resolved to secure it by such means as made many of his contemporaries notorious. He wrote doggerel verse after the model of Peter Pindar, and prose in the style of Fielding and Smollett, occasionally imitating the wild flights of the German plays and romances. To the failure of these attempts he refers in this characteristic remark:—"A providence of disappointment shut every door in my face, by which I attempted to force my way to a dishonourable fame;" and he congratulates himself on having been saved from appearing as the author of works of which he should afterwards have felt ashamed. His first successful poetical effort was the *Wanderer of Switzerland*, which appeared in 1806. This poem, descriptive of the sufferings of the Swiss when the independence of their country was destroyed by France, was severely handled in the *Edinburgh Review*, and afterwards defended by Lord Byron. It was followed by the *West Indies*, written to accompany a series of pictures published as a memorial of the abolition of the slave-trade. In this genial labour, to which the poet says he gave his whole mind, as affording him an opportunity of exposing the iniquities of slavery and the slave-trade, he was associated with Grahame, the author of the *Sabbath*, and Miss Benger, who wrote several works in history and biography. In 1813 appeared the *World before the Flood*, suggested to the poet by a passage in the eleventh book of *Paradise Lost*, referring to the translation of Enoch. This was followed in 1819 by *Greenland*, a poem in five cantos, the plan, which was not fully carried out, being to describe the original condition of the country and its people, and exhibit the changes wrought by the introduction of the gospel by the Moravian missionaries. The last and best of Montgomery's works, the *Pelican Island*, was published in 1827, and confirmed the author's title to a high place amongst the British poets. It is the most imaginative of all his writings, and abounds in fresh and vigorous description. Each of the principal poems, issued at intervals, was accompanied by minor and miscellaneous compositions, many of them of great merit, and possessing the elements of lasting popularity. The *Prison Amusements* is the name given to a series of small poems on various subjects, written during his incarcerations in York Castle. The *Grave* appeared in the first volume of the poet's works, and is one of the best known of his minor pieces.

In *Thoughts on Wheels* the poet denounced the national wickedness and folly of the state lotteries, and powerfully contributed to the abolition of this disgraceful method of replenishing the public treasury. In this poem Montgomery introduces an apostrophe to Britain, breathing a lofty strain of patriotism and piety. When he visited Scotland in 1841, he read these verses at a public breakfast to which he was invited in Glasgow, as expressing his personal feelings towards his native land and its noble institutions. The sufferings of chimney-sweepers' apprentices engaged his sympathy, and drew from his pen a series of verses, under the title of the *Climbing Boy's Soliloquies*. He paraphrased a number of the Psalms of David in *Songs of Zion*, but admitted, when in Scotland, that no version of the Psalms came up to that used in the Presbyterian churches for Scriptural simplicity and truthfulness to the original. "The Common Lot," "The Little Cloud," "Night," "Robert Burns," "The Daisy in India," "Friends," "A Voyage Round the World," and numerous hymns, are amongst the minor compositions which have made his name familiar wherever there is piety to feel their force and taste to appreciate their beauty. His collected poetical works were

published by Longman and Co., London, in four 12mo volumes, in 1841, and an edition in one volume appeared in 1851. This was followed in 1853 by *Original Hymns, for Public, Private, and Social Devotion*. Montgomery also produced several prose writings, lectured on poetry, and edited *The Christian Poets*, published by Collins in Glasgow. The religious character of his larger poems has no doubt limited the range of his readers, but both in this country and in America his works enjoy a high reputation, and in the United States have run through numerous editions. The purity of his language, the fluency of his numbers, and above all the evangelical spirit of his religious compositions, have exerted a considerable influence upon public taste and feeling. The tendency of all he wrote was to purify and elevate. The Catholicity of his religious poems reflects the spirit of their author, who was singularly free from sectarian narrowness. His latter years were devoted to active usefulness and works of beneficence in Sheffield, where he was universally known and beloved. He died at his residence, the Mount, in that town, April 30, 1854, in his eighty-third year, and was honoured with a public funeral. The venerable poet had enjoyed, for some years, a well-deserved literary pension from government, of £150 a year.

MONTROSE, MARQUIS OF. *See* GRAHAM (JAMES).

MOOR, JAMES, LL.D., an eminent Greek scholar, was the son of Mr. Robert Moor, schoolmaster in Glasgow—a person of considerable learning, and of such unwearied industry, that, being too poor to purchase Newton's *Principia*, he copied the whole book with his own hand. The subject of this notice entered the university of Glasgow in 1725, and distinguished himself by great industry and capacity as a student. After finishing his academical course, and taking the degree of M.A., with considerable applause, he taught a school for some time in Glasgow. This situation he seems to have abandoned in order to become tutor to the Earls of Selkirk and Errol, in which capacity he travelled abroad. He was afterwards in the family of the Earl of Kilmarnock; and on the burning of Dean Castle, which took place in his absence, lost a considerable stock of books, which he had employed himself in collecting for his own use. Without the knowledge of the earl, Moor instructed Lord Boyd in Greek, so that the young nobleman was able to surprise his father one day by reading, at his tutor's desire, one of the odes of Anacreon. In 1742 he was appointed librarian to the university of Glasgow; and in July, 1746, became professor of Greek in the same institution, the Earl of Selkirk advancing him £600 in order to purchase the resignation of the preceding incumbent. On the condemnation of his patron, the Earl of Kilmarnock, for his concern in the insurrection of 1745, Moor, who was of opposite politics, made a journey to London for the purpose of making interest with the ministers for his lordship's pardon—an enterprise honourable to his feelings, however unsuccessful.

Moor was a useful professor, and besides his academical duties, conferred some benefits on the literary world by his publications. In company with Professor Muirhead he superintended, at the request of the university, a very splendid edition of Homer, published by the Foulises of Glasgow. He also edited their Herodotus, and was of service in several of their other publications. Some essays read by him before the Literary Society [of Glasgow], of which he was a constituent member, were collected

and published in 8vo in 1759. In 1766 he published *A Vindication of Virgil from the Charge of Puerility imputed to him by Dr. Pearce*, 12mo. His principal work, however, was his *Grammar of the Greek Language*, which has ever since been very extensively used in schools. He collected a large and valuable library, and selected a cabinet of medals, which the university afterwards purchased. In 1761 he was appointed vice-rector of the college by the Earl of Errol, the lord-rector, who, under the designation of Lord Boyd, had formerly been his pupil. In 1763 he applied to the university for the degree of Doctor of Laws, which was granted to him in consideration of his talents and services. Dr. Moor was addicted to the cultivation of light literature, and used to amuse himself and his friends by writing verses in the Hudibrastic vein. He resigned his chair in 1774 on account of bad health, and died on the 17th of September, 1779.

MOORE, DUGALD. This poet, who in humble life attracted attention, and won for himself a respected name solely by the power of his genius, was born in Stockwell Street, Glasgow, in August, 1805. His father, who was a private soldier in a Highland regiment, died early in life, and such was the poverty of the widow, that Dugald's only education was such as she was able herself to impart to him. The education, however, of one who is born a poet does not mainly depend on teachers and school-books. While as yet a mere child he was sent to serve in the workshop of a tobacco-spinner; but this coarse and stupefying occupation he abandoned in youth, for a place in the copper-printing branch of the establishment of Messrs. James Lumsden and Son, booksellers, Queen Street, Glasgow. Dugald Moore began to write verses at an early period; and Mr. Lumsden, who valued the good qualities of his protégé and admired his poetry, exerted himself to procure subscribers for the *African, a Tale, and other Poems*, so that Moore was enabled in 1829 to publish the volume. It was so favourably received that in the following year a second edition was required, and about the same time its author published a second work, entitled *Scenes from the Flood; the Tenth Plague, and other Poems*. In 1831 Moore published the *Bridal Night, and other Poems*, a larger and more pretentious work than the two preceding ones. After having written so much poetry in so short a time, Dugald, who had his aged mother to support, opened a shop, and commenced business in his native city as a bookseller and stationer, which he was enabled to do from the profits of his publications; and his shop, which was in 96 Queen Street, became a favourite resort of literary men—a distinction which soon established and advanced his business as a bookseller.

Although he had thus shown his good sense in embracing the first opportunity of settling down in life instead of trusting to the precarious support of authorship, Dugald still retained his love of poetry unabated, and employed his leisure hours in its cultivation. The result was, the *Bard of the North*, a series of poetical tales, illustrative of Highland scenery and character, which he published in 1833; the *Hour of Retribution, and other Poems*, which appeared in 1835; and the *Devoted One, and other Poems*, which he published in 1839. In so short a time he had thus done enough for poetical fame; but numerous as were his publications, they were all distinguished by a sterling excellence that seldom accompanies such prolific abundance; and although his subjects were not chosen for the day, by which he might have secured a wide but temporary popularity and larger profit, his poetry was of that sub-

stantial excellence whose reputation is rather enhanced than extinguished by the lapse of years. Extensive and varied though it was, it sustained its vigour to the last, and was distinguished by a lofty fancy, intense energy of feeling, and remarkable powers of versification, which constitute the chief essentials of poetry. As many of our readers may be unacquainted with his works, we give the following short specimen from his smallest pieces, as best suited to our limits:—

"THE FIRST SHIP.

"The sky in beauty arch'd
The wide and weltering flood,
While the winds in triumph march'd
Through their pathless solitude—
Rousing up the plume on ocean's hoary crest,
That like space in darkness slept,
When his watch old Silence kept,
Ere the earliest planet leapt
From its breast.

"A speck is on the deeps,
Like a spirit in her flight;
How beautiful she keeps
Her stately path in light!
She sweeps the shining wilderness in glee—
The sun has on her smiled,
And the waves, no longer wild,
Sing in g'ory round that child
Of the sea.

"'Twas at the set of sun
That she tilted o'er the flood,
Moving like God alone
O'er the glorious solitude—
The billows crouch around her as her slaves.
How exulting are her crew!—
Each sight to them is new,
As they sweep along the blue
Of the waves.

"Fair herald of the fleets
That yet shall cross the waves,
Till the earth with ocean meets
One universal grave,
What armaments shall follow thee in joy!
Linking each distant land
With trade's harmonious band,
Or bearing havoc's brand
To destroy!"

In writing so much as he did, Moore seems to have had a premonition that his day would close ere his sun had gone down. He died unmarried, after a brief illness, on the 2d of January, 1841, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, leaving his widowed mother, whom he had supported, in possession of a comfortable competency. He was interred in the Necropolis of Glasgow, and over his grave a massive monument surmounted by his bust was erected by his personal friends to perpetuate his memory.

MOORE, DR. JOHN, a miscellaneous writer of the last century, was born in Stirling in the year 1730. His father, the Rev. Charles Moore, was a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal church settled at Stirling. His mother was the daughter of John Anderson, Esq., Dowhill, Glasgow.

On the death of his father, which took place in 1735, his mother removed with her family to Glasgow, where a small property had been left her by her father. Having here gone through the usual course of grammar-school education, young Moore was matriculated at the university, and attended the various classes necessary to qualify him for the profession of medicine, for which he was early intended. At a more advanced stage of his studies he was placed under the care of Dr. Gordon, an eminent practitioner of that day; and while under his tuition attended the lectures of Dr. Hamilton, then anatomical demonstrator, and those of the celebrated Dr. Cullen, at that time professor of medicine at Glasgow.

In 1747 Mr. Moore, desirous of adding to the pro-

fessional knowledge which he had already acquired by visiting a new and wider field of experience, proceeded to the Continent, under the protection of the Duke of Argyle, to whom he had procured an introduction. The duke, then a commoner, was lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of foot, and was about to embark for Flanders to serve under the Duke of Cumberland, who was there in command of the allied army. On arriving at Maestricht he attended the military hospitals there in the capacity of inmate, and found abundance of practice, as these receptacles were filled with soldiers wounded at the battle of Laffeldt, which had just been fought. In consequence of a recommendation which he soon after obtained from Mr. Middleton, director-general of the military hospitals, to the Earl of Albemarle, Mr. Moore removed to Flushing, where he again attended the military hospitals. From this duty, however, he was almost immediately called to the assistance of the surgeon of the Coldstream foot-guards, of which regiment his new patron, the Earl of Albemarle, was colonel. With this corps Mr. Moore, after passing the autumn of 1747 in Flushing, removed to Breda, where he spent the winter in garrison. In the summer of the following year, a peace having been in the meantime concluded, he returned to England with General Braddock.

Although thus fairly on the world, and in possession of very considerable experience in his profession, Mr. Moore was yet only in the seventeenth year of his age. After remaining some time in London, during which he attended the anatomical lectures of his celebrated countryman Dr. Hunter, he went to Paris to acquire what knowledge might be afforded by an attendance on the hospital and medical lectures of that city, then reckoned the best school in Europe. Fortunately for Mr. Moore, his early patron, the Earl of Albemarle, was at this time residing in Paris as ambassador from the court of Great Britain. Mr. Moore lost no time in waiting upon his excellency, who, having always entertained the highest opinion of his merits, immediately appointed him surgeon to his household. He had thus an opportunity afforded him of enjoying the first society in Paris, being at all times a welcome guest at the table of the ambassador.

After residing nearly two years in the French capital, Mr. Moore was invited by his first master, Dr. Gordon, to return to Glasgow, and to enter into partnership with him in his business. With this invitation he thought it advisable to comply, and soon after left Paris. He returned, however, by the way of London, where he remained a few months for the purpose of attending another course of Dr. Hunter's lectures, together with those of Dr. Smellie on midwifery. From London he proceeded to Glasgow, when the proposed connection with Dr. Gordon immediately took place. This connection continued for two years. At the end of that period, his partner having received a diploma, confined himself solely to the practice of physic, while Mr. Moore continued the business of a surgeon, assuming now as his partner Mr. Hamilton, professor of anatomy, instead of Dr. Gordon, who had necessarily, from the change in his practice, withdrawn from the concern.

In 1769 a circumstance occurred which totally altered Dr. Moore's prospects in life, and opened up others more congenial, there is every reason to believe, than those to which his profession confined him. In the year just named he was called upon to attend James George, Duke of Hamilton, who, then but in the fourteenth year of his age, was affected with a consumptive disorder, of which, after a lingering illness, he died. Dr. Moore's assiduity in this

case, although unavailing as to the issue, led to a close connection with the noble family of his late patient. In the following year, having previously obtained a diploma as Doctor of Medicine from the university of Glasgow, he was engaged by the Duchess of Hamilton to attend her son, the Duke of Hamilton, brother of his late patient, as a companion during his travels. The duke, who was at this time about fourteen or fifteen years of age, was, like his brother, also of a sickly constitution, and in Dr. Moore was found exactly such a person as was fittest to attend him; one who combined a knowledge of medicine with some experience of Continental travel, and an enlightened mind. The young duke and his companion remained abroad for five years, during which they visited France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

On his return from the Continent, which was in the year 1778, Dr. Moore removed with his family from Glasgow to London, and in the year following, 1779, published his celebrated work, entitled a *View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*. This work was so well received, that it attained a seventh edition in less than ten years, besides the Irish editions, and French, German, and Italian translations. Two years afterwards he published a continuation of the same work, entitled a *View of Society and Manners in Italy*. During this period, however, his medical practice was by no means extensive—a circumstance which has been attributed, not to any disinclination on the part of the public, with whom he was so popular as an author, to patronize him, but to his own reluctance to engage in the drudgery entailed on a general practice. The rambling and unfettered life which he had led upon the Continent had, in a great degree, unfitted him for the laborious routine of professional duty; and his reluctance again to involve himself in it appears to have adhered to him throughout the whole of his after-life, and greatly marred his prosperity in the world.

In 1785 he published his *Medical Sketches*—a work which sufficiently showed that his limited practice did not proceed from any deficiency of knowledge in his profession. It was received with much favour by the public, although it is said to have given offence to some of the medical gentlemen of the time, who thought their interest likely to suffer by the disclosures which it made of what had hitherto been considered amongst the secrets of the profession.

Dr. Moore's next publication was his celebrated novel, *Zeluco*—a work unquestionably of the very highest order of merit, and which has long since become one of the fixed and component parts of every British library.

In the August of 1792 he went to Paris to witness with his own eyes the memorable proceedings which were then in progress in the French capital, and which others were content to learn from report. Dr. Moore on this occasion frequently attended the National Assembly. He was present also at the attack on the Tuileries, and witnessed many other sanguinary doings of that frightful period. On his return to England he began to arrange the materials with which his journey had supplied him, and in 1795 published a *View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution*, in two volumes 8vo, dedicated to the Duke of Devonshire. This work was followed in 1796 by *Edward: Various Views of Human Nature, taken from Life and Manners, chiefly in England*; and this again, in 1800, by *Mordaunt, being Sketches of Life, Characters, and Manners in Various Countries, including the Memoirs of a French Lady of Quality*, in two volumes 8vo. These works

scarcely supported the reputation which their author had previously acquired: in the latter he is supposed, in detailing some gallant feats of a young British officer, to allude to his heroic son, General Sir John Moore, who was then a field-officer.

Dr. Moore has the merit of having been one of the first men of note who appreciated and noticed the talents of Burns, who drew up, and forwarded to him, at his request, a sketch of his life. This was followed by a correspondence in 1787, which is to be found in those editions of the poet's works which include his letters.

At the time of the publication of his last work, *Mordaunt*, Dr. Moore had attained the seventieth year of his age. He did not again appear before the public, but spent the short remaining period of his life in the quiet seclusion of his residence at Richmond, in Surrey. After an illness of considerable duration, he died at his house in Clifford Street, London, February 29, 1802.

"As an author," says a distinguished modern writer,¹ "Dr. Moore was more distinguished by the range of his information than by its accuracy or extent upon any particular subject; and his writings did not owe their celebrity to any great depth or even originality of thought. As a novelist, he showed no extraordinary felicity in the department of invention; no great powers of diversifying his characters, or ease in conducting his narrative. The main quality of his works is that particular species of sardonic wit with which they are indeed perhaps profusely tinctured, but which frequently confers a grace and poignancy on the general strain of good sense and judicious observation that pervades the whole of them."

Dr. Moore left five sons and one daughter by his wife, previously Miss Simson, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Simson, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. The eldest of the former, John, became the celebrated military general already alluded to; the second adopted his father's profession; the third entered the navy; the fourth was admitted into the department of the secretary of state; and the fifth was bred to the bar.

MOORE, SIR JOHN, a distinguished military commander, was born at Glasgow on the 13th of November, 1761. He was the eldest son of Dr. John Moore, the subject of the preceding article, by a daughter of John Simson, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. His education, commenced at a public school in Glasgow, and afterwards advanced at the university of that city, was completed under the eye of his father, then acting as travelling tutor to the Duke of Hamilton. The subject of this memoir accompanied Dr. Moore during five years of continental travel, by which means he acquired a knowledge of most European languages, and a degree of polish and intelligence very uncommon in young men of his rank, either in that or the present age. Having chosen the army as a profession, he obtained, through the Hamilton interest, a commission as ensign in the 51st regiment, which he joined at Minorca in 1776, being then only fifteen years of age. A lieutenancy in the 82d regiment was his first step of promotion; and he seems to have held that station without much distinction or any censure during the several campaigns of the American war, at the end of which, in 1783, his regiment was reduced. In 1788 he was appointed major in the 60th; but this he soon exchanged for

¹ Mr. Thomas Campbell, in his memoir of Dr. Moore, contributed to Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*.





a similar post in his original regiment, the 51st; in 1790 he purchased a lieutenant-colonelcy in the same regiment.

Such was the rank of Sir John Moore at the commencement of the French revolutionary war. From Gibraltar, where he was then stationed, he was ordered, in 1794, to accompany the expedition for the reduction of Corsica. The bravery and skill which he displayed on this occasion, especially in storming the Mozello fort, where he received his first wound, introduced him to the favourable notice of General Charles Stuart, whom he succeeded soon after in the capacity of adjutant-general. Returning to England in 1795 he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and appointed to serve with Sir Ralph Abercromby in the expedition against the West Indies. There he assisted in the reduction of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, and afterwards in that of St. Lucia; in which last enterprise he had an important post assigned to him, the duties of which he executed in such a manner, that he was characterized by General Abercromby as "the admiration of the whole army," and afterwards intrusted with the government of the island. This charge, undertaken with reluctance, and rendered full of danger and labour from the hostility of the natives and the number of Maroon negroes who constantly infested the country, was managed with a decision and activity that overcame every obstacle.

Two successive attacks of the yellow fever soon compelled General Moore to leave the West Indies; but, in company with Sir Ralph Abercromby, he was destined to reach yet higher distinction. The first scene in which they again acted together was the Irish rebellion of 1798. The victory gained over the rebels at Wexford, mainly owing to the talents of General Moore, was the prelude to the suppression of that luckless movement of an irritated people. This field of exertion was not that in which a soldier of good feelings can be anxious to gain distinction; nor was there much scope for military talent in the enterprise. It is, therefore, highly creditable to General Moore, that he acquitted himself of all the duties intrusted to him on the occasion with universal approbation.

In 1799 the subject of our memoir, promoted to the rank of major-general, served under Sir Ralph Abercromby in the unfortunate expedition to the Helder, where he displayed his wonted bravery, and was slightly wounded. In the subsequent campaign in Egypt under the same commander, he found a wider and more favourable theatre for the display of his military talents. In the landing at Aboukir he led the way, and carried by assault the batteries with which the French endeavoured to prevent that movement. In the subsequent battle of Aboukir, March 21, 1801, he conducted himself with signal gallantry, and was severely wounded.

At the end of the campaign he returned to England, and received the honour of knighthood, with the order of the Bath. For some time after this he held an important command in Kent, and afterwards succeeded General Fox in the command of the army in Sicily, whence he was recalled in the end of the year 1807. In the month of May, 1808, he was sent to the Baltic with an armament of 10,000 men, on behalf of the King of Sweden, who was at this time threatened with simultaneous attacks from France, Russia, and Denmark. With this force Sir John reached Gottenburg on the 17th, but was not permitted to land the troops; he himself, however, repaired to Stockholm, to consult with the Swedish cabinet. Here, to his astonishment, he learned that the Swedish monarch, despising the tame idea of

defensive operations, was wholly engrossed with dreams of conquest. He proposed that some Swedish regiments should be collected at Gottenburg, with which the British troops should be joined, and that this united force should take possession of Zealand. The British general represented this to be impossible, on account of the number of French and Spanish troops which occupied the island of Funen, and which could not, in present circumstances, be prevented from passing over to Zealand. It was next proposed to land the British alone in Finland, where they would have had the principal part of the whole effective force of the Russian empire to contend with. Sir John having, in reply to this proposal, modestly hinted that 10,000 British troops might not be found equal to such an undertaking, the impatient Gustavus ordered him to be instantly arrested. He had the good fortune, however, to make his escape, and with the troops returned immediately to England. Without being permitted to land, General Moore was ordered to proceed, under the command of Sir Harry Burrard, to Portugal, in order to give the aid of his talents to the expedition already formed in that country for the assistance of the Spanish patriots in expelling the French from their territory.

Sir John did not arrive in Portugal till after the signing of the convention of Cintra, and thus escaped all participation in the odium which was attached to that transaction. Disgusted with the manner in which the affairs of Portugal were conducted, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, applied for leave of absence, which was granted. Sir Hew Dalrymple was recalled, and Sir Harry Burrard having resigned, Sir John Moore was left commander-in-chief of the army. In this command he was formally confirmed by a letter from Lord Castlereagh, dated September 25, 1808, which informed him that an army under his orders, of not less than 35,000 men, 5000 of them cavalry, was to be employed in the north of Spain, for assisting the Spanish government. Fifteen thousand troops, it was stated, were to be sent to join him by the way of Corunna; and he was to make immediate preparations for carrying the plan into effect, it being left to his own judgment to march for some point in Galicia, or on the borders of Leon, by land; or to transport his troops by sea from Lisbon to Corunna, whither the reinforcements for his army were to be sent. Sir John Moore lost no time in entering upon the duties of his important charge, though he seems to have done so under a melancholy foreboding, sufficiently warranted by the miserable condition of his army, of what would be the result. "At this instant," he says, writing to Lord Castlereagh on the receipt of his commission, "the army is without equipments of any kind, either for the carriage of the light baggage of regiments, military stores, commissariat stores, or other appendages of an army, and not a magazine is formed in any of the routes (for he had determined on the expedition by land) by which we are to march." By a subsequent letter, written ten days after the above, we find that the army was also in a great measure destitute of money, and, amongst other necessities, particularly in want of shoes. On the 27th of October he left Lisbon, the greater part of the army being already on the route for Burgos, which had been assigned by the Spanish government as the point where the British forces were to be concentrated; Madrid and Valladolid were the places appointed for magazines: and Sir John Moore was officially informed that he would find 60,000 or 70,000 men assembled under Blake and Romana in the Asturias and Galicia, ready to

act along with him. These were stated to be independent of the armies in the front and on the left flank of the French position; the latter of which, under the command of the Marquis De Castanos, was supposed to be numerous and well appointed. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards in defence of their national independence was also stated to be such, that it would be utterly impossible for a French army to enter the defiles of the Asturias without being cut off by the armed peasants alone.

All these flattering representations the British general soon found to be utterly destitute of foundation. In marching through Portugal he was hardly treated with civility, and everything furnished to him by the authorities was charged at a high price. Specie, in Britain, was at the time not to be obtained, and not only government bills, but even promissory notes, were refused, which subjected the army to great inconvenience and much extra expense. The ignorance, too, of the Portuguese was so extreme, that the state of the roads could not be ascertained but by sending British officers, stage by stage, ahead of the advancing columns. With all these disadvantages, however, the general and a part of the army reached Almeida on the 8th of November. The weather was exceedingly rainy, but the troops moved on, and hitherto had conducted themselves with a propriety and moderation which surprised the inhabitants. Here, however, it was found that some soldiers had committed several serious crimes, and it being judged necessary that a signal example should be made to prevent their recurrence, one of the most notorious offenders was put to death. The general orders on this occasion we lay before the reader, as illustrative of the highly dignified and amiable character of Sir John Moore.

"Nothing could be more pleasing to the commander of the forces than to show mercy to a soldier of good character, who had been led inadvertently to commit a crime; but he should consider himself neglectful of his duty, if, from ill-judged lenity, he pardoned deliberate villany.

"The crime committed by the prisoner now under sentence is of this nature; and there is nothing in his private character or conduct which could give the least hope of his amendment, were he pardoned. He must, therefore, suffer the awful punishment to which he has been condemned. The commander of the forces trusts that the troops he commands will seldom oblige him to resort to punishments of this kind; and such is his opinion of British soldiers, that he is convinced they will not, if the officers do their duty, and pay them proper attention. He, however, takes this opportunity to declare to the army, that he is determined to show no mercy to plunderers and marauders, or, in other words, to thieves and villains. The army is sent by England to aid and support the Spanish nation, not to plunder and rob its inhabitants; and soldiers who so far forget what is due to their own honour, and the honour of their country, as to commit such acts, shall be delivered over to justice. The military law must take its course, and the punishment it awards shall be inflicted."

On the 11th of November the advanced guard crossed a rivulet which divides Portugal from Spain, and marched to Ciudad Rodrigo, the governor of which met the British general two miles from the city. A salute was fired from the ramparts, and the general was afterwards hospitably entertained in the principal house in the town. The state of the country and the manners of the people they found here to be remarkably changed, and the change highly to the advantage of Spain. At Ciudad Rodrigo

they were received by the people with shouts of "Viva los Ingleses." On the 13th Sir John Moore arrived at Salamanca, where he halted to concentrate his forces; Burgos, the place appointed for that purpose, being already occupied by the French. On his arrival at Salamanca Sir John Moore addressed a long letter to Lord William Bentinck, a few extracts from which will put the reader in possession of the knowledge of Sir John's feelings and views, and of the state of the country at this period. "I am sorry to say," he writes, "from Sir David Baird I hear nothing but complaints of the junta of Corunna, who offered him no assistance. They promise everything, but give nothing; and after waiting day after day for carts which they had promised to procure for the carriage of stores, his commissary was at last obliged to contract for them at an exorbitant price, and then got them. This is really a sort of conduct quite intolerable to troops that the Spanish government have asked for, and for whose advance they are daily pressing. On my arrival here and telling Colonel O'Lowlar that I wished to have supplies immediately provided on the road from Astorga to this place, for the march of the troops from Corunna, he began by telling me that a power which he should have got, and which it was promised should be sent after him from Madrid, had not been sent; that he had thus no authority, and had hitherto been acting upon his own credit, &c. I run over all this to you, though perhaps it should properly be addressed to Mr. Frere, but to you I can state it with more ease; and I shall thank you to speak to Frere upon it, when I hope he will have some serious communication with the Spanish ministers, and plainly tell them, if they expect the advance of the British army, they must pay somewhat more attention to its wants. Proper officers must be sent to me vested with full powers to call forth the resources of the country when they are wanted, and without delay, the same as is done, I presume, for the Spanish armies. We shall pay, but they are not to allow us to be imposed upon, but to tell us what is paid by the Spanish government in such cases. We find no difficulty with the people; they receive us everywhere well, but the authorities are backward, and not like those of a country who wish our assistance. With respect to magazines, it is impossible for me to say where they ought to be made. With respect to those at Madrid, it is very likely to be a proper place for Spain to collect a considerable depôt of various kinds. It is their capital, and they know best; but it does not seem to me to be a place where the British could be called upon to make any collection. We shall establish small magazines for consumption in the neighbourhood where we are acting. Those great resources which a country makes for general supply should be made by Spain, that when we approach them we may draw from them, and pay for what we get: but Spain should make them, and be at the expense and trouble of their conservation. As I believe we are giving money to Spain, part of it may be applied by them in this manner; but it is they that should do it, not we. I have no objection to you or Mr. Frere representing the necessity of as many more British troops as you think proper. It is certain that the agents which our government have hitherto employed have deceived them; for affairs here are by no means in the flourishing state they are represented and believed to be in England, and the sooner the truth is known there the better. But you must observe, my lord, that whatever is critical must now be decided by the troops which are here. The French, I suspect, are ready, and will not wait. I differ with you in

one point—when you say the chief and great obstacle and resistance to the French will be afforded by the English army: if that be so, Spain is lost. The English army, I hope, will do all which can be expected from their numbers; but the safety of Spain depends upon the union of its inhabitants, their enthusiasm in their cause, and their firm determination to die rather than submit to the French. Nothing short of this will enable them to resist the formidable attack about to be made upon them. If they will adhere, our aid can be of the greatest use to them; but if not, we shall soon be outnumbered, were our force quadrupled. I am, therefore, much more anxious to see exertion and energy in the government, and enthusiasm in their armies, than to have my force augmented. The moment is a critical one—my own situation is peculiarly so—I have never seen it otherwise; but I have pushed into Spain at all hazards. This was the order of my government, and it was the will of the people of England. I shall endeavour to do my best, hoping that all the bad that may happen will not happen, but that, with a share of bad, we shall also have a portion of good fortune.”

The despondency here expressed by the general was not lessened by the information he received in two days afterwards, that the French were not only in possession of Burgos, but also of Valladolid, within twenty leagues of Salamanca, where he now lay with only three brigades of infantry, and without a single gun; and though the remainder of his army was coming up as fast as possible, he was aware that the whole could not arrive in less than ten days. Instead of the Spanish army of 70,000 men that was to have joined him here, there was not so much as a single Spanish piquet to cover his front, or to act as guides in the country, of every portion of which the British army, both officers and men, were perfectly ignorant. Sir John Moore immediately communicated the intelligence to the junta of Salamanca, telling them that he must have the use of all the carts and mules in the country to transport his magazines to Ciudad Rodrigo should it become requisite, and that the troops with three days' provisions should be kept in readiness; but he added, that as he had not yet stopped the advance of the rest of the army from Portugal, he was desirous of assembling it there, and would not retire without an absolute necessity. All this was listened to with calm acquiescence. The general in the meantime found that though a patrol of horse had neared Valladolid, none of the French infantry had yet passed Burgos, and he gave orders to Generals Baird and Hope to advance upon Salamanca with all speed, but to be upon their guard on the march. The junta of Ciudad Rodrigo about this time ordered 20,000 dollars to be placed at his disposal, and a letter from Lord Castlereagh brought him intelligence that 2,000,000 of dollars had been despatched for him on the 2d of the month, and were already on the way to Corunna. His lordship at the same time told him that the scarcity of money in England was such, that he must not look for any further supply for some months, and advised him to procure as much money on the spot as possible. Encouraged so far by these advices, Sir John Moore continued to concentrate his forces at Salamanca, though upon what principle does not appear; for he seems to have been filled with the most dismal anticipations. “Every effort,” he says, writing to Lord Castlereagh on the 24th of November, “shall be exerted on my part, and that of the officers with me, to unite the army; but your lordship must be prepared to hear that we have failed; for, situated as we are, success cannot be commanded

by any efforts we can make, if the enemy are prepared to oppose us.” To add to all his other grounds of despondency, he considered Portugal as utterly indefensible by any force England could send thither. “If the French succeed in Spain, it will be in vain,” he says, in another letter to Lord Castlereagh, “to attempt to resist them in Portugal. The Portuguese are without a military force, and from the experience of their conduct under Sir Arthur Wellesley, no dependence is to be placed on any aid they can give. The British must in that event, I conceive, immediately take steps to evacuate the country. Lisbon is the only port, and therefore the only place whence the army with its stores can embark. Elvas and Almeida are the only fortresses on the frontiers. The first is, I am told, a respectable work. Almeida is defective, and could not hold out beyond ten days against a regular attack. I have ordered a depôt of provisions for a short consumption to be formed there, in case this army should be obliged to fall back; perhaps the same should be done at Elvas. In this case we might check the progress of the enemy whilst the stores were embarking, and arrangements were made for taking off the army. Beyond this, the defence of Lisbon, or of Portugal, should not be thought of.”

The news of Castanos being defeated having reached him on the 28th of November, he determined to fall back upon Portugal, and sent orders for General Hope to join him by forced marches, and for Sir David Baird to retreat upon Corunna; desiring the latter, however, to send back his stores, and keep his design, and the fact of his retreat, as much out of view as possible. He wrote to Lord Castlereagh on the 29th that he had so done, and requesting that transports might be sent to the Tagus to receive the troops, as he was still of opinion that Portugal was not defensible by a British army. On the 5th of December he wrote again to his lordship, that the junction of General Hope had been secured, and that Bonaparte had directed his whole force upon Madrid, in consequence of which he hoped to reach Portugal unmolested. The idea of a retreat, however, was exceedingly disagreeable to the army, and in this letter Sir John Moore gives his reasons for adopting such a measure at considerable length, and seems extremely anxious to justify it. He did not propose, however, wholly to desert the Spaniards; but he thought they might be aided upon some other point, and for this cause had ordered Sir David Baird to sail with his troops to meet the remainder of the army at the mouth of the Tagus, if he did not receive other orders from England. He had also written a long letter of the same kind, on the 1st of December, to Sir Charles Stuart at Madrid, in which he also requests that some money might be sent him from that place. “Such,” says he, “is our want of it, that if it can be got at a hundred per cent., we must have it; do, therefore, if possible, send me some at any rate.” To this letter Sir John Moore received an answer, softening down the defeat of Castanos, which was followed by a requisition on the part of the junta, military and civil, of all the united authorities of the kingdom, that he would move forward to the defence of Madrid, which was threatened by the enemy, and preparing to make the most determined defence. This was seconded by Mr. Frere, the British resident, and by another person who had been an eye-witness of the extraordinary effervescence at Madrid. Sir John Moore, in consequence of this, on the 5th of December, the same day that he had written to Lord Castlereagh, ordered Sir David Baird to suspend his march, and determined to wait in the position he occupied till

he should see further into the matter, and afterwards to be guided by circumstances. Sir David luckily had proceeded but a little way back, so that little time was lost. General Hope had brought up his division close to Salamanca, which made the little army complete, having both cavalry and artillery; and by a single movement to the left, Sir John Moore could make his junction with Sir David Baird a matter of certainty. Madrid, however, had capitulated on the 3d of the month, and was in the hands of the enemy two days before Sir John Moore had resolved to countermand the retreat. The intelligence upon which he had acted was, in fact, void of any real foundation; and the Prince of Castelfranco, and his excellency Don Thomas Morla, had already commenced a treaty for delivering up Madrid to the French, when they signed the pressing requisition of the junta to him to hasten to its relief.

Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of the Spaniards at this time. Bessieres was driving the wretched remains of the centre army, as it was called, on the road to Valencia; Toledo was occupied by Belluno; the Duke of Dantzic, with a strong division, was on the road for Badajoz, with the design of seizing upon Lisbon or Cadiz. The Duke of Treviso was proceeding against Saragossa. The Duke of Dalmatia was preparing to enter Leon; and Bonaparte at Madrid was ready to second all their movements, together or separately, as events should require. It was in circumstances of which he was totally unaware that Sir John Moore found himself called upon to commence active operations. He was necessarily prevented from advancing upon Madrid by the knowledge that the passes of Somosierra and Guadarama were in the hands of the French; but having ordered Sir David Baird to advance, he himself moved forward to Toro, intending to unite with Sir David Baird at Valladolid. The object of this movement was to favour Madrid and Saragossa, by threatening to intercept the communication with France. On the 12th Lord Paget, with the principal part of the cavalry, marched from Toro to Tordesillas; while Brigadier-general Stuart, commanding the 18th and king's German dragoons, was moving from Arevalo. In his march, General Stuart, with a party of the 18th dragoons, surprised a party of French cavalry and infantry in the village of Reveda, and killed or made prisoners the whole detachment. This was the first encounter of the French and British in Spain—an earnest of what was yet to be there achieved by British skill and British valour. On the 14th the head-quarters of the army were at Alocjos, when, by an intercepted despatch, Sir John Moore was put in possession of the real state of affairs, with the objects which Bonaparte had in view, by despatching after him the Duke of Dalmatia, with whom he was already almost in contact. This intelligence determined the general, instead of going on to Valladolid, as was intended, to face about, and hasten to unite himself with the part of his army which was under Sir David Baird, and if possible to surprise the Duke of Dalmatia at Saldanha, before he should be further reinforced. Writing of his intended junction with Sir David Baird, to Lord Castlereagh, on the 16th, he adds, "If then Marshal Soult is so good as to approach us, we shall be much obliged to him; but if not, we shall march towards him. It will be very agreeable to give a wipe to such a corps, although, with respect to the cause generally, it will probably have no effect, Spain being in the state described in Berthier's letter. She has made no efforts for herself; ours came too late, and cannot, at any rate, be sufficient."

The armies were now near one another. The patrols of the cavalry reached as far as Valladolid, and had frequent and successful skirmishes with the enemy. On the 20th Sir John Moore formed a junction with Sir David Baird; the head-quarters of the army being at Majorga, but the cavalry and horse-artillery were at Monastero Milgar Abaxo, three leagues from Sahagun, where a division of the enemy's cavalry were posted. The weather was extremely cold, and the ground covered with snow, yet Lord Paget set out at two o'clock of the morning to surprise the French position. General Slade, with the 10th hussars, approached the town along the Cea, while his lordship, with the 15th dragoons and some horse-artillery, approached from another direction. Reaching the town by the dawn, they surprised a picket; but one or two escaping, gave the alarm, and enabled the enemy to form outside the town. The ground was at first unfavourable to the British, but the superior skill of Lord Paget overcame the difficulty. The French having wheeled into line, to receive the shock of the British charge, were overthrown in a moment, and dispersed in all directions. The 15th hussars, only 400 strong, encountered 700 French, and completely routed them. Many of the French were killed, and 157, including two lieutenant-colonels, were taken prisoners. Sir John Moore reached Sahagun on the 21st, where the troops were halted for a day, to recover the fatigue of the forced marches they had made. On the 23d every arrangement was completed for attacking the Duke of Dalmatia, who, after the defeat of his cavalry at Sahagun, had concentrated his troops, to the amount of 18,000, behind the river Carrion; 7000 being posted at Saldanha, and 5000 in the town of Carrion. Detachments were also placed to guard the fords and the bridges. The corps of Junot, Sir John Moore was aware, had also its advanced posts between Vittoria and Burgos. The spirit and the feeling under which he was now acting were not at all enviable. "The movement I am making," he writes, "is of the most dangerous kind. I not only risk to be surrounded every moment by superior forces, but to have my communication intercepted with the Galicias. I wish it to be apparent to the whole world, as it is to every individual of the army, that we have done everything in our power in support of the Spanish cause, and that we do not abandon it until long after the Spaniards had abandoned us." As already said, however, the preparations for attacking the Duke of Dalmatia were completed. The generals received their instructions, and the army, burning with impatience, was to march to the attack at eight o'clock in the evening. Unfavourable reports through the day, and a letter from the Marquis de la Romana confirming these reports, led to an opposite line of conduct. The march to the Carrion was countermanded, and immediate steps taken for retreating upon Astorga. This place the British army reached on the 28th, but greatly demoralized by the disappointment and hardships of the retreat. The advanced guard and the main body of the British army marched on the 30th for Villa Franca; Sir John Moore, with General Paget and the reserve, followed on the 31st. The cavalry reached Cambras at midnight, when the reserve proceeded, and arrived next morning, January 1, remaining at Bemblene, as the preceding divisions were marching off to Villa Franca. Here an unparalleled scene of debauchery presented itself. The stragglers from the preceding divisions so crowded the houses, that there was not accommodation for the reserve, while groups of the half-naked wretches belonging to the Marquis of Romana completed the confusion. The

French were following so close, that their patrols during the night fell in with the cavalry piquets. When Sir John Moore, with the reserve and the cavalry, marched for Villa Franca, on the 2d of January, he left Colonel Ross, with the 20th regiment and a detachment of cavalry, to cover the town; while parties were sent to warn the stragglers, amounting to 1000 men, of their danger, and to drive them if possible out of the houses. Some few were persuaded to move on, but the far greater number, in despite of threats, and regardless of the approaching enemy, persisted in remaining, and were therefore left to their fate. The cavalry, however, only quitted the town on the approach of the enemy, and then, from the sense of immediate danger, was the road filled with stragglers, armed and unarmed, mules, carts, women and children, in the utmost confusion. The patrol of hussars which had remained to protect them, was now closely pursued for several miles by five squadrons of French cavalry, who, as they galloped through the long line of stragglers, slashed them with their swords, right and left, without mercy, while, overcome with liquor, they could neither make resistance nor get out of the way. At Villa Franca the general heard with deep regret of the irregularities which had been committed by the preceding divisions. Magazines had been plundered, stores of wine broken open, and large quantities of forage and provisions destroyed. One man who had been detected in these atrocities was immediately shot; and a number of the stragglers, who had been miserably wounded by the French cavalry, were carried through the ranks, to show the melancholy consequences of inebriety and the imprudence of quitting their companions.

Failing in his aim of intercepting the British at Astorga, Bonaparte did not proceed farther, but he ordered Soult with an overwhelming force to pursue and drive them into the sea; and on the 3d of January they pressed so hard upon the rear of the retreating army, that Sir John Moore resolved upon a night march from Villa Franca to Herrerias. From the latter place he proceeded to Lugo, where he determined to offer the enemy battle; and for this purpose he sent forward despatches to Sir David Baird, who was in front, to halt. He also inclosed the same orders for Generals Hope and Frazer, who commanded the advanced divisions. These he forwarded to Sir David Baird by his aid-de-camp Captain Napier, accompanied by an orderly dragoon. Sir David again forwarded them to the respective officers; but the orderly dragoon, having got intoxicated, lost them; in consequence of which General Frazer marched on a day's journey on the road to Vigo, which he had to counter-march next day in dreadful weather, by which he lost a number of his men. It was now determined to march upon Corunna as being nearer than Vigo; and an express was sent off to Sir Samuel Hood, to order the transports round to that place. On the road to Nables the reserve fell in with forty waggons with stores sent from England for the Marquis of Romana's army. As there were no means of carrying them back, shoes, and such things as could be made use of, were distributed to the troops as they passed, and the rest destroyed. On the 5th the rifle corps, which covered the reserve, was engaged with the enemy nearly the whole day, while everything that retarded the march was destroyed. Two carts of dollars, amounting to £25,000, were rolled down a precipice on the side of the road, which the advanced guard of the French passed in less than five minutes thereafter. It was afterwards ascertained that this money fell into the hands of the Spanish peasants. At Lugo another

severe general order was issued, and a position taken up for battle. The French made an attack on part of this position on the 7th, but were repulsed with ease. On the 8th everything was disposed for a general engagement; Soult, however, did not think fit to make the attack, and the British army not being now in a state to undergo a protracted warfare, it was resolved to continue the retreat. The different brigades accordingly quitted the ground about ten o'clock at night, leaving their fires burning to deceive the enemy. Great disorders still reigned among the troops, who were suffering dreadfully from the severity of the weather, and from long marches on bad roads: yet at Bitanzos it was judged preferable to keep the troops exposed to the cold and rain rather than to the irresistible temptations of the wine-houses in the town. Here a new order was issued, and particular duties demanded to be performed by the officers. The last day's march on the 11th was conducted with more propriety than any that had preceded it; yet eight or nine stragglers were detected, who had preceded their column, and taken possession of a wine-house, and all that was in it. They were seized and brought before the general, who halted the army, and sent for the officers of the regiments to which they belonged. The culprits' haversacks were then searched, when the general declared that, had he found any plunder in them, their owners would have been hanged; but that he would have considered their guilt in a great measure attributable to the negligence of their officers.

On finishing this inquiry Sir John Moore rode on to Corunna, and examined every position in its neighbourhood. The troops were quartered, partly in the town, and partly in the suburbs; General Paget with the reserve at El-Burgo, near the bridge of the Moro, and in the villages on the St. Jago road. Adverse winds had detained the transports, otherwise the whole army would have been embarked before the enemy could have come up. Only a few ships lay in the harbour, in which some sick men, and some stragglers who had preceded the army and represented themselves sick, had embarked. The army, though much fatigued, arrived at its destined position unbroken, and in good spirits. Bonaparte, with 70,000 men, had in vain attempted to impede its progress; and its rear-guard, though often engaged, had never been thrown into confusion. But the greatest danger was still to be incurred. The situation of Corunna was found to be unfavourable; the transports had not arrived; the enemy was already appearing on the heights, and might soon be expected in overwhelming force. Several of his officers, recollecting perhaps the convention of Cintra, gave it as their advice that Sir John Moore should apply to the Duke of Dalmatia for permission to embark his troops unmolested. This, however, he positively rejected. The officers, in the first place, were busied in attempting to restore some degree of discipline among the troops, and in providing such refreshments for them as the place would afford. The ground, in the meantime, was carefully examined, and the best dispositions that could be thought of made for defence. On the 13th Sir John Moore was on horseback by the break of day, making arrangements for battle. He returned about eleven worn out with fatigue; sent for Brigadier-general Stuart, and desired him to proceed to England, to explain to ministers the situation of the army. He was, he said, so tired, that he was incapable of writing; but that he (General Stuart), being a competent judge, did not require any letter. After taking some refreshment, however, and resting two hours, the ship not being quite ready, nor

General Stuart gone, he called for paper and wrote his last despatch. On the 14th the French commenced a cannonade on the left, which the British returned with such effect as to make the enemy draw off. On a hill outside the British posts were found this day 5000 barrels of gunpowder, which had been sent from England, and lay here neglected, though the Spanish armies were in a great measure ineffective for want of ammunition. As many barrels as conveyance could be found for, which was but very few, were carried back to Corunna; the remainder were blown up. The explosion shook the town of Corunna like an earthquake. This evening the transports from Vigo hove in sight. On the 15th the enemy advanced to the height where the magazine had been blown up; and Colonel Mackenzie of the 5th regiment, in attempting to seize upon two of the enemy's guns, was killed. The artillery was this day embarked, with the exception of seven six-pounders and one howitzer, which were employed in the lines of defence, and four Spanish guns kept as a reserve. On this and the preceding day, the sick, the dismounted cavalry, horses, and artillery, were carried on board the ships, and every arrangement was made for embarking the whole army on the following evening. Next morning the enemy remained quiet, and the preparations being completed, it was finally resolved that the embarkation should take place that evening, and all the necessary orders were accordingly issued. About noon, Sir John Moore sent for Colonel Anderson, to whom the care of the embarkation was confided, and ordered him to have all the boats disengaged by four o'clock, as, if the enemy did not move, he would embark the reserve at that hour, and would go out himself as soon as it was dark, and send in the troops in the order he wished them to be embarked. At one o'clock his horse was brought, when he took leave of Anderson, saying, "Remember, I depend upon your paying particular attention to everything that concerns the embarkation, and let there be as little confusion as possible." Mounting his horse he set out to visit the outposts, and to explain his designs to his officers. On his way he was met by a report from General Hope, that the enemy's line was getting under arms, at which he expressed the highest satisfaction; but regretted that there would not be daylight enough to reap all the advantages he anticipated. Galloping into the field, he found the piquets already beginning to fire on the enemy's light troops, which were pouring down the hill. Having carefully examined the position and the movements of the armies, he sent off almost all his staff-officers with orders to the different generals, and hastened himself to the right wing, the position of which was bad, and which if forced would have ruined his whole army. This dangerous post was held by the 4th, 42d, and 50th regiments. As the general anticipated, a furious attack was made on this part of his line, which he saw nobly repelled by the 50th and 42d, whom he cheered on in person, calling out to them to remember Egypt. Having ordered up a battalion of the Guards, Captain Hardinge was pointing out to him their position, when he was beat to the ground by a cannon-ball, which struck him on the left shoulder, carrying it entirely away, with part of the collar-bone. Notwithstanding the severity of the wound, he sat up, with an unaltered countenance, looking intently at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged; and his countenance brightened when he was told that they were advancing. With the assistance of a soldier of the 42d, he was removed a few yards behind the shelter of a wall; Colonel Graham of Balgowan, and Captain Woodford, coming up at the instant,

rode off for a surgeon. Captain Hardinge, in the meantime, attempted to stop the blood, which was flowing in a torrent, with his sash; but this, from the size of the wound, was in vain. Having consented to be carried to the rear, he was raised up to be laid in a blanket for that purpose. His sword hanging on the wounded side seemed to annoy him, and Captain Hardinge was unbuckling it from his waist when he said with a distinct voice, "It is as well as it is, I had rather it should go out of the field with me." He was borne out of the field by six soldiers of the 42d. Captain Hardinge remarking, that he trusted he would yet recover, he looked steadfastly at the wound and said, "No, Hardinge, I feel that to be impossible." When this officer expressed a wish to accompany him, he said, "You need not go with me. Report to General Hope that I am wounded, and carried to the rear." A sergeant of the 42d and two spare files escorted the general to Corunna, while Captain Hardinge hastened to carry his orders to General Hope.

The following is his friend Colonel Anderson's account of his last moments. "I met the general in the evening of the 16th, bringing in, in a blanket and sashes; he knew me immediately, though it was almost dark; squeezed my hand, and said, 'Anderson, don't leave me.' He spoke to the surgeons while they were examining his wound, but was in such pain he could say little. After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and at intervals expressed himself as follows: 'Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way.' He then asked, 'Are the French beaten?' a question which he repeated to every one he knew as they came in. 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice. Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can. Tell them everything. My mother'—here his voice quite failed, and he was excessively agitated. 'Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him—but—cannot get it out. Are Colonel Graham and all my aids-de-camp well? [A private sign was made by Colonel Anderson not to inform him that Captain Burrard, one of his aids-de-camp, was wounded.] I have made my will, and remembered my servants. Colborne has my will and all my papers.' Major Colborne then came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him, and then said to me, 'Anderson, remember you go to —, and tell him it is my request, and that I expect he will give Major Colborne a lieutenant-colonelcy. He has been long with me, and I know him most worthy of it.' He then asked Major Colborne if the French were beaten; and on being told that they were on every point, he said, 'It is a great satisfaction for me to know we have beaten the French. Is Paget in the room?' On my telling him that he was not, he said, 'Remember me to him; it's General Paget I mean. He is a fine fellow. I feel myself so strong, I fear I shall be long dying. It is great uneasiness—it is great pain. Everything Francois says is right. I have the greatest confidence in him.' He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. Captains Percy and Stanley, two of his aids-de-camp, then came into the room. He spoke kindly to both, and asked if all his aids-de-camp were well. After some interval he said, 'Stanhope, remember me to your sister.' He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle."

Thus died Sir John Moore, in the forty-seventh year of his age, after having conducted one of the most difficult retreats on record, and secured the safety of the army intrusted to him. Few deaths have excited a greater sensation at the time they took

place. The House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to his army, and ordered a monument to be erected for him in St. Paul's Cathedral. Glasgow, his native city, erected a bronze statue to his memory, at a cost of upwards of £3000. The extent of his merits has not failed to be a subject of controversy; but it seems to be now generally allowed by all, except those who are blinded by party zeal, that, in proportion to the means intrusted to him, they were very great.

"Succeeding achievements of a more extensive and important nature," says the author of the *Pleasures of Hope* [Edin. Encyc. art. "Sir John Moore"], "have eclipsed the reputation of this commander, but the intrepidity and manly uprightness of his character, manifested at a time when the British army was far from being distinguished in these respects, are qualities far more endearing than military fame. They extorted admiration even from his enemies; and the monument erected by the French officers over his grave at Corunna attests the worth of both parties."

MORAY, EARL OF. *See* RANDOLPH (THOMAS).

MORAY, REGENT. *See* STUART (JAMES).

MORISON, ROBERT, an eminent botanist of the seventeenth century, was born at Aberdeen in the year 1620. He completed his education in the university of that city, and in 1638 took the degree of Doctor in Philosophy. He was originally designed by his parents for the church, but his own taste led him to the study of botany and physic; and his attachment to those sciences finally prevailing over every other consideration, he began to follow them as a profession. His attachment to the royal cause induced him to take an active part in the political disturbances of his times. He was present at the battle of the Bridge of Dee, near Aberdeen, and was severely wounded in that engagement. On his recovery he went to Paris, where he obtained employment as a tutor to the son of counsellor Brizet; but at the same time he zealously devoted himself to the study of botany, anatomy, and zoology.

In 1648 he took a doctor's degree in physic at Angers; and now became so distinguished by his skill in botany, that, on the recommendation of Mr. Robins, king's botanist, he was taken into the patronage of the Duke of Orleans, uncle to Louis XIV., and appointed, in 1650, intendant of the ducal gardens at Blois, with a handsome salary. In this situation he remained till the duke's death, which took place in 1660. While employed in the capacity of intendant, Morison discovered to his patron, the Duke of Orleans, the method of botany which afterwards acquired him so much celebrity. The latter, much pleased with the ingenuity and talent which it displayed, afforded its discoverer every encouragement to prosecute it to completion; and sent him, at his own expense, through various provinces of France, to search for new plants, and to acquire what other information such an excursion might afford. On this occasion Morison travelled into Burgundy, Lyonnais, Languedoc, and Brittany, carefully investigated their coasts and isles, and returned with many rare and some new plants, with which he enriched the garden of his patron.

On the death of the Duke of Orleans he was invited to England by Charles II., who had known him while he was in the service of Orleans. His reputation, however, as a botanist, now stood so high, that he was considered as a national acquisition, and was earnestly solicited by Fouquet to re-

main in France, who, to induce him to comply, made him an offer of a handsome settlement. But love of country prevailed, and he returned to England. On his arrival Charles bestowed on him the title of king's physician, and appointed him royal professor of botany, with a salary of £200 per annum, and a free house as superintendent of botany. He was shortly afterwards elected fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and daily became more and more celebrated for his knowledge of botany. In the situations to which he was appointed by the king he remained till 1669, when he was elected, through the interest of the leading men of the university of Oxford, botanic professor of that institution, on the 16th December of the year above named; and on the day following was incorporated Doctor of Physic. Here he read his first lecture in the physic school, in September, 1670, and then removed to the physic garden, where he lectured three times a week to considerable audiences.

This appointment he held, occasionally employing himself besides on his great work *Historia Plantarum Oxoniensis*, till his death, which took place on the 9th November, 1683, in consequence of an injury which he received from the pole of a carriage, as he was crossing a street. He died on the day following the accident at his house in Green Street, Leicester Fields, and was buried in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Westminster.

Morison's first publication was a work entitled "*Hortus Regius Elesensis auctus; accessit Index Plantarum in Horto Contentarum, nomine Scriptorum et Observationes Generaliores, seu Præliudiorum pars prior*, London, 1669," 12mo. This work added greatly to his reputation, and was the means of recommending him to the professorship at Oxford. His next publication was, "*Plantarum Umbelliferarum Distributio Nova, per Tabulas Cognationis et Affinitatis, ex Libro Naturæ observata et electa*, Oxon. 1672," fol. This was given as a specimen of his great work, *Historia Plantarum Universalis Oxoniensis*. It attracted the notice of the learned throughout all Europe, and added greatly to his reputation. Encouraged by its reception, he proceeded vigorously with the work which it was intended to typify, and produced the first volume, under the title already quoted, in 1680. His death, however, prevented its completion, and left him time to finish nine only of the fifteen classes of his own system.

MORTON, EARL OF. *See* DOUGLAS (JAMES).

MOTHERWELL, WILLIAM. This poet, antiquary, and journalist, was born at Glasgow, on the 13th of October, 1797, and was the third son of William Motherwell, an ironmonger in that city. His education, owing to family movements, was received partly in Edinburgh, and afterwards in Paisley, but was brought to a close at the age of fifteen, when he was placed as clerk in the office of the sheriff-clerk of Paisley. During so brief a training in literature he was distinguished merely as an active, clever boy; but independently of school lessons, he had already prepared himself for his future career by his aptitude in copying and imitating old MSS., and by writing verses. The object of his early poetical inspiration was Jeanie Morrison, a beautiful young girl, who attended with him the same school in Edinburgh, and sat with him on the same form, according to the fashion of teaching at that period, even in our metropolis. The exquisite song in which he commemorated this fair theme of his youthful enthusiasm, and whom he never afterwards forgot, would have reached a higher

celebrity than it has ever attained, had there not been a *Mary in Heaven*.

After William Motherwell had completed his apprenticeship, he was appointed, at the early age of twenty-one, sheriff-clerk depute of the county of Renfrew, an office that brought him a considerable income. But it was also fraught with no little danger, on account of the Radical commotions of that manufacturing district, where every weaver, under the enlightenment of Paine and Colbette, was persuaded that all things were wrong both in church and state, and that there was no remedy except a universal subversion. With this turbulent spirit Motherwell was often brought into perilous contact, from being obliged by his office to execute the unpalatable behests of law; and on one of these occasions, in 1818, he was assailed by a frantic mob, who hustled him to the parapet of the bridge across the Cart, with the intention of throwing him into the river. Up to this period, like most young men of ardent poetical temperament, he had dreamed his dream of liberty, but such rough handling was enough to extinguish it, and he settled down into a Conservative.

While he was thus compelled by duty to issue ungracious writs, prepare copies of the riot act, and occasionally wield the truncheon of a constable in the disturbed streets of Paisley, William Motherwell steadily pursued those literary occupations upon which his claims to public notice were founded. He enlarged his reading, until his library was stored with a miscellaneous but rich collection, in which antique works predominated, especially those connected with poetry, romance, and the old Runic mythology. He also wrote pieces in prose and verse, which he readily bestowed upon his friends; and was, so early as 1818, a contributor to a small work published at Greenock, called the *Visitor*. He edited the *Harp of Renfrewshire*, containing biographical notices of the poets of that district from the 16th to the 19th century, which was published in 1819. This work was but the prelude to one of greatly higher importance, which he published in Glasgow in 1827, under the title of *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern*, in which his researches into Scottish antiquarianism were turned to best account. In 1828 he commenced the *Paisley Magazine*, the pages of which he enriched with some of his best poetical productions; and during the same year he succeeded to the editorship of the *Paisley Advertiser*, a Conservative newspaper, previously under the management of his friend William Kennedy, author of *Fifful Fancies*. As Motherwell had now acquired considerable reputation, not only as a poet, but political journalist, this last step was followed by one more important two years afterwards. The *Glasgow Courier* having lost the able superintendence of Mr. James M^cQueen, its proprietors applied to Motherwell, who closed with their proposals, and became editor of the *Courier* in February, 1830, an office in which he continued till his death, nearly six years after.

However profitable this change might have appeared in a pecuniary point of view, or even as an opportunity of acquiring higher literary distinction, it is certain that the result was far from being favourable. Motherwell's knowledge of general, and especially of modern history, was defective, owing to his exclusive love of antiquarianism; and his habits of composition, from the scantiness of his early training, were irregular, slow, and laborious. But thus imperfectly equipped, he was obliged, as editor of the *Glasgow Courier*, to step forth as the champion of Toryism in a locality where Toryism was at a mercantile discount, and at a period when the tide of

public events throughout Europe was rushing in an opposite direction. In a newspaper that was issued three times a week, and at a season when every throne was overturned or rudely shaken, he found it equally impossible to command his attention to every scene of action, and his temper upon every variety of subject; and although he bore up and fought gallantly, so as to command the approval of both friends and enemies, the termination, in an overworn intellect and premature death, was nothing more than a natural penalty. Such was the result, on the 1st of November, 1835, when he was suddenly struck with apoplexy in bed, at four o'clock in the morning, and expired four hours after, at the early age of thirty-eight, although his robust frame, active habits, and happy temperament promised a healthy longevity. He was buried in the Glasgow Necropolis, while the persons of every class of political opinion who attended the funeral, betokened the general esteem in which he was held, and the regret that was felt on account of his departure.

During his short life of toil in Glasgow, Motherwell was not wholly occupied with his editorial duties; his devotedness to poetry continued unabated, and although he found little time for new productions, he was a considerable contributor to the *Day*, a periodical conducted in Glasgow by Mr. John Strang. He also joined with the Ettrick Shepherd in preparing an edition of Burns' works, but which he did not live to see completed. In addition to these he left unfinished at his death a prose collection of Norse legends, said to be of great power and beauty, and materials for a life of Tamahill. It is as a poet, however, that Motherwell will continue to be best known and distinguished; and of his larger productions, his ballads of the *Battle-flag of Sigurd*, and the *Sword Chant of Thorstein Raudi*, fully attest his ability in the wild and stirring runes of the north; while his songs of *My Heid is like to rend, Willie*, the *Midnight Wind*, and above all, *Jeanie Morrison*, will make those who read them regret that he did not throw journalism to the dogs, and become wholly and devotedly a song-writer. Indeed, it has been well said of him, by no less a critic than Professor Wilson:—"All his preceptions are clear, for all his senses are sound; he has fine and strong sensibilities, and a powerful intellect. . . . His style is simple, but in his tenderest movements masculine; he strikes a few bold knocks at the door of the heart, which is instantly opened by the master or mistress of the house or by son or daughter, and the welcome visitor at once becomes one of the family."

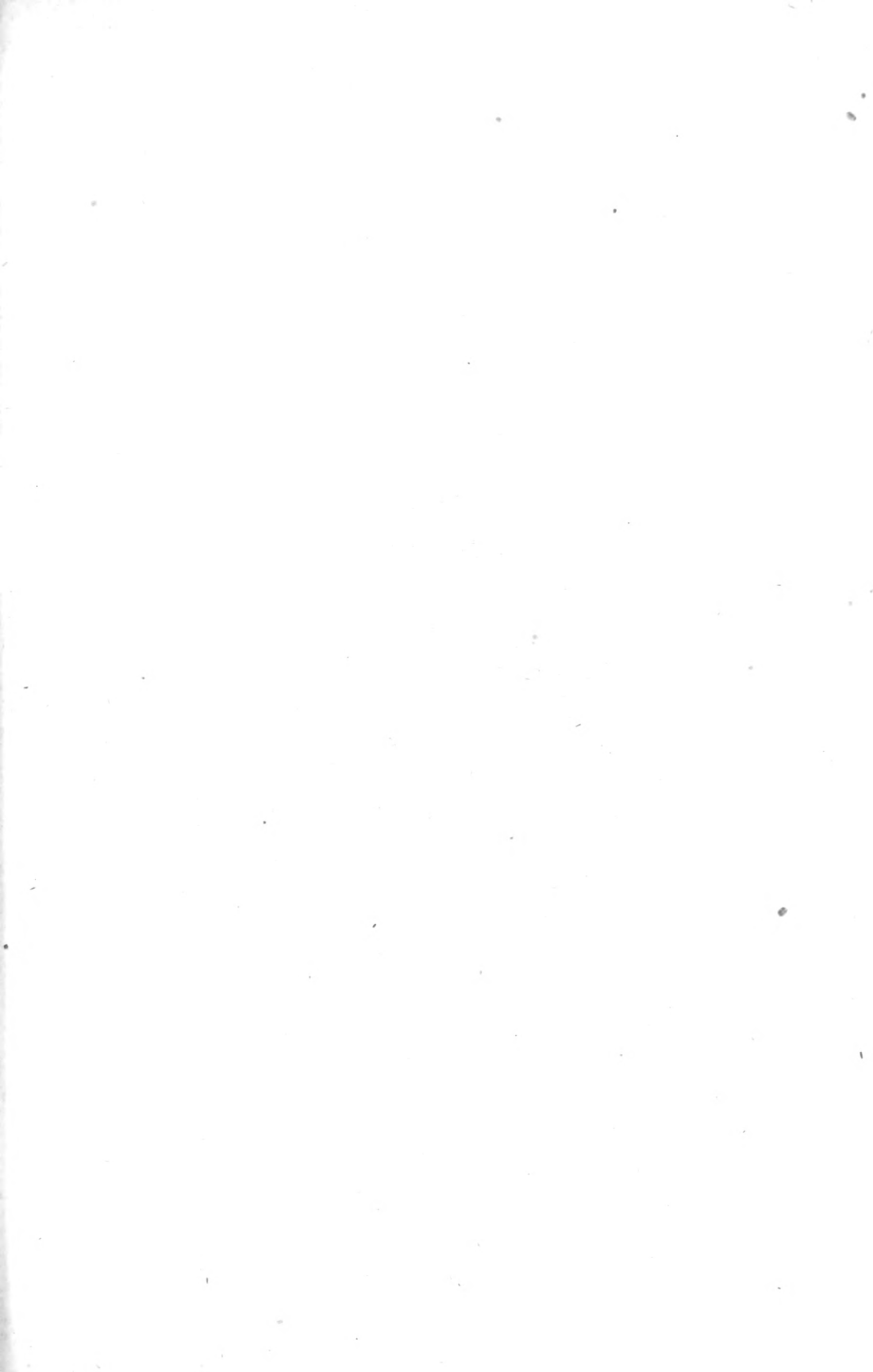
MUDIE, ROBERT. This model of industry and perseverance, the author of so many volumes, and writer on such a variety of subjects, was one of those persons born in humble life, and almost entirely self-taught, who have raised themselves to a high place among the literary and scientific men of the age. He was the youngest child of John Mudie, a common country weaver, and was born about the year 1781 at a place about six or seven miles north-east of Dundee. After having been a short time at the parish school, he left it in very early youth to learn his father's humble occupation, and plied the shuttle for several years, until, on being drawn for the militia, he was for four years a citizen soldier. But even in boyhood his desire of knowledge resembled the voracity of starvation, so that whether he wrought at the loom or handled the musket, every hour and minute of intermission was employed in the reading of books. It was better still that what he read he remembered, and could use with a ready mastery. "He used to mention that before he left home a gen-



GENERAL SIR JOHN BURNES, K.C.B.

GOVERNOR OF MADRAS

SCULPTED BY J. G. THOMAS



tleman had lent him some volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which he indulged at large his taste for variety, and that in the towns where his regiment was stationed he always contrived to find a good supply of books."¹ At the expiration of his four years' term of militia service he had so fully educated himself, and acquired such an amount and variety of knowledge, that he was emboldened to become teacher of a village school in the south of Fife; but indeed, his apprehension was so quick, his memory so tenacious, and his acquired knowledge so multifarious, that he was already qualified for a much greater attempt. We are informed by Dr. Duncan, that "besides other accomplishments, he had acquired considerable skill in the art of drawing, a respectable acquaintance with arithmetic and mathematics, and great facility in English composition. He also wrote verses with ease." These endowments soon obtained for him the situation of drawing-master in the academy of Inverness, and afterwards in that of Dundee, in which last place he was soon transferred to the more intellectual duties of teaching arithmetic theoretical and practical, and English composition.

At this time Mudie enjoyed the acquaintance of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, then the almost unknown minister of Kilmany, but afterwards of such world-wide reputation; and out of this acquaintance originated the following ludicrous adventure, which is best told in the words of Dr. Hanna: "In the course of this autumn [of 1811] Mr. Chalmers' capacity for housekeeping, of which he was himself so confident, was extensively tried. In prospect of her approaching marriage, his sister Jane, who was his favourite housekeeper, had gone to Anstruther, and left him for a month or two in entire solitude at the manse. He was the sole manager of his domestic establishment when Mr. Duncan and Mr. Mudie came in upon him from Dundee. Retiring shortly after they made their appearance, in order to hold a private consultation as to the important article of dinner, he found, to his dismay, that there was nothing whatever in the house but two separate parcels of salt fish. Having given particular directions that a portion of each should be boiled apart from the other, he joined his friends, and went out to enjoy the brilliant day and the pleasant sight of the hunting-field. They returned to the manse with racy appetites; the dinner was served—two large and most promising covered dishes flourishing at the head and foot of the table. 'And now, gentlemen,' said the host, as the covers were removed, 'you have variety to choose among: that is hard fish from St. Andrews, and this is hard fish from Dundee.'"

Mr. Mudie remained for ten or twelve years a teacher in Dundee, but such a restricted occupation was not enough for him; he therefore contributed largely to a local newspaper, conducted for some time a monthly periodical, and published in 1819 a novel, in three volumes, entitled *Glenfergus*. He was also a member of the town-council; and, like most young literary men at their outset into public life, he was an ardent reformer, and distinguished himself in the fierce controversies of borough reform. But the satirical power and keenness of his pen sorely disquieted the peaceful community of Dundee, and raised him many enemies. In 1820 he left Dundee for London, where he became wholly a *littérateur*, and was engaged as reporter to the *Morning Chronicle*, in which capacity he came to Edinburgh during the memorable visit of George IV. to Scotland. Here Mr. Mudie not only chronicled the principal events in the Scottish capital during that occasion, but

wrote *Modern Athens*, a work descriptive of Edinburgh society and manners, written with his wonted vigour of style, and a double portion of his sarcastic severity. He afterwards published *Babylon the Great*, a picture of men and things in London, written in a similar strain. He was now wholly the property of London publishers, writing books on whatever subject they demanded; and such was the readiness and versatility of his genius, and the universal character of his knowledge, that he was prepared for every theme. In this way he was the author of upwards of ninety volumes; while such was the rapidity of his pen, that he was known, it is said, to have written a whole volume on some scientific subject in the brief space of eight days. But the productions themselves indicated neither haste nor carelessness; on the contrary, they showed large and accurate knowledge, deep reflection, and methodical arrangement, embodied in a careful and correct, and often a vigorous and happy, style. Of the many works he thus produced we cannot find room for even the titles; it is enough to state that they were connected with every department of natural, moral, and metaphysical science. He also wrote largely for newspapers and magazines, sometimes as editor, sometimes as contributor, and in 1840 he was editor of the *Surveyor, Engineer, and Architect*, a monthly journal, which however did not last a full year. One might think that such talent and such industry would have sufficed to secure a competent portion of the good things of this life, if not an absolute fortune; but instead of this, Mr. Mudie was always poor, and his improvident habits prevented the possibility of his becoming rich. Worn out at last by poverty and intellectual drudgery, aided by intemperate habits, which had made him old before his day, he died at Pentonville on the 29th of April, 1842, in very destitute circumstances, leaving behind him a widow, and one son and four daughters.

MUNRO, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS, Bart. and K.C.B., a celebrated civil and military officer in the service of the East India Company, was the son of Mr. Alexander Munro, an eminent merchant in Glasgow, where the subject of this memoir was born on the 27th May, 1761. His mother, whose name was Stark, was descended of the Starks of Killermont, and was sister to Dr. William Stark, the distinguished anatomist. After going through the usual routine of juvenile education, including the established term of attendance at the grammar-school, young Munro was entered a student in the university of his native city in the thirteenth year of his age. Here he studied mathematics under Professor Williamson, and chemistry with the celebrated Dr. Irvine; and in both sciences made a progress which excited the admiration of his teachers.

While at school he was distinguished for a singular openness of temper, a mild and generous disposition, with great personal courage and presence of mind. Being naturally of a robust frame of body, he excelled all his school-fellows in athletic exercises, and was particularly eminent as a boxer; but, with all that nobleness of nature which was peculiar to him, and which so much distinguished him in after-life, he never made an improper or unfair use of his superior dexterity in the pugilistic art. He studiously avoided quarrels, and never struck a blow except under circumstances of great provocation. Neither did he ever presume so far on the formidable talent which he possessed as to conduct himself with the slightest degree of insolence towards his companions, although none of them could stand an instant before him in single combat. These qualities secured

¹ Dr. Duncan, in *Life of Dr. Chalmers*. Appendix, vol. i.

him at once the respect and esteem of his youthful contemporaries, and on all expeditions and occasions of warfare procured him the honour of being their leader and military adviser.

Having remained three years at college, he was at the expiry of that period placed by his father in the counting-house of Messrs. Somerville and Gordon, being designed for the mercantile profession. He was about this time also offered a lieutenantancy in a military corps, then raising by the city of Glasgow for the public service; but, though himself strongly disposed to accept this offer, his father objected to it, and, in compliance with the wish of his parent, he declined it. Soon after this his father's affairs became embarrassed, when, finding it impossible to establish his son in business as he had originally proposed, he began to think of putting him in a way of pushing his fortune in India; and with this view procured him the appointment of midshipman on board the East India Company's ship *Walpole*, Captain Abercrombie. With this vessel young Munro sailed from London on the 20th February, 1779. Previously to sailing, his father, who happened to be accidentally in London at the time, procured him a cadetship through the influence of Mr. Laurence Sullivan, one of the directors of the Company.

Mr. Munro arrived at Madras, the place of his destination, on the 15th January, 1780. Here he was kindly received by the numerous persons to whom he brought letters of introduction; but kindness of manner and the hospitality of the table seem to have been the extent of their patronage. He was left to push his own way, and this, on his first landing, with but very indifferent prospects for the future, and but little present encouragement. Nor were these disheartening circumstances at all ameliorated by the reception he met with from his namesake, Sir Hector Munro, the commander-in-chief. That high functionary told him "that he would be happy to serve him, but was sorry it was not in his power to do anything for him." He was soon after his arrival, however, called into active service against the forces of Hyder Ali, and continued thus employed, with scarcely any intermission, for the next four years, when a definitive treaty of peace was entered into with Tippoo Sultan. During this period of warfare he was present at four battles, and at more than double that number of sieges, assaults, and stormings; in all of which he evinced an intrepidity, presence of mind, and military genius, which early attracted the notice of his superiors, by whom he began to be looked upon as an officer of singular promise. In February, 1786, he was promoted to a lieutenantancy; but no further change took place in his fortunes till August, 1788, when he was appointed assistant in the intelligence department under Captain Alexander Read, and attached to the head-quarters of the force destined to take possession of the province of Guntow.

During the interval between the first and last periods just named, Mr. Munro assiduously employed himself in acquiring the Hindostanee and Persian languages, in which he ultimately made a proficiency which has been attained by but few Europeans. In this interval, too, occurred a correspondence with his parents, in which are certain passages strikingly illustrative of the generosity of his nature, and which it would be doing an injustice both to his memory and to the filial piety of his brother, to pass without notice. In one of these letters, dated Tanjore, 10th November, 1785, addressed to his mother, he says, "Alexander and I have agreed to remit my father £100 a year between us. If the arrears which Lord Macartney detained are paid, I will send £200 in

the course of the year 1786." When it is recollected that Mr. Munro was yet but a lieutenant, this proof of his benevolence will be fully appreciated. It must also be added that these remittances were made at a time, too, when he had himself scarcely a chair to sit upon. "I was three years in India," he writes to his sister, "before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge-pouch; my bed was a piece of canvas stretched on four cross-sticks, whose only ornament was the greatcoat that I brought from England, which, by a lucky invention, I turned into a blanket in the cold weather by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head."

In the situation of assistant-intelligencer he remained till October, 1790, when, Tippoo having resumed hostilities with the English, he returned to his military duties, by joining the 21st battalion of native infantry, which formed part of the army under the command of Colonel Maxwell. Mr. Munro remained with the army, sharing in all its dangers and fatigues, and performing the various duties assigned to him with his usual diligence and activity, till the month of April, 1792, when he was appointed to assist Captain Read in the management of the district of Barmahul. In this employment he continued till March, 1799, having in the meantime, June, 1796, attained the rank of captain; when, on a war with Tippoo again occurring, he joined the army under Lieutenant-general Harris, and served in it with his accustomed ability and zeal, until after the siege of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo, when he was appointed to the charge of the civil administration of Canara. This charge was an exceedingly laborious one, and in almost every respect an exceedingly unpleasant one; but the circumstance of his appointment to it was nevertheless a very marked proof of the high estimation in which his talents were held by the government, for it was also a charge of great importance; and the authorities did justice to his merits, by believing that there was no individual in India so well qualified to fill the situation as Captain Munro. The principal duties of his new appointment were to introduce and establish the authority of the government; to settle disputes amongst the natives; to punish the refractory; and to watch over the revenues of the district: and from twelve to sixteen hours were daily devoted to this oppressive and harassing routine of business.

Having accomplished all the purposes for which he was sent to Canara, and having established order and tranquillity where he had found turbulence and violence, Major Munro (for to this rank he was promoted, May 7, 1800) solicited the government to be intrusted with the superintendence of what were called the Ceded Districts; a certain extent of territory yielded up in perpetuity to the Company by Nizam, in lieu of a monthly subsidy which had been previously exacted from him. The request of Major Munro was not fulfilled without much reluctance and hesitation, proceeding from the high value placed upon his services where he was; but it appearing that these would be equally desirable in the situation which he sought, he was removed thither in October, 1800. Here he performed similar important services both to the country itself and to the Company as he had done at Canara. Within a few months after his arrival he cleared the province of numerous bands of marauders, which had previously kept it in a state of constant terror and alarm, and filled it with robbery and murder. He everywhere established order and regularity, and finally succeeded in converting one of the most disorderly provinces in India into one of the most secure and tranquil dis-

tricts in the possession of the Company. This, however, was not accomplished without much labour, and many personal privations. He repeatedly traversed the whole extent of territory under his jurisdiction, and for the first four years of his residence in it, never dwelt in a house, being continually in motion from place to place, and on these occasions making his tent his home.

During the time of his services in the Ceded Districts Mr. Munro was promoted, 24th April, 1804, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

With that filial affection which forms so remarkable and pleasing a feature in the character of the subject of this memoir, he had regularly increased the allowance to his parents with the advance of his own fortunes. Indeed, this seems to have been his first care on every occasion of an accession of income. In a letter to his father, dated Kalwapi, 3d May, 1801, there occurs this passage: "I have at last heard from Messrs. Harrington, Burnaby, and Cockburn on the subject of the remittance of a bill for £1000 sterling, to clear your house in the Stockwell. In August I shall remit the remaining sum due upon the house; and also £200 sterling, in order to augment my annual remittance to £400 sterling. As my mother is so fond of the country, and as a garden would probably contribute to her health, she ought certainly to be under no concern about the trifling expense a country-house may occasion, in addition to one in town. I therefore hope that you will draw on Colt for whatever it may cost, and let me know the amount, that I may add it to the £400, which I mean should go entirely to your town expenses; and that you will likewise inform me what other debts you may have besides the mortgage on the house, that I may discharge them, and relieve you at once from the vexation and anxiety to which you have so long been exposed." In a very few years afterwards we find him making another munificent contribution to the comfort and happiness of his parents by remitting them £2000 for the purchase of a country-house.

Colonel Munro retained his appointment in the Ceded Districts till the year 1807, when he came to the resolution of paying a visit to his native country. With this view he applied for and obtained permission to resign his situation; and after a few days spent in preparation, embarked, in October in the year above named, at Madras for England, leaving behind him, after a service of seven-and-twenty years, a reputation for talent, diligence, and exemplary conduct, both as a civil and military officer, which few in the same service had attained, and none surpassed. In the former capacity he had undertaken and accomplished more than any British functionary had ever done before him; and in the latter he had displayed a talent for military affairs, which all acknowledged to be of the very highest order. After an agreeable passage of nearly six months Colonel Munro arrived at Deal on the 5th April, 1808. From Deal he proceeded to London, where he was detained by some pressing business until the summer was far advanced. He then set out for Scotland, but not without some melancholy forebodings of the changes which he knew so great a lapse of time as seven-and-twenty years must have effected on the persons and things associated with his earliest and tenderest recollections. These anticipations he found on his arrival realized. That mother to whom he was so tenderly attached, and whose comfort and welfare had been a constant object of his solicitude, was no more. She had died about a year previous to his arrival. Two of his brothers were dead also, and many besides of the friends of his youth. The im-

becility of age had moreover come upon his only surviving parent, and had effected such a change, as to mar that reciprocity of feeling which their meeting, after so long a separation, would otherwise have excited.

On his return to Glasgow Colonel Munro revisited all the haunts of his youth, and particularly North Woodside, then a romantic spot in the vicinity of the city, where in his early days his father had a country residence, to which the family resorted every summer. Here, with all that simple and amiable feeling peculiar to generous natures, he endeavoured to annihilate the space of time which had elapsed since he had been there a boy, and to recall with increased force the sensations of his youth, by bathing in the dam in which he had sported when a boy, and by wandering through the woods where he had spent so many of the careless hours of that happy season. This feeling he even carried so far as to climb once more a favourite aged tree, which had enjoyed an especial share of his youthful patronage and affection. Every branch was familiar to him; for he had a thousand times nestled amongst them, to enjoy in solitude and quietness the pages of some favourite author.

Colonel Munro now spent a good deal of his time in Edinburgh, where he resumed his favourite study, chemistry, by attending the lectures of Dr. Hope, and by perusing such works on the subject as had appeared since he had left Europe. During his residence in Britain he took a lively interest in the Peninsular war, and was known to be in constant communication with the Duke of Wellington, who had become acquainted with him in the East, and who had there learned to appreciate his eminent abilities. About this time, also, he accompanied Sir John Hope to the Scheldt as a volunteer, and was present at the siege of Flushing.

The East India Company's charter now drawing to a close, and the question of the propriety of its renewal having attracted an extraordinary share of public attention, a parliamentary committee was appointed to inquire into and hear evidence on the subject, to enable the house to come to a decision regarding it. Many persons connected with India were in consequence examined on the affairs of that country, and amongst the rest the subject of this memoir; and such was the clearness of his evidence, the importance of the information which he gave, the comprehensiveness of his views, and the general talent and judgment which characterized all his statements, that the court of directors immediately placed him at the head of a commission of inquiry which they decided on sending out to India, to remedy those defects and abuses which the evidence now placed before them had brought to light.

Previous to his returning to India, Colonel Munro married, 30th March, 1814, Jane Campbell, daughter of Richard Campbell, Esq., of Craigie House, Ayrshire, a lady remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments. This connection added greatly to Colonel Munro's happiness, and eventually opened up to him a source of domestic felicity, which his disposition and temper eminently fitted him to enjoy.

His commission having now been duly made out, and all other preparations for his voyage completed, he embarked, accompanied by his wife and sister-in-law, in the month of May, 1814, at Portsmouth, and after a pleasant passage of eighteen weeks, arrived at Madras on the 16th September. On his arrival Colonel Munro immediately began to discharge the arduous duties of his new appointment. These embraced a total revision of the internal administration of the Madras territories, and comprehended an amount of labour, in going over reports and deci-

sions, in investigating accounts, in drawing up regulations, and in a thousand other details as numerous as they were complicated, which would have appalled any man of less nerve than him on whose shoulders it had fallen. In this laborious employment he continued till the month of July, 1817, when, a war with the Mahrattas having broken out, he solicited employment in the line of his profession, and was appointed to the command of the reserve of the army under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Hislop, having been himself previously, 15th June, 1815, promoted to the rank of colonel.

In the campaign which followed the resumption of his military duties Colonel Munro performed a brilliant part. His military reputation, formerly amongst the highest, was now universally acknowledged to be unsurpassed. Lord Hastings complimented him in strains of the warmest panegyric, as well in his official communications as in his private correspondence. Mr. Canning passed an eloquent eulogium on his merits in the House of Commons. Sir John Malcolm contributed his unqualified commendations of his masterly operations, and the public records of Calcutta were filled with his praise. His name was now, in short, become famous throughout Europe, and he was everywhere looked upon not only as one of the first soldiers of the day, but as a man who possessed talents and abilities which fitted him for attaining eminence equally in a civil as in a military life. During the campaign, which lasted till the beginning of August, 1818, General Munro (he was promoted to this rank, December, 1817) reduced all the Peishwah's territories between the Toombuddra and Kistna, and from the Kistna northward to Akloos on the Neemah, and eastward to the Nizam's frontier. On the conclusion of the campaign, finding his health greatly impaired by the excessive fatigue which he had undergone, he resolved to resign all his commissions, both civil and military, and to retire into private life. In pursuance of this resolution he tendered his resignations to the Marquis of Hastings, who received them with much reluctance; and returned by way of Bangalore, where he met his family, to Madras. Shortly after this, October, 1818, he was made a Companion of the Bath, as a testimony of the opinion which was entertained at home of his merits.

General Munro now again turned his thoughts homewards, and after devoting two months to the arrangement of his affairs, embarked on board the *Warren Hastings* with his family for England, on the 24th January, 1819. During the passage Mrs. Munro was delivered, 30th May, of a boy, who, being born when the ship was in the latitude of the Azores, was baptized by that name. The *Warren Hastings* having arrived in the Downs, General and Mrs. Munro landed at Deal, and proceeded to London, where they remained for a short time, and thereafter set out for Scotland. The former, however, was only a few weeks at home when he received a formal communication from the government, appointing him to the governorship of Madras, and he was soon after, October, 1819, promoted to the rank of major-general, and invested, November, 1819, with the insignia of K.C.B. Although extremely reluctant again to leave his native country, Sir Thomas did not think it advisable to decline the acceptance of the high and honourable appointment now proffered him. Having committed their boy to the charge of Lady Munro's father, Sir Thomas and his lady proceeded to Deal, where they once more embarked for India in December, 1819, and arrived safely at Bombay in the beginning of May in the following year. Here they remained for about

a fortnight, when they again took shipping, and on the 8th June reached Madras.

Sir Thomas, immediately on his arrival, entered on the discharge of the important duties of his new appointment with all the zeal and diligence which marked every part of his preceding career. These duties were extremely laborious. From sunrise till eight in the evening, with the exception of an hour or two at dinner, comprising a little out-door recreation after that repast, he was unremittingly employed in attending to and despatching the public business of his department. With this routine the morning meal was not at all allowed to interfere. The breakfast table was daily spread for thirty persons, that all who came on business at that hour should partake of it, and that the various matters which occasioned their visits might be discussed during its progress without encroaching on the day. By this rigid economy of time Sir Thomas was enabled to get through an amount of business which would appear wholly incredible to one who placed less value on it than he did. He wrote almost every paper of any importance connected with his government with his own hand. He read all communications and documents, and examined all plans and statements, with his own eyes, and heard every complaint and representation which was made verbally with his own ears.

Although Sir Thomas had not thought it advisable to decline the governorship of Madras, he yet came out with every intention of returning again to his native land as soon as circumstances would permit, and in 1823 he addressed a memorial to the court of directors, earnestly requesting to be relieved from his charge. From a difficulty, however, in finding a successor to Sir Thomas, and from the extraordinary efficiency of his services, the court was extremely unwilling to entertain his request, and allowed many months to elapse without making any reply to it. In the meantime the Burmese war took place, and Sir Thomas found that he could not, with honour or propriety, press his suit on the directors. He therefore came to the resolution of remaining at his post to abide the issue of the struggle. In this war he distinguished himself, as he had so often done before, by singular bravery, talent, and intelligence, and performed such important services as procured him the elevation, June, 1825, to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain.

At the conclusion of the Burmese war Sir Thomas again applied for liberty to resign his appointment, and after much delay the Right Honourable S. Lushington was nominated his successor, on the 4th April, 1827. Sir Thomas now prepared to leave India for the last time, full of fond anticipations of the happiness which awaited the closing years of his life in his native land; but it was otherwise ordained. His lady, with a favourite son, had returned to England a year before, in consequence of an illness of the latter, which, it was thought, required this change of climate; and thus, while the inducements to remain in India were greatly lessened, those to return to his native land were increased. While awaiting the arrival of his successor, Sir Thomas unfortunately came to the resolution of paying a farewell visit to his old friends in the Ceded Districts, where the cholera was at that time raging with great violence. Alarmed for his safety, his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from his intended excursion, but to no purpose. Towards the end of May he set out from Madras, attended by a small escort, and on the 6th July following reached Puteeccondah, where he was seized with the fatal distemper about nine o'clock in the morning, and expired on the

evening of the same day at half-past nine, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. In an hour and a half after his death his body was removed to Gooty, where it was interred with such military honours as the remoteness of the situation, and the despatch which it is necessary to observe on such occasions in India, could afford.

Few events ever occurred in India which excited so general a sensation, or created so universal a feeling of regret, as the death of Sir Thomas Munro. Natives as well as Europeans mourned his loss with unfeigned sorrow. His justice, humanity, benevolence, and eminent talents, had secured him the esteem and respect of all who knew him, and he was known nearly throughout the whole extent of the eastern world. No man perhaps, in short, ever descended to the grave more beloved or more lamented, and none was ever more entitled to these tributes of affection from his fellow-men, or ever took such pains to deserve them, as Sir Thomas Munro. With regard to his talents, had there been no other proof of their existence than that which his letters afford, these alone would have pointed him out as a remarkable man; and as one who, had he chosen it, might have become as eminent in literature as he was in the profession of arms. Three volumes of these compositions and a memoir of the writer, have been published under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Gleig, author of the *Subaltern*.

MURE, SIR WILLIAM, of Rowallan, a poet, was born about the year 1594. He was the eldest son of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, by a sister of Montgomery, the author of the *Cherry and the Slae*. The family was one of the most ancient of the order of gentry in that part of the country, and through Elizabeth Mure, the first wife of Robert II., had mingled its blood with the royal line: it recently terminated in the mother of the Countess of Loudon and Marchioness of Hastings. Of the poet's education no memorial has been preserved, but it was undoubtedly the best that his country could afford in that age, as, with a scholar-like enthusiasm, he had attempted a version of the story of Dido and Æneas before his twentieth year. There is also a specimen of Sir William's verses in pure English, dated so early as 1611, when he could not be more than seventeen. In 1615, while still under age, and before he had succeeded to his paternal estate, he married Anna, daughter of Dundas of Newliston, by whom he had five sons and six daughters. The eldest son, William, succeeded his father; Alexander was killed in the Irish rebellion, 1641; Robert, a major in the army, married the Lady Newhall, in Fife; John was designed of Fenwickhill; and Patrick, probably the youngest, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1662. One of the daughters, Elizabeth, was married to Uchter Knox of Ranfurly. Sir William Mure married, secondly, Dame Jane Hamilton, Lady Dunreath; and of this marriage there were two sons and two daughters; James, Hugh, Jane, and Marion.

The earliest of Sir William's compositions to be found in print is an address to the king at Hamilton, on his progress through the country in 1617, which is embodied in the collection entitled the *Muse's Welcome*. Such productions of his earlier years as have been preserved are chiefly amatory poems in English, very much in the manner of the contemporary poets of the neighbouring kingdom, and rivaling them in force and delicacy of sentiment. Sir William seems to have afterwards addicted himself to serious poetry. In 1628 he published a translation, in English sapphics, of Boyd of Trochrig's

beautiful Latin poem, *Alcatombe Christiana*; and in the succeeding year produced his *Tree Crucifixe for Tree Catholicikes*, Edinburgh, 12mo; intended as an exposure of the prime object of Romish idolatry. By far the larger portion of his writings remain in manuscript.

Like his contemporary, Drummond of Hawthornden, Mure seems to have delighted in a quiet country life. A taste for building and rural embellishment is discoverable in the family of Rowallan at a period when decorations of this nature were but little regarded in Scotland: and in these refinements Sir William fell nothing behind, if he did not greatly surpass, the slowly advancing spirit of his time. Besides planting and other ameliorations, he made various additions to the family mansion, and "reformed the whole house exceedingly."

At the commencement of the religious troubles, Sir William Mure, though in several of his poems he appears as paying his court to royalty, took an interest in the popular cause; and in the first army raised against the king, commanded a company in the Ayrshire regiment. He was a member of the parliament, or rather convention, of 1643, by which the Solemn League and Covenant was ratified with England; and in the beginning of the ensuing year accompanied the troops which, in terms of that famous treaty, were despatched to the aid of the parliamentary cause. After a variety of services during the spring of 1644, he was present and wounded in the decisive battle of Long Marston-moor, July 2d. In the succeeding month he was engaged at the storming of Newcastle, where for some time, in consequence of the superior officer's being disabled, he had the command of the regiment. Whether this was the last campaign of the poet, or whether he remained with the army till its return after the rendition of the king in 1647, is not known. No further material notice of him occurs, except that, on the revision of Roos's *Psalms* by the General Assembly in 1650, a version by Mure of Rowallan is spoken of as employed by the committee for the improvement of the other. Sir William died in 1657. Various specimens of his compositions may be found in a small volume, entitled "*Ancient Ballads and Songs*, chiefly from Tradition, Manuscripts, and Scarce Works, with Biographical and Illustrative Notices, including Original Poetry, by Thomas Lyle: London," 1827; to which we have been indebted for the materials of this article.

MURRAY, ALEXANDER, D.D., an eminent philologist, was born, October 22, 1775, at Dunkitterick, on the water of Palneur, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. He was the son of a shepherd, or pastoral farm-servant, named Robert Murray, who was in the seventieth year of his age at the time of the birth of this distinguished member of his family. Young Murray was born in too humble circumstances, and reared in too secluded a district, to have the advantage of early instruction at school. When he had attained his sixth year his father purchased for him a copy of the Shorter Catechism; a work prefaced, in Scottish editions, by the alphabet in its various forms, and a few exercises in monosyllables. The good shepherd, however, thought this little volume (the cost of which is only one penny) too valuable for common use: it was accordingly locked carefully aside, and the father taught his child the letters by scribbling them on the back of an old wool-card with the end of a burned heather-stem. When the elements of language had been thus mastered, the Catechism was brought forth, and given to the young student as a book of exercises in read-

ing. He then got a psalm-book, which he liked much better than the Catechism; and at length a New Testament, which he liked better still; and afterwards he discovered an old loose Bible, which he carried away piecemeal from the place where it was deposited, and read with all the wonderment natural to a capacious mind on being first introduced to a kind of knowledge beyond the limited scene in which it had originally been placed. He liked the mournful narratives best, and greatly admired Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Lamentations. In his eighth year he had acquired so much local fame, on account of his acquirements in reading, that a wish was generally entertained among his friends to see him sent to some regular school. This would have been impossible—for his father was a very poor man—if a brother of his mother, by name William Cochrane, had not possessed both the means and the inclination to provide the requisite funds. He was placed, in 1784, at the school of New Galloway, where, though he made a very awkward appearance at first, he soon distanced the most of “the Bible class.” He had been but six months at school when he was seized by an illness which called him home; nor did he again attend school for the four ensuing years. During the most of this space of time he appears to have been employed as a shepherd; devoting all his leisure, however, to the study of such books as fell in his way. In the winter of 1787-8 he was so far advanced as to be able to teach the children of two neighbouring farmers. Soon after he began to give irregular attendance at the school of Minnigaff, chiefly for the purpose of improving his arithmetic, as he had now formed a wish to become a merchant’s clerk. In 1790 he made his first adventure into the region of languages, by studying French and Latin; and such was his application, that in the course of three or four months he had learned as much as the most of youths acquire in as many years. By extraordinary good fortune he obtained an old copy of the larger dictionary of Ainsworth, at the low price of eighteenpence, and soon read the volume quite through. Every part of this large book he studied with minute attention, observing the Greek derivations of the words, and occasionally adverting to the Hebrew also; and thus, about a year after his first acquaintance with the rudiments, he was able to read Ovid, Cæsar, and Livy, and to commence lessons in the *Iliad*. All the books which his school-fellows possessed, both in English and classical literature, were borrowed by Murray, and devoured with immense rapidity and eagerness. He had at this time no taste in reading: the boundless field of knowledge was open to him, and he cared not which part he first surveyed, for he was determined apparently to survey it all. He only felt a kind of wild pleasure in whatever was grand, or romantic, or mournful. In perusing the *Iliad*, he was greatly affected by the fate of Hector and Sarpedon; “and no sensation,” says he in his autobiography, “was ever more lively than what I felt on first reading the passage which declares that Jupiter rained drops of blood upon the ground, in honour of his son Sarpedon, who was to fall far from his country. My practice,” he continues, “was to lay down a new and difficult task; after it had wearied me—to take up another—then a third—and to resume this rotation frequently and laboriously.” Dr. Murray used to consider himself fortunate in his teacher, Simpson, in as far as the man was of a careless, easy character, and had no scruple in permitting him to advance as fast as he liked, and to step into any class for which he appeared qualified. “Desultory study,” says he, “is a bad thing; but a lad whose ambition never

ceases, but stimulates him incessantly, enlarges his mind and range of thought by excursions beyond the limits of regular forms.” We shall let Dr. Murray narrate his further progress in his own words:—

“In 1792 I read portions of Homer, Livy, Sallust, and any other author used in the school. In the winter, 1792-3, I engaged myself with Thomas Birkmyre, miller, of Minnigaff Mill, and taught his children during that season till March, 1793. My wages were only thirty shillings, but my object was to get a residence near Newton-Stewart, and to have liberty of going, in the winter forenights, to a school taught by Mr. Nathaniel Martin, in Brigend of Cree. Martin had been at Edinburgh, and possessed many new books, such as the *Bee*, Duncan’s *Cicero*, some of the best English collections, and so forth. From a companion named John Mackilwraith I got the loan of Bailie’s *English Dictionary*, which I studied, and learned from it a vast variety of useful matters. I gained from it the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, the Anglo-Saxon paternoster, and many words in that venerable dialect. This enabled me to read Hicke’s *Saxon Grammar* without difficulty after I went to Edinburgh, and led the way to the Visi-Gothic and German. About the end of autumn, 1792, I had procured from one Jack Roberts a small Welsh *History of Christ and the Apostles*. I had seen a translation, or rather the original English, of this book in former years, but I could not get access to it after I had the Welsh in my possession. I mused, however, a good deal on the quotations from Scripture that abound in it, and got acquainted with many Welsh words and sentences. If I had a copy of the Bible in any language of which I knew the alphabet, I could make considerable progress in learning it without grammar or dictionary. This is done by minute observation and comparison of words, terminations, and phrases. It is the method dictated by necessity, in the absence of all assistance.

“In 1791 I had the loan of a stray volume of the *Ancient Universal History* from my neighbour school-fellows the Maclurgs, who lived in Glenhoash, below Risque. It contained the history of the ancient Gauls, Germans, Abyssinians, and others. It included a very incorrect copy of the Abyssinian alphabet, which, however, I transcribed, and kept by me for future occasions. I was completely master of the Arabic alphabet, by help of Robertson’s *Hebrew Grammar*, in the end of which (first edition) it is given in the most accurate manner.

“In the autumn of 1792, about the time I went to the mill, I had, in the hour of ignorance and ambition, believed myself capable of writing an epic poem. For two years before, or rather from the time that I had met with *Paradise Lost*, sublime poetry was my favourite reading. Homer had encouraged this taste, and my school-fellow George Mure had lent me, in 1791, an edition of Ossian’s *Fingal*, which is, in many passages, a sublime and pathetic performance. I copied *Fingal*, as the book was lent only for four days, and carried the MS. about with me. I chose Arthur, general of the Britons, for my hero, and during the winter, 1792-3, wrote several thousands of blank verses about his achievements. This was my first attempt in blank verse. In 1790 I had purchased *The Grave*, a poem by Blair, and committed it almost entirely to memory.

“I passed the summer of 1793 at home, and in long visits to my friends in Newton-Stewart and other parts. During that time I destroyed *Arthur and his Britons*, and began to translate, from Buchanan’s poetical works, his *Fratres Franciscani*.

I made an attempt to obtain Mochrum school; but Mr. Steven, minister of that parish, who received me very kindly, told me that it was promised, and that my youth would be objected to by the heritors and parish.

"Some time in the same summer I formed an acquaintance with William Hume, a young lad who intended to become an Antiburgher clergyman, and who kept a private school in Newton-Stewart. This friendship procured me the loan of several new books. I paid a visit to the Rev. Mr. Donnan, in Wigton, an excellent man and scholar. He examined me on *Homer*, which I read *ad aperturam libri*, in a very tolerable, though not very correct manner. He gave me *Cicero de Naturâ Deorum*, which I studied with great ardour, though a speculative treatise. I was enthusiastically fond of Cicero, as my dictionary gave me a most affecting account of the merits and fate of that great man. In 1791 I bought for a trifle a MS. volume of the lectures of Arnold Drackenburgh, a German professor, on the lives and writings of the Roman authors from Livius Andronicus to Quintilian. This was a learned work, and I resolved to *translate* and publish it. I remained at home during the winter of 1793-4, and employed myself in that task. My translation was neither elegant nor correct. My taste was improving; but a knowledge of elegant phraseology and correct diction cannot be acquired without some acquaintance with the world, and with the human character in its polished state. The most obscure and uninteresting parts of the *Spectator*, *World*, *Guardian*, and *Pope's Works*, were those that described life and manners. The parts of those works which I then read with rapture were accounts of tragic occurrences, of great but unfortunate men, and poetry that addressed the passions. In spring, 1794, I got a reading of Blair's *Lectures*. The book was lent by Mr. Strang, a Relief clergyman, to William Hume, and sublent to me. In 1793 I had seen a volume of an encyclopædia, but found very considerable difficulties in making out the sense of obscure scientific terms, with which those books abound.

"Early in 1794 I resolved to go to Dumfries and present my translation to the booksellers there. As I had doubts respecting the success of a *History of the Latin Writers*, I likewise composed a number of poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, and most of them very indifferent. I went to Dumfries in June, 1794, and found that neither of the two booksellers there would undertake to publish my translation; but I got a number of subscription-papers printed, in order to promote the publication of the poems. I collected by myself and friends four or five hundred subscriptions. At Gatehouse, a merchant there, an old friend, gave me a very curious and large-printed copy of the Pentateuch, which had belonged to the celebrated Andrew Melville, and the *Hebrew Dictionary* of Pagninus, a huge folio. During the visit to Dumfries I was introduced to Robert Burns, who treated me with great kindness; told me, that if I could get out to college without publishing my poems, it would be better, as my taste was young and not formed; and I would be ashamed of my productions when I could write and judge better. I understood this, and resolved to make *publication* my last resource. In Dumfries I bought six or seven plays of Shakspeare, and never read anything, except Milton, with more rapture and enthusiasm."

The singular acquirements of this Galloway shepherd had now made some impression in a circle beyond his own limited and remote sphere; and in November, 1794, he was invited to Edinburgh, in order to make an exhibition of his learning before

several individuals, who were not only qualified to judge of it, but were inclined to take an interest in the fate of its possessor. He underwent an examination before Drs. Baird, Finlayson, and Moodie, clergymen of the city; and so effectually convinced these gentlemen of his qualifications, that they took the means to procure for him a gratuitous education in the university. Dr. Baird proved, in particular, a zealous and steady friend, not only in the exertion of his influence, but by contributions to the means of his subsistence during the earlier part of his academic career. At the end of two years he obtained a bursary, or *exhibition*, from the city, and soon after was able to support himself by private teaching. He now commenced the necessary studies for the church, at the same time that he devoted every hour he could spare to the acquisition of general knowledge. In a very short space of time he found himself master of the whole of the European languages, and began to make researches in the more recondite dialects of the East. His philological studies were conducted with a careful regard to etymology and the philosophy of grammar; and it would appear that the design of tracing up all existing languages to one root, and thus penetrating back into the early and unchronicled history of the human race, gradually expanded upon him.

While thus devoting his leisure to one grand pursuit, he did not neglect the graces of the belles-lettres. After having for some years contributed miscellaneous pieces to the *Scots Magazine*, he was induced, about the beginning of the present century, to become the editor of that respectable work, then the property of Mr. Archibald Constable. He also contributed several able articles to the *Edinburgh Review*. Having made himself master of the Abyssinian language, and also of the Geez and Amharic tongues, upon which the former is founded, he appeared to Mr. Constable as a fit person to superintend a new edition of Bruce's *Travels* to discover the source of the Nile. For nearly three years subsequent to September 1802 he was engaged with little intermission upon this task, chiefly residing at Kin-naird House, where he had access to the papers left by the illustrious traveller. To the work, which appeared in seven large octavo volumes, he contributed a life of the author, and a mass of notes, containing the most curious and learned discussions on philology, antiquities, and a manifold variety of subjects illustrative of Bruce's narrative. The *Life* he afterwards enlarged and published in a separate volume.

In 1806 Dr. Murray for the first time obtained what might be considered a permanent station by being appointed assistant and successor to the Rev. Mr. Muirhead, minister of Urr, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright; at whose death, in 1808, he became the full stipendiary of the parish. In this situation he displayed, amidst his clerical duties, his usual application to philological pursuits. His fame as a linguist was now spread abroad by his edition of Bruce, and in 1811, at the suggestion of Mr. Salt, envoy to Abyssinia, he was applied to, to use Mr. Salt's own words, as "the only person in the British dominions" adequate to the task, to translate a letter written in Geez, from the governor of Tigre to his Britannic majesty. Notwithstanding the obscurity of several passages in this rare document, he was able to acquit himself of his task in the most satisfactory manner.

In 1812, on a vacancy occurring in the chair of oriental languages in the university of Edinburgh, Dr. Murray stood a contest with two other candidates, and gained the situation by a majority of two

voices in the city council. He was now for the first time in life placed in a situation suitable to his extraordinary faculties; and yet it was destined that, after all his preliminary labours, his career was now on the point of being forever closed. His constitution, which had never been strong, broke down under the labours of the first session. Before opening his class he had published his *Outlines of Oriental Philology*, a remarkably clear and intelligible epitome of the grammatical principles of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects. During the winter the fatigue he encountered in preparing his lectures was very great; and in February, 1813, a pulmonary ailment, which had previously given him great distress, became so violent as to prevent his attendance in the class-room. To quote the affecting account of his latter days given by Mr. Murray,¹ "he himself entertained hopes of his recovery, and was flattering himself with the prospect of being able to remove to the country; but his complaints daily assumed a more alarming aspect. On the day before his death, he was out of bed for twelve hours. He arranged several of his papers, spoke freely, and appeared in good spirits. He alluded to his approaching dissolution, which he now himself began to apprehend; but Mrs. Murray was too agitated to admit of the subject being minutely adverted to. He retired to bed at eleven o'clock; he dozed a little; and every moment he was awake he spent in prayer. In the true spirit of genius he said that he had once expected to attain to old age, and that he would be enabled to perform something of a more eminent nature, and of greater consequence to society, than he had yet accomplished; but not a murmur escaped his lips; he was, at all times, perfectly resigned to the will of the Eternal. The following verse of Psalm cxviii. he repeated a few hours before his death.

"O set ye open unto me
The gates of righteousness;
Then I will enter into them,
And I the Lord will bless."

At the end of these lines he made a pause, and Mrs. Murray having proceeded with the subsequent verse,—

"This is the gate of God; by it
The just shall enter in;
There will I praise, for thou me heard'st,
And hast my safety been,"—

He looked wistfully and tenderly in her countenance—he put his hand on his breast—and said it gave him relief and consolation. He now became suddenly worse; his speech failed him; and having lingered in this state for a short time, he breathed his last in the arms of his wife. This melancholy event took place at six o'clock in the morning of the 15th of April, 1813, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. The last words he was heard to utter were, 'Take care burial-ground;' meaning, no doubt, to intimate his desire that his remains might be placed in a grave which had not been previously occupied. He was interred in the Grayfriars' Church-yard, at the north-west corner of the church."

So died this amiable and most accomplished scholar after a life which might rather be described as the preparation for something great than as having actually produced any great fruits. He had written a philological work of profound and varied learning, which appeared in 1813, under the auspices of Dr. Scot of Corstorphine, entitled "*History of European Languages*; or, *Researches into the Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations.*" He left, by his wife, whom he married

while engaged in his pastoral duties at Urr, a son and a daughter, the latter of whom died of consumption in 1821.

MURRAY, EARL OF. See STUART (JAMES).

MURRAY, SIR GEORGE. This gallant soldier and able statesman was the second son of Sir William Murray, Bart., and Lady Augusta Mackenzie, seventh and youngest daughter of George Earl of Cromarty. He was born at the family seat in Perthshire, on the 6th of February, 1772, and received his education, first at the high-school, and afterwards at the university of Edinburgh. Having chosen the military profession, he obtained an ensigncy in the 71st regiment of foot at the age of seventeen, from which he rapidly transferred himself, first to the 34th, and afterwards to the 3d regiment of Guards. He first saw service in the campaigns of Flanders in 1794 and 1795, and shared in the disastrous retreat of the allied army through Holland and Germany, and subsequently, during the last of these years, he served in the West Indies under Sir Ralph Abercromby, until ill health obliged him to return home, where he served upon the staff, both in England and Ireland, during 1797 and 1798. Such is but a scanty outline of his military services during this stirring period, when war was the principal occupation, and when it was successively shifted to every quarter of the globe. During these changes the promotion of Sir George went onward steadily, so that he rose through the various ranks, from an ensign to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the Guards, to which he was appointed in 1799.

It is well known that at this period the military profession had few of those attractions which it subsequently possessed, when Wellington, and the heroes whom he trained to victory, directed the operations of our armies; in too many cases our commanders groped their way in the dark, while the soldiers had little more than their characteristic bull-dog obstinacy and courage to rely upon when they found themselves out-marched and out-manceuvred. This Colonel Murray was doomed to experience in his next campaign, which was the expedition to Holland, an expedition attended with an immense amount of loss, suffering, and disaster, and with very little honour as a counterpoise. Of course Murray came in for his full share of hardship and privation during the retreat, and was wounded at the Helder, but was able to proceed with his regiment to Cork. A better promise of distinction dawned for him when he was sent with his regiment from Cork to Gibraltar, to serve under the brave Sir Ralph Abercromby in the Egyptian campaign; and in this successful expedition he performed an important part, having been placed in the quarter-master general's department, and sent forward to Egypt for the purpose of making arrangements previous to the arrival of the British army. Here Murray's active enterprising spirit found full occupation; he was present at every engagement, where he rendered most effectual service, and had his merit acknowledged by the Turkish government, which conferred upon him the order of the Crescent.

After the termination of this prosperous expedition, Colonel Murray's services were transferred from Egypt to the West Indies, for which he embarked in 1802, with the rank of adjutant-general to the British forces in these colonies. His stay there, however, was brief; and on returning home, and occupying for a short period a situation at the horse-guards, he was next employed in Ireland, with the appointment of deputy quarter-master general. From this comparatively peaceful occupation, after holding it for two years, he was called out, in 1806, to the

¹ *Literary History of Galloway*, second edition, p. 256.

more congenial prospect of active service, in consequence of the projected expedition to Stralsund, which, like many others of the same kind, was rendered abortive through the unprecedented successes of the French, upon which few as yet could calculate, owing to the new mode of warfare introduced by Napoleon, and the startling rapidity of his movements. Colonel Murray's next service was of a diplomatic character, and to the court of Sweden; but its freakish sovereign, whose proceedings were perplexing alike to friend and enemy, was not to be reasoned into moderation; and therefore neither Murray, nor yet Sir John Moore, who was sent out with a military force, could avert those disasters which terminated in that monarch's deposition. From Sweden Colonel Murray, now holding the rank of quarter-master general, went with the British troops in that country to Portugal, where they joined Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had now commenced that splendid career which scarcely encountered an interruption, and led to such important results in the history of Europe, of which ages must tell the termination.

It would be too much to detail the career of Colonel Murray while he served in Spain and Portugal under the command of Wellington. At almost every engagement he was present, while his conduct was such as to elevate him into that chosen band whom history will recognize as the "heroes of the Peninsular war." The sense of the value of his services was also shown in his appointment to the rank of major-general in 1812, to the command of a regiment in 1813, and to the honorary title of Knight of the Bath in the same year. With the exile of Napoleon to Elba, when it was thought that every chance of further war had ended, Sir George Murray was not to retire, like so many of his companions in arms, into peaceful obscurity; on the contrary, his talents for civil occupation having been fully experienced, he was appointed to the difficult charge of the government of the Canadas. He had scarcely fully entered, however, upon the duties of this new appointment, when he was advertised by the secretary of state of Bonaparte's escape from Elba and landing in France, accompanied with the choice of remaining in his government of the Canadas, or returning to Europe and resuming his military occupations. Sir George at once decided upon the latter; but though he made the utmost haste to rejoin the army, such delays occurred that he did not reach it until the battle of Waterloo had been fought, and Paris occupied by the allies. In the French capital he remained three years with the army of occupation, holding the rank of lieutenant-general, and honoured with seven different orders of foreign knighthood, independently of those he had received from his own court, in attestation of his services and worth. At his return home, also, when Paris was resigned by the allies to its own government, he was appointed governor of the castle of Edinburgh, afterwards of the royal military college, and finally lieutenant-general of the ordnance. Literary distinctions, moreover, were not wanting; for in 1820 he received from the university of Oxford the degree of Doctor of Common Laws, and in 1824 he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society.

Such is a very scanty outline of the history of Sir George Murray; and it gives but a faint idea of his long military career. "Very few men," says one of his biographers, "even among our distinguished veterans, have seen such severe and active service as Sir G. Murray. Sharp fighting and military hardships seemed to be his lot, from the first moment at which he carried the colours of his regiment, till the

last cannon resounded on the field of Waterloo. With the single exception of India, he was absent neither from the disasters nor the triumphs of the British army. France, Ireland, Sweden, Portugal, Spain, the West Indies, Denmark, and Egypt, have witnessed the services of this able and experienced commander. . . . It has often been remarked of the Duke of Wellington, as of all great men, that he is singularly prompt in discerning the particular individual who happens to be the man above all others best fitted for the particular duties which he requires to have discharged. His great general of division was Lord Hill, and his great cavalry officer Lord Anglesey; his great organizer of raw levies, Lord Beresford; and his best of all quarter-masters, General Sir G. Murray."

Sir George was now to astonish the world by equal excellence in a very different department. He had left the university of Edinburgh for the army at the early age of seventeen, and from that period to the close of his military career his life had been one of incessant action and change, so that it was evident he could have had very little time for study and self-improvement. And yet he was distinguished throughout as an accomplished scholar, eloquent orator, and able writer, and was now to bring all these qualities to bear upon his new vocation as a statesman. Men who wondered how or at what time he could have acquired those excellencies, which are generally the result of a life of peaceful avocation and study, were obliged to settle upon the conclusion that his mind must have been of such a singularly precocious character as to be able to finish its education at the early age of seventeen! He commenced his career as a politician in 1823, when he was chosen member of parliament for the county of Perth, and in 1826 he changed his condition in life by becoming a husband and a father, at the age of fifty-four, his wife being Lady Louisa Erskine, sister of the Marquis of Anglesey, and widow of Sir James Erskine, by whom he had one daughter. In 1828 he resigned the command of the army in Ireland for the office of secretary of state for the colonies—and it was in this department especially that he astounded his contemporaries by his political sagacity, aptitude for business, and talents as an orator and debater. "He possessed," we are told, "the power of logical arrangement in a remarkable degree; and though his speeches did not 'smell of the lamp,' they always had a beginning, middle, and conclusion; besides that, they possessed a coherence and congruity rarely found in parliamentary speeches, a force and appropriateness of diction not often surpassed, an eloquence and copiousness which a soldier could not be expected to attain, and an agreeable style of delivery which many more professed speakers might imitate with advantage."

After these explanations it becomes the less necessary to enter into a full detail of Sir George Murray's political proceedings. His office of secretary for the colonies was discharged with ability and success; and his ascendancy in the house upon general questions was universally felt and acknowledged. He supported the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and opposed the Liberal government in 1830 and 1831. In 1832, upon the passing of the Reform Bill and dissolution of parliament that followed, Sir George was again candidate for Perthshire, to which he had been repeatedly elected as representative; but on this occasion the tide was against him and in favour of Lord Ormelie; but when the latter succeeded to the peerage in 1834 as Marquis of Breadalbane, Perthshire again presented a parliamentary vacancy, to which Sir George was called,

in preference to Mr. Graham, the Whig candidate. This seat he again lost under Sir Robert Peel's administration in 1834-5, Mr. Fox Maule, now Lord Dalhousie, being the successful candidate; but Sir George held the important appointment of master-general of the ordnance to console him under his defeat. Such were the political fluctuations of this stirring period, in which the chief war that was waged by the country was one of hot and hard words, with the floor of the House of Commons for its battle-field. In 1837, when there was a general election in consequence of the accession of Queen Victoria, Sir George Murray stood for Westminster; but his political opinions were so different from those of the many in this stronghold of Liberalism, that he was unsuccessful. Scarcely two years afterwards he was tempted to stand for Manchester, which had become vacant by the promotion of its representative, Mr. Paulett Thompson, to the peerage; but here again Sir George was unsuccessful. Still, however, he remained a minister of the crown, as master-general of the ordnance, to which he was reappointed in 1841. His last public effort was in a literary capacity, when he edited five volumes of the Duke of Marlborough's despatches, by which an important addition was made to the historical annals of Britain.

After so long a course of active exertion, Sir George's strong constitution gave way, so that for more than a year previous to his death he was unable to leave his house in Belgrave Square: there, however, he continued to attend to the duties of his office until the last six months, when, unable for further exertion, he tendered his resignation. His death occurred on the 26th of July, 1846, at the age of seventy-four.

MURRAY, PATRICK, fifth Lord Elibank, a nobleman distinguished by erudition and literary taste, was the eldest son of Alexander, the preceding lord, by Elizabeth, daughter of George Stirling, surgeon in Edinburgh. He was born in February, 1703. For reasons with which we are unacquainted he studied for the Scottish bar, at which he entered in 1723, but in the same year adopted the military profession, and soon rose to a considerable rank in the army. He was in 1740 a lieutenant-colonel under Lord Cathcart in the expedition to Carthage, of which he wrote an account that remains in manuscript in the library of the Board of Trade. He had now succeeded to the family title, and was distinguished for his wit and general ability. His miscellaneous reading was extensive, and we have the authority of Dr. Johnson that it was improved by his own observations of the world. He lived for many years at a curious old house belonging to the family of North, at Catage in Cambridgeshire; and it has been recently ascertained that he kept up a correspondence with the exiled house of Stuart. In the latter part of his life he appears to have chiefly resided in Edinburgh, mingling with the distinguished literati of the city who were his contemporaries, and fully qualified by his talents and knowledge to adorn even that society.

In 1758 he published at Edinburgh, *Thoughts on Money, Circulation, and Paper Currency*; and an *Inquiry into the Origin and Consequence of the Public Debts* appeared afterwards. In 1765 he issued *Queries relating to the Proposed Plan for Altering Entails in Scotland*, and in 1773 a *Letter to Lord Hailes on his Remarks on the History of Scotland*. His lordship's political life was entirely that of an opposition lord, and among other subjects which attracted his indignant attention, was the servile condition of his native peerage. In the year 1774

he published a work under the title of *Considerations on the Present State of the Peerage of Scotland*, which attracted a considerable degree of attention. "Never," says he, "was there so humbling a degradation as what the Scots peers of the first rank and pretensions suffer by the present mode of their admittance to the House of Lords. For the truth of this one needs but to appeal to their own feelings, or to the common estimation of mankind. A Scots peer of the first rank is considered as an instrument singled out and posted in the House of Lords by the appointment of the minister at the time, for the end of supporting his measures, whatever they are or may be; and who, in case of failure, must expect to be turned out at the expiration of his term of seven years. He is supposed to be composed of such pliant materials, that in the event of a change of administration, the next minister makes no doubt of finding him equally obsequious, and ready to renounce his former connections." When Dr. Johnson visited Scotland in 1773, Lord Elibank addressed to him a courteous letter, which is to be found in Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, where are also the records of various conversations in which both men displayed their powers. The English philosopher declared that he never met his lordship without going away a "wiser man." Lord Elibank in early life married the Dowager-lady North and Grey, who was by birth a Dutch woman, and of illustrious extraction. He died without issue, August 3, 1778, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Two younger brothers of this nobleman attracted considerable notice in their lifetime. The elder, Mr. Alexander Murray, was so enthusiastic a Jacobite, as to propose leading an insurrection even after the close of all the just hopes of the house of Stuart in 1746. He was confined for more than a year subsequent to May, 1750, by order of the House of Commons, for violent interference with a Westminster election; and as he refused to express contrition on his knees, according to the order of the house, he might have been confined for a much longer period, if the prorogation of parliament had not brought about his enlargement. James Murray, the fourth and youngest brother of Lord Elibank, distinguished himself as an officer in high command during the Canadian war. Being in the next war constituted governor of Minorca, he defended that important station in 1781 against a greatly disproportioned force of the French; and, what was more to his credit, withstood the secret offer of a million for its surrender. After a protracted siege, during which General Murray lost three-fourths of his men, he was obliged by the scurvy to give up Fort St. Philip, to which he had retired, but rather in the condition of an hospital than a fortress. His conduct was warmly applauded by the British government and nation.

MURRAY, SIR ROBERT, a statesman and natural philosopher, appears to have been born about the commencement of the seventeenth century. He was a son of Sir Robert Murray of Craigie, by a daughter of George Halket of Pitferrian. According to his intimate friend Burnet, he served in the French army, and having found great favour with the all-potent Richelieu, was early promoted to a colonelcy.¹ When the difficulties of Charles I. assumed their most alarming aspect he returned to Scotland, and raised recruits for the royal army. When the king was with the Scots army at Newcastle, he seems to have attempted an escape designed by Sir Robert. "The design," says Burnet, "was thus laid: Mr.

¹ Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 59.

Murray had provided a vessel by Teignmouth, and Sir Robert Murray was to have conveyed the king thither in disguise; and it proceeded so far, that the king put himself in the disguise, and went down the back stairs with Sir Robert Murray. But his majesty, apprehending it was scarce possible to pass through all the guards without being discovered, and judging it hugely indecent to be caught in such a condition, changed his resolution and went back, as Sir Robert informed the writer.¹ About this period, it is probable that he had not received his title, and that he may be identified with "Mr. Robert Murray, quarter-master general," who, on the occasion of the town of Berwick (which was ordered to be dismantled at the treaty of the two kingdoms) petitioning to be permitted to keep three pieces of ordnance, and the two gates of the bridge, was "sent to Berwick with his majesty's recommendation, to take notice what may be the importance of that petition, and report the same to the house."² After the fall of the royal cause he appears to have been recommended by the parliament of Scotland to the French government, and to have obtained from Mazarine a continuation of the favours extended to him by Richelieu. On the 22d May, 1650, two letters from France were read to the parliament of Scotland, one from the young king, the other from the queen-regent, in answer to the letter of the parliament in favour of Sir Robert Murray; in which "both did promise, from their respect and love to the Scots nation, they would see their desire performed, so far as possibly the convenience of their affairs would permit, and that he should be paid off his arrears."³ We afterwards find the parliament exhibiting their favour by sending him a few cargoes of prisoners to serve in his ranks. Of 281 soldiers taken at Kerbester, where the Marquis of Montrose was finally defeated, after some disposals to coal-mines, &c., the remainder "are given to Lord Angus and Sir Robert Murray to recruit their French troops with."⁴ It is probable that he was an officer in the Scots guards. He continued in the confidence of Charles II., and was connected with the obscure negotiations of Montreville with the Independents and Presbyterians, for the purpose of procuring their assistance at as cheap a rate as possible to the conscience of the king, or under the form of promise which might admit the easiest and safest infraction on his part. The moderation of Sir Robert in matters connected with the church, evinced in this transaction, may have been the reason why Clarendon termed him "a cunning and a dexterous man;" and accused him of attempting, under the pretext of bringing the king to peace with the Scots, a coalition betwixt the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, to the destruction of the Church of England.

On the 21st May, 1651, while Charles was in command of the army in Scotland, Sir Robert was appointed justice-clerk; and on the 6th of June he was chosen a lord of session, and nominated a privy-councillor.⁵ But the subversion of the courts by Cromwell prevented him from sitting in judgment. Burnet mentions that he was in great credit with the remains of the king's army surviving in Scotland, when "Lord Glencairn took a strange course to break it, and to ruin him." A letter written by him to William Murray, a low minion who had risen in the court of Charles I. by the performance of the most despicable offices, was pretended to have been found at Antwerp. "This ill-forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir Robert had made with

Monk for killing the king, which was to be executed by Mr. Murray: so he prayed him in his letter to make haste and despatch it. This was brought to the Earl of Glencairn: so Sir Robert was severely questioned upon it, and put in arrest: and it was spread about through a rude army that he intended to kill the king, hoping, it seems, that some of these wild people, believing it, would have fallen upon him without using any forms. Upon this occasion Sir Robert practised, in a very eminent manner, his true Christian philosophy, without showing so much as a cloud in his whole behaviour."⁶

At the discussion at Whitehall, on the question of the future established religion in Scotland, Sir Robert Murray, along with Hamilton and Lauderdale, proposed to delay the establishment of Episcopacy until the temper of the people should be ascertained.⁷ In the attempt, by means of ballot, to disqualify those who had been favourable to the government of Cromwell from serving under Charles, Sir Robert was one of those whose downfall, along with that of Lauderdale, was particularly aimed at.⁸ This association with Lauderdale seems not to have been called for by the previous conduct, the party opinions, or the moral character of Sir Robert. Afterwards Lauderdale's aversion to so moderate and honest a man disturbed his councils, and was partly productive of his downfall. He joined the rising administration of Tweeddale; and having at the Restoration been re-appointed a lord of session, was promoted to be justice-clerk. "The people were pleased and gratified," says Laing, "when a judicial office, so important and dangerous, was conferred on the most upright and accomplished character which the nation produced."⁹ But Sir Robert was made justice-clerk, not to be a judge, but that the salary might induce him to be a partisan. He never sat on the bench, and was probably quite ignorant of law. Meanwhile, in 1662, took place the most important event in his life, and one of the most interesting transactions of the period. He was one of the leaders of that body of naturalists and philosophers who, with the assistance of Lord Brouncker and Robert Boyle, procured for the Royal Society the sanction of a charter. The society had existed as a small debating club previous to the republic, at the establishment of which the members separated. At the Restoration they re-established themselves, and conducted their meetings and operations on a rather more extensive scale. On the 28th November, 1660, we find Sir Robert present at, probably, the first meeting where it was proposed "that some course might be thought of to improve this meeting to a more regular way of debating things; and that, according to the manner in other countries, where there were voluntary associations of men into academies for the advancement of various parts of learning, they might do something answerable here for the promoting of experimental philosophy."¹⁰ Sir Robert undertook to communicate the views of the society to the court, and at next meeting returned an answer indicative of encouragement from that quarter.¹¹ After rules for holding meetings, and for the appointment of office-bearers, were established, Sir Robert was successively chosen president during the first and second month of the existence of the society.¹² He was a member of almost all committees and councils, delivered several papers, prepared and exhibited experiments, and gave information in natural history, chiefly relating to the geology of Scotland. The charter was obtained on 15th July, 1662.

¹ *Mem. of D. of Hamilton*, 307.

² *Balf. An.* iii. 337.

³ *Balf. An.* iv. 17.

⁴ *Ib.* 18, 35; *Act. Par.* vii. 516.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Own Times*, i. 103.

⁷ *Ib.* 132.

⁸ *Ib.* 150.

⁹ *Hist.* ii. 47.

¹⁰ *Kirch. Hist. R. Soc.*, i. 3.

¹¹ *Ib.* 4.

¹² *Ib.* 21.

This useful and high-minded man died suddenly in June, 1673. Burnet says of this event: "He was the wisest and worthiest man of the age, and was as another father to me. I was sensible how much I lost on so critical a conjuncture, being bereft of the truest and faithfullest friend I had ever known: and so I saw I was in danger of committing great errors for want of so kind a monitor."¹ But the same partial hand, on all occasions graphic and rich in description, has elsewhere excelled its usual power in drawing the character of Sir Robert Murray. "He was the most universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts of any man I have ever known in my whole life. He was a pious man, and, in the midst of armies and courts, he spent many hours a-day in devotion, which was in a most elevating strain. He had gone through the easy parts of mathematics, and knew the history of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like Peiriski as he is described by Gassandi. He was afterwards the first former of the Royal Society, and its first president; and while he lived he was the life and soul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him which nothing could alter: and was in practice the only stoic I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles: for he was much for absolute decrees. He had a most diffused love to all mankind, and delighted in every occasion of doing good, which he managed with great discretion and zeal. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension to most men, and had the plainest, but withal the softest way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults, that I ever knew of."²

MURRAY, WILLIAM, Earl of Mansfield, and lord chief-justice of the King's Bench, the fourth son of Andrew, Viscount Stormont, was born at Perth on the 2d March, 1704.³ In 1719 he was admitted a king's scholar at Westminster. On the 18th June, 1723, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, having been first in the list of those promoted to the university. In 1730 he visited the Continent, after having graduated as Master of Arts; and on his return was called to the bar at Michaelmas term, 1731. As a school-boy and student he gained prizes, and is said to have shown promise of literary distinction; while, even after having joined his profession, he did not appear to direct his powers to the acquisition of legal knowledge. The office of a special pleader frequently damps the energy of talents formed to reflect honour on the bar or the bench; and Murray, along with many who have, and many who have not, been able to surmount the rigid barrier to the pursuit in which their talents made them capable of shining, was generally esteemed more fitted for a scholar than a lawyer. It is probable that the success of his first attempts showed him how successfully he might employ his energies in this direction. He was early engaged in a few important appeals, his appearances in which brought so speedy an accumulation of business, that it is said to have been remarked by himself, that he never knew the difference between absolute want of employment and a professional income of £3000 a-year. He soon threw the whole powers of his mind into the most minute acquirements necessary to procure eminence as a speaker, and is known to have been caught practising gesture before a mirror, with his friend Pope at his side acting as teacher of elocution. His intimacy with the illustrious poet probably commenced in similarity of pursuits (for Murray wrote poetry in

his youth, which has fallen into probably merited oblivion), and was fostered by the absence of rivalry in after-life. Pope condescended to turn his verses into compliments on his forensic friend, and the latter must have felt what the Roman has so well described, "pulchrum est laudari a laudato." It would be difficult to conceive a greater incentive to the rising ambition of an aspiring mind than these concluding lines:—

"Graced as thou art with all the power of words,
So known, so honoured, in the House of Lords—
Conspicuous scene! another yet is nigh,
More silent far, where kings and poets lie:
Where Murray (long enough his country's pride)
Shall be no more than Tully or than Hyde."

Like Lord Eldon, he made the first exhibition of his full power in commanding a jury from the accidental illness of his senior counsel—a circumstance which happened in the action for criminal conversation brought by Theophilus Cibber against Mr. Sloper. He requested a postponement for an hour, and never being void of self-possession except when personally attacked, he omitted nothing which his opportunities enabled him to accomplish, and made an impressive charge, which produced a decided effect in favour of his client. He was soon after employed in a professional service which may be said to have been in defence of his native country. When, after the murder of Porteous, the lords passed and sent down to the commons a bill for disqualifying and imprisoning the provost of Edinburgh, abolishing the city guard, and taking away the gates of the Netherbow port, he, assisted by Barnard, Shippen, Ogellthorpe, and most of the Scots members, pertinaciously resisted the insulting measure through a stormy conference, and was partly the means of lopping away the portion most offensive to the public; and the bill as returned and passed by the lords merely disqualified the provost, and imposed a fine of £2000 on the city for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. Murray's services on this occasion were rewarded by the freedom of the city of Edinburgh, which was presented to him in a gold box.⁴

In 1743 the attention of a ministry, not supported by extensive political talent, and obliged to combat with strong adversaries, was directed towards Mr. Murray as an effective auxiliary. He was chosen solicitor-general, and being thus initiated as a responsible legislator, was one of the few lawyers whose genius proved as great in the senate as it had been at the bar. In 1742 he took his seat in the house as member for Boroughbridge. In 1746 he was *ex officio* one of the counsel against the rebel lords. It is said that he performed an unwelcome duty. He certainly exhibited a disposition to act as a high-minded public prosecutor ought always to do, by showing that he was rather the instrument through which the law acted in doing justice than a person employed to procure the punishment of a fellow-citizen. "Every gentleman," he observed, choosing the collective term as the least invidious mode of expressing his own feelings, "who has spoken in this trial, has made it a rule to himself to urge nothing against the prisoner but plain facts and positive evidence without aggravation." Whether he acted from principle, or a secret leaning towards the cause he ostensibly opposed, is not likely to be ever known; but those who brought the accusation against him should have founded it on different evidence from the circumstance, that, as crown counsel, he was unwilling to stretch the law against the accused. The humbled Lord Lovat, the person on whose trial he made the above remark, in a fit of liberality or

¹ *Owen Times*, i. 356.

² *Ib.* 59.

³ *Holiday's Life of Mansfield*, p. 1. *Roscoe's Lives of British Lawyers*, 171.

⁴ *Coxe's Walpole*, i. 495.

national feeling, made the following observations on the solicitor in his defence:—"I am very sorry I gave your lordships so much trouble on my trial, and I give you a million of thanks for being so good in your patience and attention while it lasted. I thought myself very much loaded by one Mr. Murray, who, your lordships know, was the bitterest enemy there was against me. I have since suffered by another Mr. Murray, who, I must say with pleasure, is an honour to his country, and whose eloquence and learning are much beyond what is to be expressed by an ignorant man like me. I heard him with pleasure, though it was against me. I have the honour to be his relation, though perhaps he neither knows it nor values it. I wish that his being born in the north may not hinder him from the preferment that his merit and learning deserve. Till that gentleman spoke, your lordships were inclined to grant my earnest request, and to allow me farther time to bring up my witnesses to prove my innocence; but it seems that has been overruled."¹ But one who was present, and who has dipped his pen in gall, has given a less pleasing account than that generally believed, of his conduct at these trials. Horace Walpole says, in a letter to Horace Man, "While the lords were withdrawn, the solicitor-general Murray (brother of the Pretender's minister) officiously and insolently went up to Lord Balmerino, and asked him how he could give the lords so much trouble, when his solicitor had informed him that his plea would be of no use to him? Balmerino asked the bystanders who this person was? and being told, he said, 'Oh, Mr. Murray! I am extremely glad to see you: I have been with several of your relations: the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us at Perth; are not you charmed with this speech: how just it was!'"

But Murray did not escape charges of disaffection more apparently serious. A dinner had been given by the Dean of Durham on occasion of the king's birthday, when a conversation was commenced by an individual of the name of Fawcett, an old class-fellow of Murray, as to the probable preference of Johnson, a mutual friend, then Bishop of Gloucester. On this occasion Fawcett observed that "he was glad Johnson was so well off, for he remembered him a Jacobite several years ago, and that he used to be with a relation of his who was very disaffected, one Vernon Mercer, where the Pretender's health was frequently drunk." On a ministerial inquiry the charge of drinking the Pretender's health was transferred to Murray, and the matter became the subject of an accusation before the cabinet council. Murray was the intimate friend and companion of Vernon's eldest son, and had so established himself as a virtual brother to the young man, that the father, on his son's death, left to Murray a considerable fortune.² This man was a Jacobite. The university of Oxford was at that period a nest of traitors; and, taking into view Murray's family connections, his youth, his ardour, and the circumstance that he must have been aware that almost every noble family in Britain then conducted a correspondence with the exiled Stuarts, no man was more likely to have drunk the Pretender's health in a moment of conviviality. However, he denied the charge, stating his loyalty towards the existing government, which, by the time he was made solicitor-general, was probably sincere. Inquiry was stifled, and nothing was proved to the public on either side. But the accusation was never entirely dropped by his opponents; every one knows the use made of it by Junius. Pitt would use it to poison the sharpest darts of his elo-

quence, and on such occasions Murray is said to have felt, but never to have dared to answer. Pitt had been detailing some symptoms of Jacobitism which he had seen at Oxford. Horace Walpole says on this occasion,³ "Colours, much less words, could not paint the confusion and agitation that worked in Murray's face during this almost apostrophe. His countenance spoke everything that Fawcett had been terrified to prevaricate away." On another occasion the scene is thus told: "After Murray had suffered for some time, Pitt stopped, threw his eyes around, then fixing their whole power on Murray, said, 'I must now address a few words to Mr. Solicitor: they shall be few, but they shall be daggers.' Murray was agitated: the look was continued; the agitation increased. 'Judge Festus trembles,' exclaimed Pitt, 'he shall hear me some other day.' He sat down, Murray made no reply, and a languid debate is said to have shown the paralysis of the house."⁴ It may be well here to give the picture which Walpole has furnished us of Murray and his two great rivals in oratory, Pitt and Fox. The picture is beautiful, and though too glaringly coloured must be to a certain extent founded on truth. "Murray, who at the beginning of the session was awed by Pitt, finding himself supported by Fox, surmounted his fears, and convinced the house, and Pitt too, of his superior abilities. He grew most uneasy to the latter. Pitt could only attack, Murray only defend. Fox, the boldest and ablest champion, was still more formed to worry, but the keenness of his sabre was blunted by the difficulty with which he drew it from the scabbard: I mean the hesitation and ungracefulness of his delivery took off from the force of his arguments. Murray, the brightest genius of the three, had too much and too little of the lawyer; he refined too much, and could wrangle too little for a popular assembly. Pitt's figure was commanding; Murray's engaging from a decent openness; Fox's dark and troubled; yet the latter was the only agreeable man. Pitt could not unbend; Murray in private was inelegant: Fox was cheerful, social, communicative. In conversation none of them had wit: Murray never had: Fox had in his speeches, from clearness of head and asperity of argument. Pitt's wit was genuine, not tortured into the service, like the quaintnesses of my Lord Chesterfield."⁵

On the accession of the Duke of Newcastle's ministry, in 1754, Mr. Murray was advanced to the office of attorney-general, in place of Sir Dudley Ryder, who was made chief-justice of the Court of King's Bench. It was at that period whispered that the highest honours to which a British statesman can be presumed to aspire were almost within the grasp of Murray, but that he declined a contest for any distinction which was not professional. His character presents a strange mixture of eager, unremitting ambition, with an unwillingness to grasp the highest objects within his reach, probably from a mental misgiving as to his ability to perform the part of leader. In pursuance of this feeling, on the death of Sir Dudley Ryder, in 1756, he followed him as chief-justice of the King's Bench, the post to which he always looked as the most desirable, and which he preferred to the labours and responsibilities of the chancellorship or premiership. He probably had no wish to remain longer a member of such a government as Newcastle's; but that weak head of a cabinet had sufficient wisdom to calculate the loss of such a man as Murray, and extravagant offers are said to have been

¹ *State Trial*, xvi. 877.

² *Holiday*, 51.

³ *Memoir of the Last Ten Years of George II.* i. 358.

⁴ *Butler's Remains*, Roscoe, 131.

⁵ *Walpole's Memoirs*, i. 490.

made to induce him to remain for some time a working partisan of the ministry. In his promotion, however, he does not seem to have wished to relinquish the honours of administration, while he eschewed the responsibility. Contrary to custom, but not to precedent, he remained a member of the cabinet, and changed his sphere of action for the House of Lords, with the title of Baron Mansfield of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham. On his taking leave of the society of Lincoln's Inn he received the usual congratulatory address, which was presented by the Honourable C. York, son to Lord Hardwicke.

Let us now cast a glance at Lord Mansfield's character and services to the public as a judge. It is in this capacity that we will find the only practical memorial which he has left for posterity; but it is such a memorial as few, if any other judges, have left. The declaration of what the law is, is generally thought sufficient duty for a judge, and he is praised if he does it well—the evils which his train of decisions may have produced to posterity, when their principle was applied to other cases, are not to be attributed to him; he was not prophetic, and could not foresee such events. But Lord Mansfield, in more than one branch of law, framed his decisions for the advantage of posterity; and of the law of marine insurance which is now a vast system both in England and Scotland, he may be said to have been the framer. On this subject, the opinion of one of the most ample writers on the English law of marine insurance will best explain what Lord Mansfield accomplished. "Before the time of this venerable judge, the legal proceedings, even on contracts of insurance, were subject to great vexations and oppressions. If the underwriters refused payment, it was usual for the insured to bring a separate action against each of the underwriters on the policy, and to proceed to trial on all. The multiplicity of trials was oppressive both to the insurers and insured; and the insurers, if they had any real point to try, were put to an enormous expense before they could obtain any decision of the question which they wished to agitate. Some underwriters, who thought they had a sound defence, and who were desirous of avoiding unnecessary cost or delay to themselves or the insured, applied to the Court of King's Bench to stay the proceedings in all the actions but one, undertaking to pay the amount of their subscriptions with costs, if the plaintiff should succeed in the cause which was tried; and offering to admit, on their part, everything which might bring the true merits of the case before the court and jury. Reasonable as this offer was, the plaintiff, either from perverseness of disposition or the illiberality or cunning of his advisers, refused his consent to the application. The court did not think themselves warranted to make such a rule without his consent; but Mr. Justice Denison intimated, that if the plaintiff persisted, against his own interest, on his right to try all the causes, the court had the power of granting imparlances in all but one, till there was an opportunity of granting that one action. Lord Mansfield then stated the great advantages resulting to each party by consenting to the application which was made; and added, that if the plaintiff consented to such a rule, the defendant should undertake not to file any bill in equity for delay, nor to bring a writ of error, and should produce all books and papers that were material to the point in issue. This rule was afterwards consented to by the plaintiff, and was found so beneficial to all parties, that it is now grown into general use, and is called the consolidation rule. Thus, on the one hand, defendants may have ques-

tions of real importance tried at a small expense; and plaintiffs are not delayed in their suits by those arts which have too frequently been resorted to, in order to evade the payment of a just demand.¹ Such is one out of the several judicial measures by which Lord Mansfield erected this great system. But it is said that he made the changes in the law, by changing himself from the administrator of the law into the legislator; that he did not adhere to the letter of the law, but gave it an equitable interpretation, virtually altering it himself, in place of leaving to the legislature the correction of bad laws, a system which, whatever good use he might himself have made of it, was not to be intrusted to a chief-justice, and never was so by the law of England. The charge is not without foundation. Junius says to him, in his celebrated letter of 14th November, 1770, "No learned man even among your own tribe thinks you qualified to preside in a court of common law. Yet it is confessed that, under Justinian, you might have made an incomparable pretor." The Roman law was, in all its branches, the excess of equity, even when compared to the equity court of England; but the pretorian branch was the equity of the Roman law. It is probable that the institute was at all times a more pleasing study to the elegant mind of Lord Mansfield, than the rigid common and statute law of England. He frequently made reference to it, and may have been induced to study it in incapacitating himself for pleading Scotch appeals; yet he is understood to have been the author of the chapter in Blackstone's *Commentary* which answers the arguments of Lord Kames in favour of the extension of equity in England. His opinions on the rights of jury trials in cases of libel have met with still more extensive censure. He maintained "that the printing and sense of the paper were alone what the jury had to consider of." The intent with which this was done (as it is singularly termed the law) he retained for the consideration of the court. In the cases of *Almon* and of *Woodfall* he so instructed the jury. In the latter case the verdict was, "guilty of printing and publishing only." There was no charge, except for printing and publishing, in the information, the intent being for the consideration of the court. On the motion for arrest of judgment, it is clear from Lord Mansfield's opinion, that, had the verdict been "guilty of printing and publishing," he would have given judgment on the opinion of the court as to intent; but the word "only" was a subject of doubt, and a new trial was ruled.² The verdict in this case was "not guilty." Lord Mansfield could not prevent such a verdict without unconstitutional coercion; but he accommodated it to his principles, by presuming that the meaning of such a verdict was a denial as to the *fact* of printing and publishing, and that the juror who gave it in consideration of the *intent*, perjured himself. Yet Junius accomplished a signal triumph over him, in making him virtually contradict his favourite principle in a theory too nice for practice, when he said, that "if, after all, they would take upon themselves to determine the law, *they might do it*; but they must be very sure that they determined according to law: for they touched their consciences, and they acted at their peril." A declaratory act introduced by Fox, has since put a stop to the powers of a judge to infringe in a similar manner the rights of juries.³ In only two instances has Lord Mansfield been accused of wilfully perverting his judicial authority. In the *Douglas* cause, it must be admitted that his address

¹ Park on *Insurance*. Introduction, 12.

² *State Trials*, xx. 919-21.

³ *32 George III. c. 60.*

to the house was more like the speech of an advocate than of a judge. It is believed to have swayed the house, although the decision was not, as in the general case, unanimous in favour of the side taken by the law officer who gives his opinion. Mr. Stuart, the agent for the losing party, wrote letters to Lord Mansfield, solemnly charging him with improper conduct as a judge. Of these very beautiful specimens of composition it is scarcely possible to judge of the merit, without a knowledge of the elaborate cause with which they are connected; but the reasoning is clear and accurate, and the calm solemnity of the charges, with the want of that personal asperity, or dependence on satirical or declamatory powers, which appear in Junius, must have made these letters keenly felt, even by a judge conscious of rectitude. The other charge was brought against him by Junius, for admitting to bail a thief caught in the manner, or with the stolen property, contrary to law. The thief was a man of large property, his theft trifling, and probably the consequence of a species of mental disease of not unfrequent occurrence. The reason of granting bail was, we believe, to enable him to dispose of his property to his family; and the act probably one of those in which the lord chief-justice stretched the law to what he conceived a useful purpose.

A brief narrative of Lord Mansfield's political proceedings while on the bench will suffice, as their merits are matter of history. He attended the meetings of the council from 1760 to 1763, when he declined attending, from not agreeing with the measures of the Duke of Bedford. In 1765 he returned, but again retired within the same year on the formation of the Rockingham administration. On the dismissal of Mr. Pitt the seals of the chancellorship of the exchequer, from which Mr. Legge had retired, were *pro tempore* placed in his hands. When Lord Waldegrave was directed to form a new administration, he was employed to negotiate with the Duke of Newcastle and his opponent Pitt; but the conclusion of the treaty was intrusted to the Earl of Hardwicke. On the resignation of Lord Hardwicke several attempts were made to prevail on Mansfield to succeed him as chancellor; but the timidity before explained, or some principle not easily defined, induced him to decline the preferment. He strongly resisted an attempt to amend the application of *Habeas Corpus* to cases not criminal, suggested from the circumstance of a gentleman having remained for a considerable period in prison, to which he was committed for contempt of court. "On this occasion he spoke," says Horace Walpole, "for two hours and a half: his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I am not averse to own that I never heard so much sense and so much oratory united." This was an occasion of which Junius made ample use. The amendment was rejected, and a similar legislative measure was not passed until 1816. Lord Mansfield was not less eloquent in supporting the right of Britain to tax America without representation; he maintained the plea that there was virtual, though not nominal, representation, and urged decisive measures. "You may abdicate," he said, "your right over the colonies. Take care, my lords, how you do so, for such an act will be irrevocable. Proceed then, my lords, with spirit and firmness; and when you have established your authority, it will then be time to show your lenity." But if his views in civil politics were narrow and bigoted, he was liberal in religious matters, and both as a judge and a legislator afforded toleration to all classes of dissenters, from Roman

Catholics to Methodists. He was indeed a greater enemy to liberal institutions than to liberal acts. He could bear to see the people enjoying privileges, provided they flowed from himself, but he did not wish them to be the custodiers of their own freedom. In spiritual matters the authority did not spring from the chief-justice. When he left Pitt behind him in the Commons, he found one to act his part in the House of Lords. Lord Camden was his unceasing opponent; and Mansfield was often obliged to meet his attacks with silence. He suffered severely in the riots of 1780—his house, with considerable other property, being destroyed; while he suffered the far more lamentable loss of all his books and manuscripts. In pursuance of a vote of the House of Commons, the treasury made an application for the particulars and amount of his loss, for the purpose of arranging a compensation; but he declined making any claim. In 1788 he retired from his judicial office, when the usual address from the bar was presented to him by his countryman, Mr. Erskine; and in July, 1792, he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Mansfield, with remainder to his nephew, David Viscount Stormont. He died on the 20th March, 1793, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

MYLNE, ROBERT, a distinguished architect, was born in Edinburgh, January 4, 1734. He was the son of Thomas Mylne, a magistrate of the city, and an architect, whose predecessors for several generations had been master-masons to the king, and one of whom built the additions to Holyrood House in the reign of Charles II., and is interred in the neighbourhood of that palace, with a highly panegyrical epitaph. After receiving a general education in Edinburgh, the subject of this article travelled on the Continent for improvement in his hereditary science. At Rome, where he resided five years, he gained in 1758 the first prize of the academy of St. Luke in the first class of architecture, and was unanimously elected a member of that body. In the course of his travels he was able, by the minuteness of his research, to discover many points in ancient architecture which no one ever before or ever after remarked, and to illustrate by this means some obscure passages in Vitruvius. On returning to London a friendless adventurer, the superiority of a plan which he presented, among those of twenty other candidates, for the contemplated Blackfriars' Bridge, gained him the employment of superintending that great public work, which was commenced in 1761. This plan and the duty of superintendence were rewarded, according to agreement, by a salary of £300 a year, and five per cent. upon all the money expended. So well had he calculated the cost, that the bridge was completed (1765) for the exact sum specified in the estimate, £153,000. As a specimen of bridge architecture on a large scale, it was long held in the very highest rank; and a learned writer has even pronounced it the most perfect in existence. The mode of *centering* employed by Mr. Mylne has, in particular, been the theme of much praise.

This eminent architect was afterwards appointed surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral; and he it was who suggested the inscription in that building to the memory of Wren—"Si monumentum queris, circumspice"—an idea so felicitous, that it may safely be described as more generally known, and committed to more memories, than almost any similar thing in existence. Among the buildings erected or altered by him may be mentioned—Rochester Cathedral, Greenwich Hospital (of which he was clerk of the works for fifteen years), King's Weston, Ar-

dencaple House, and Inverary Castle. He was a man of extensive knowledge in his profession, both in regard to its theory and practice. After a long career of distinguished employment, he died May 5, 1811, in his seventy-eighth year, at the New River

Head, London, where he had long resided as engineer to that company, and was interred in Westminster Abbey, near the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren. By his wife, Miss Mary Home, whom he married in 1770, he had nine children, five of whom survived him.

N.

NAIRN, CAROLINA, BARONESS. This amiable and talented poetess was the third daughter and fifth child of Laurence Oliphant, of Gask; her mother was Margaret Robertson, daughter of Duncan Robertson, of Struan, and granddaughter of the fourth Lord Nairn. The family of Gask was distinguished for its Jacobitism, and the poetess was named Carolina in honour of Charles Edward, the young Chevalier. She was born in the family mansion of Gask, county of Perth, on the 16th of July, 1766. In her youth Carolina was so distinguished for her beauty, that in her own district she was commonly termed "The Flower of Strathearn." But her early talents were still more remarkable than her beauty, while the picturesque scenery of her birth-place, and the romantic incidents with which the history of her ancestors had been connected, tended to direct them towards poetry. It is not impossible also that the example of her kinsman Robertson of Struan, the distinguished Jacobite chief and poet, may have aided this tendency. Carolina Oliphant was also one of the many proofs that poetry comes by birthright rather than acquirement, for her precocious talents, even in early girlhood, expressed themselves in numbers, and some of her songs, which became popular, were written at a time of life when others of her sex and station have not yet been freed from the governess or the school-room.

It was not, however, enough for Miss Oliphant to win the renown of a successful and popular songwriter. High as that ambition may be in the eyes of those who would rather be the authors of a country's songs than its laws, her ambition was loftier and purer still. Scotland was already a country of songs; but however ennobled they might be by the charms of poetry, they were also in many cases disfigured by licentiousness; and what the ear so alluringly heard, the heart was too ready not only to tolerate but adopt. Thus it was in the days of the Wedderburns, and thus it was until the close of the last century; so that the popular songs and ballads of the olden time furnished in their practical effects abundance of repulsive work for the discipline of the kirk session. Not merely new songs had therefore to be created, but the old driven out; and to supersede the latter not only by a purer morality but a higher attractiveness was the aim of Carolina Oliphant. And nobly and well did she fulfil her task. She led the way of a great national reformation which others have continued to the present hour, so that not only in the excellence and abundance, but also the morality, of its songs, Scotland may vie with any nation whatever. And what has become of the old national ditties which were equally popular in hall and hut, and sung alike by princes and peasants without a blush? The ear can no longer endure them, the popular suffrage has condemned them beyond repeal, and they can only be found among the recollections of the past or the repertoires of the antiquary.

Her first composition in Scottish verse that

obtained publicity is supposed to have been *The Ploughman* [Ploughman], which she sent anonymously to the president of an agricultural dinner in the neighbourhood. The song was publicly read and applauded, and speedily set to music. A series of others followed during the course of her long extended life, which, in consequence of being given without her name, it would be as difficult to enumerate as to identify; but it is enough to state that, notwithstanding the disadvantage of being unacknowledged productions on the part of their author, they established themselves as popular melodies, and have thus continued to the present hour. We have only to mention in proof of this, her *Laird o' Cockpen*, and *The Land o' the Leal*, which were as popular at the close of the last century as they are in our own day. Another was *Callin' Herrin'*, which Niel Gow has set to such exquisite music, and which is still as fresh in popularity as when it welcomed the coming of the first creel from Newhaven to Edinburgh. Another was the Jacobite song *Il's over the Hills that I lo'e weel*, which still stands by its own merits, although the subject of its eulogy is no longer cared for. Of the same class is *The Hundred Pipers*, a song descriptive of the young Chevalier and his army crossing the Esk; and dancing their clothes dry when they had reached English ground on the opposite side.

While the young and beautiful poetess was thus charming a whole nation with her lyrics, there were many suitors for her hand; but she remained unmarried to the age of forty, when, in 1806, she accepted William Murray Nairn, her maternal cousin, who was a major in the army, and held the office of assistant inspector-general of barracks in Scotland. He would have been Baron Nairn, but for the attainer of the title on account of the Jacobitism of its previous holder. The time, however, had arrived for the reversion of these harsh sentences; and George IV., on his visit to Edinburgh, having learned that the song of *The Attainted Scottish Nobles* had been written by Mrs. Nairn, restored her husband's title by act of parliament in 1824. Only a short time, however, was this restitution enjoyed, for on the 9th of July, 1830, he died, and the baroness, who had proved an affectionate wife, was left in widowhood. One consolation remained to her in her son William, her only child, born in 1808, who at the age of twenty-two succeeded to his father's title, and to whom she was affectionately devoted. A severe attack of influenza in 1837 induced him to try the remedy of a change of air upon the Continent, and he repaired with his mother to Brussels; but there he was seized with a violent cold, which carried him off in six weeks. Bereaved of those whom she had most tenderly loved, and left in her old age to solitude, she wept, but not as those who have no hope; and while she bewailed her loss in the language that was natural to her by more than one mournful lyric, she addressed herself to the performance of those Christian duties in which she found her best consolation.

One of these pathetic songs, to the air of *Aileen Aroon*, and entitled, *Would You be Young Again?* which she wrote in 1842, at the age of seventy-six, and indicative alike of her sorrows and hopes, we cannot refrain from quoting—

"Would you be young again?
So would not I—
One tear to memory given,
Onward I'd hie,
Life's dark flood forded o'er,
All but at rest on shore,
Say, would you plunge once more
With home so nigh?"

"If you might, would you now
Retrace your way,
Wander through stormy wilds,
Faint and astray?
Night's gloomy watches fled,
Morning all beaming red,
Hope's smiles around us shed,
Heavenward—away."

"Where, then, are those dear ones,
Our joy and delight?
Dear and more dear, though now
Hidden from sight.
Where they rejoice to be,
This is the land for me;
Fly, time, fly speedily;
Come, life and light."

After her marriage there was an intermission in Lady Nairn's poetical studies, and for this, her devotedness as a wife and mother perhaps formed her best apology. Thus her life passed tranquilly onward until 1821, when a new call summoned her powers into action. In that year Mr. Robert Purdie, a music-seller in Edinburgh, having resolved to publish a collection of our best national songs, applied to several ladies distinguished for their musical talents to assist him in the arrangement of the melodies; and as they had enjoyed the intimacy of the baroness, and were aware of the great popularity which her Scottish songs had obtained, they urged her to contribute to such a laudable scheme. She consented, but it was on condition that the fact of her contributing should be kept a profound secret. The work was commenced, and when completed in 1824, consisted of six volumes of royal octavo, under the title of the *Scottish Minstrel*, forming one of the best and largest collections of our Scottish songs. But while the work obtained the extensive popularity it merited, the public was clamorous to know who was the author of those distinguished contributions—for in her correspondence with Mr. Purdie, her only signature was the letters B. B. The publisher was non-plussed, and the editor mystified, until the former, conceiving that B. B. could stand for no other than Mrs. Bogan of Bogan, addressed her subsequently by that title. But the curiosity of the public was equally stimulated to discover the author of those admirable songs, and many were the theories on the subject maintained in the journals of the day. Strange that a secret confided to more than one lady never leaked out! But secrecy is a quality possessed not only by Scottish men but Scottish women also, as not only the present case, but the Porteous conspiracy and the concealments of the young Chevalier, have well attested. By her express desire even her sex was concealed, and while she left the publisher undisturbed in his mistake that her real name was Mrs. Bogan of Bogan, she desired him not to reveal that the writer of these songs was a woman. He obeyed, and in the advertisement to the last volume of the *Scottish Minstrel* was the following guarded acknowledgment—"In particular the editors would have felt happy in being permitted to enumerate the many original and beautiful verses that adorn their pages, for which they are indebted

to the author of the much-admired song *The Land o' the Leal*, but they fear to wound a delicacy which shrinks from all observation." Even to the close of her life this sensitive delicacy continued, so that only a few were aware that she was the authoress of the above-mentioned song, or even that she had ever written a single verse of poetry. To her, the purification of the minstrelsy of her native land, and change of its noxious waters into a stream of life, outweighed all earthly fame.

After the death of her son, and till within two years of her own death, Lady Nairn resided on the Continent, and partly in Paris. Her health had suffered during the last years of her life, and latterly she was compelled to use a wheeled chair. Some years after her death it occurred to her friends that she had retained her *incognita* too scrupulously, and they were desirous to publish a collected edition of her works; but this was only partially accomplished in an elegant folio, entitled "*Lays from Strath-earn*," by Carolina, Baroness Nairn. Arranged with Symphonies and Accompaniments for the Piano-forte, by Finlay Dun." A very large portion, however, of her songs are still in manuscript. In addition to her poetical talents, she was an enthusiast in music, and showed great taste and skill in the art of drawing. The same high philanthropy which animated her attempt to purify our national melodies, exerted itself in deeds of Christian liberality and benevolence; but the same retiring delicacy which characterized her as a poetess also distinguished her as a benefactor, so that the world was kept in ignorance of her beneficence both to public charities and individuals. One evidence of her liberality in contributing to the religious instruction of the lower orders, was thus specified by Dr. Chalmers at the close of 1845, in reference to his West Port institution—and it may serve as a specimen of many such actions in which her agency remained unknown. "Let me speak now," said the eloquent affectionate orator and venerable divine, "as to the countenance we have received. I am now at liberty to mention a very noble benefaction which I received about a year ago. Inquiry was made to me by a lady, mentioning that she had a sum at her disposal, and that she wished to apply it to charitable purposes; and she wanted me to enumerate a list of charitable objects, in proportion to the estimate I had of their value. Accordingly I furnished her with a scale of about five or six charitable objects. The highest in the scale were those institutions which had for their design the Christianizing of the people at home; and I also mentioned to her, in connection with the Christianizing at home, what we were doing at the West Port; and there came to me from her, in the course of a day or two, no less a sum than £300. She is now dead; she is now in her grave, and her works do follow her. When she gave me this noble benefaction, she laid me under strict injunctions of secrecy, and, accordingly, I did not mention her name to any person; but after she was dead I begged of her nearest heir that I might be allowed to proclaim it, because I thought that her example, so worthy to be followed, might influence others in imitating her; and I am happy to say that I am now at liberty to state that it was Lady Nairn of Perthshire. It enabled us, at the expense of £330, to purchase sites for schools and a church; and we have got a site in the very heart of the locality, with a very considerable extent of ground for a washing-green, a washing-house, and a play-ground for the children, so that we are a good step in advance towards the completion of our parochial economy."

It only remains to be added to this brief notice,

that Carolina Baroness Nairn died at the mansion of Gask, on the 27th of October, 1845, at the age of seventy-nine years.

NAPIER, ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES. This great naval hero was a member of that family of Napiers who made themselves so illustrious in the present century, not only by their achievements but their writings. He was the second son of the Hon. Captain Charles Napier, R.N., and grandson of Francis the fifth Lord Napier: his uncle was the Hon. Colonel George Napier, and thus he was full cousin to the hero of Scinde and also to the historian of the Peninsular war. He was born on the 6th of March, 1786, at his father's residence, Merchiston Hall, near Falkirk, in the county of Stirling. As child and boy his choice of the profession in which he was to win such distinction was indicated by his wistful watching of the barges in the canal near his father's house, and by constructing and rigging boats and ships, which he set a-sailing in the canal or garden pond. At the early age of seven years he was sent to the high-school of Edinburgh, where he continued six years, and here his studies of the classics were alternated with those pursuits which were in keeping with his future character and career. In the battles or "bickerings" of the high-school boys against the lads of the city, he was always a chief leader, and one of the foremost of the combatants; and during the short intervals of truce he was wont to adjourn to Leith and study every vessel in the harbour. Even at this age also he was neither insensible to any distinction he had won, nor slow to proclaim it; and having on one occasion attained the high station of *dux*, or head of his class, he hired a sedan chair, that he might be carried in triumph to his father's house in George's Square.

At length the time came when Charles Napier was to announce his choice of a profession: he had decided to be a sailor, and was impatient to be afloat. But his father, a disappointed post-captain, was hostile to such a choice, and likely to nip it in the bud. Charles, however, had his class-fellows on his side, and they resolved to accompany him to his father's house, in the hope of melting the stern parent by their united eloquence. They accordingly proceeded to George's Square, and entered the grim commander's study, who was astonished to be thus boarded, and his anger was not abated when the purpose of their visit was announced. He gruffly, and in the briefest terms, declared that his son should never enter the navy, and the discomfited striplings backed out of his presence. Very soon, however, Captain Napier relented; he seems to have found it useless to strive against nature; and Charles was accordingly entered as a midshipman on board the *Martin*, lying in Leith Roads. This was in November, 1799, when young Napier was in the fourteenth year of his age. It was fortunate for the service, as well as for Charles, that he was soon after removed to another vessel, for in her next cruise, the *Martin*, after having put to sea, was never more heard of.

Having been transferred to the *Renown*, then lying at Spithead, in May, 1800, Charles Napier went in a coasting vessel to London, for the purpose of joining his ship, and was landed with his luggage at the Tower Stairs. Having heard terrible stories of the London sharpers, he put himself on his guard; and no sooner did the eager porters lay hold of his luggage in the hope of getting a job, than, thinking that they meant to rob him, he planted himself astride upon his sea-chest, drew his dirk, and dared them to touch his property. A still more remarkable in-

stance of the boy's courage occurred at the Tower, to see the wonders of which he was taken during his short stay in London. When the lions were exhibited, the keeper eulogized one of them as being so very tame that, said he, "you might put your hand into his mouth." This was a safe hyperbole, as no one was likely to test it; but Charles Napier, not content with the mere assertion, thrust his hand into the animal's jaws. It was well that the king of brutes was either in a wonderfully clement humour, or taken at unawares by the strangeness of such a freedom, for the experimenter was allowed to remove his hand with impunity, while the only fear exhibited was on the part of the by-standers.

After joining the *Renown*, 74, the flag-ship of Sir Borlase Warren, the young midshipman was employed in various services and on different stations, until in 1805 he was acting-lieutenant on board the *Mediator* in the North Sea. His apprenticeship was now ended, and he had obtained a rank in which he could show what he was worth. He signaled himself in an attack upon part of the Boulogne flotilla, and volunteered to attempt its entire destruction by means of rocket-boats, but this daring proposal of a young officer only in his nineteenth year was not followed up. In the same year [1805], after passing his examinations, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and in 1807 to that of commander. The first vessel placed under his command was the brig *Pultusk*, and being thus let loose into action on his own responsibility he was not slow in using his commission. He landed on the Spanish main with only twelve men, and captured a guarda-costa which he had chased ashore, although it was defended by three or four small guns which she had landed, and thirty-six men of her crew. He also landed and took a battery on the coast of Porto-Rico, and a merchant schooner, the crew of which fled after firing their guns. In the following year he was transferred into the *Recruit*, of 18 guns, and soon after had a warm engagement with the French corvette *Diligente*, of 22 guns, to windward of Antigua. The fight lasted nearly three hours; the second shot fired by the enemy broke Napier's thigh, so that the bone perforated the flesh; his first lieutenant was mortally wounded soon after, and out of a crew of 106 men the *Recruit* had six killed and twenty-three wounded. But just at the moment when her victory appeared certain, her mainmast fell, and the *Diligente* sheered off and escaped. In three months Napier recovered from his wound, but not from its effects, as the injured leg was somewhat contracted, which occasioned a slight limp in his walking for life. As prompt for enterprise as ever he returned to active duty, and under the command of Lord William Fitzroy took a part in the siege of Martinique. Anchoring close to Fort Edward, he suspected that it was either weakly garrisoned or abandoned, and suggested that it should immediately be stormed; and when doubts were expressed that the fort might be well manned and the enterprise dangerous, Napier offered to clear up the doubt by personal inspection. He went on shore in his ship's gig with four volunteers, scaled the wall, and finding his surmises correct, hoisted the British flag on the ramparts. Eight hundred British troops were immediately landed to take possession of the empty fort, its mortars were turned against the enemy, and from this point Fort Bourbon was so effectually shelled that it soon surrendered, and the capture of Martinique was secured.

Soon after this Napier was promoted to the rank of post-captain by Sir Alexander Cochrane, the admiral of the station. In April 14, 1809, while employed in the squadron of Sir Alexander Cochrane in

blockading the port of Guadeloupe, three French line-of-battle ships attempted to make their escape from the port, and succeeded by a strong breeze that was in their favour. Pursuit was immediately given by the British squadron, and foremost in the chase during the whole night was Napier's little 18-gun brig the *Recruit*. He also exchanged shots with the three vessels repeatedly, in spite of their terrible broadsides, by which he managed to interrupt their speed, and especially confined himself to their hindmost ship, the *D'Hautpoult*, the sailing of which he retarded so successfully, that her consorts, in order to save her, were obliged to haul-to and prepare for action. This pursuit and running fight, alternately following each other, continued for two days, during which the loud cannonading had directed the British ships on the enemy's track, and at last the *D'Hautpoult* was taken by two of our squadron, the *Pompeé* and *Castor*. During this protracted affair the skill with which Napier manœuvred his little vessel to escape the effects of the enemy's heavy metal, was still more admirable than his boldness in continuing so unequal a chase; after every broadside, in which the *Recruit* seemed to disappear, she was again upon another tack, and as buoyant as ever, and although she was crippled at last, she had only one man wounded. On the surrender of the *D'Hautpoult* to the captors, the French admiral on delivering up his sword desired to know the name of that little vessel which had so fatally delayed his movements; and on being told that it was the *Recruit*, he shook his head and replied, "That ship no recruit; it be one very old soldier." With his new rank of post-captain Napier came home in command of the *Fison*, but on his arrival was displaced from the command, although confirmed in his rank. Being thus thrown out of active service, and obliged to wait his appointment to a ship, he returned to Scotland, and became—a student at the university of Edinburgh! But a similar step had been taken a few years previous by Lord Cochrane, when the peace of Amiens threw him for a time out of naval employment. At college Napier attended the classes for modern languages, and those for history, chemistry, and mathematics. Amidst this variety he was also asked if he would attend the lectures on moral philosophy, at that time highly popular in Edinburgh. "I don't know what moral philosophy exactly means," replied the young captain, "but at any rate I'll have a rap at it also." The time that was not occupied in these studies he devoted to social amusements and field sports, in the last of which his eccentric proceedings furnished no little mirth to the whole field. He was a fearless but at the same time an awkward and careless rider, and being unable one day in the hunt to make his horse face a high fence, he wheeled about the animal, backed it against the obstacle, and drove it through stern foremost, splintering every bar in the way.

But neither the university nor field-sports were enough for the ardour of "Mad Charlie Napier," as he was called by his familiars; he longed for the smell of gunpowder, the roar of artillery, and the heady excitement of the fight; and being weary of waiting on for an appointment from the admiralty, he resolved to fill up the interval with a little amateur soldiering in the land service. As an additional inducement his three cousins, Charles, William, and George Napier, were serving in the army of the Duke of Wellington in Spain. Thither accordingly he went, and on the 25th of September, 1810, reached the British encampment at Busaco, where his three cousins were as much astonished at the arrival of "Black Charlie" (so called among the Napiers from

his dark complexion) as if he had dropped from the clouds. A hearty night's bivouac of frolic and feasting ensued, that was followed by the battle of Busaco, in the preliminary skirmishing of which "Black Charlie" was wounded in the leg by a musket bullet that went through the flesh of his thigh. Indifferent, however, to this accident, he served as a volunteer in the battle of the 27th, and was in the thickest of the fight from the beginning to the close, except during a short interval when he carried Major Napier (afterwards the hero of Scinde), who was dangerously wounded, to the rear. After the battle of Busaco, Charles accompanied the British army in its retreat to the lines of Torres Vedras; and having now acquired an amount of military experience which he was afterwards to make so available in the sea-service, he resolved to return home, and find occupation in his own way, with a view to which he wrote the following characteristic application to the admiralty:—"My leave of absence is just out. I don't think it worth remaining here, for I expect you will give me a ship, as I am almost tired of campaigning, which is a d——d rum concern." This unofficial, abrupt demand, which might have been roared through a speaking-trumpet, was apparently taken in good part at head-quarters; for on his return to England he was early in 1811 appointed to the *Thames*, a 32-gun frigate, which was commissioned for service in the Mediterranean.

Being once more afloat, Captain Napier was not likely to let slip an opportunity for action, and as often as this occurred, whether at sea or ashore, he illustrated his old family motto, "Ready, aye ready." Sometimes he acted alone, and sometimes in company with other ships, but always from the force of his character obtaining the leadership. After a fleet of thirty merchantmen had been driven into the small port of Infreschi on the 21st of July, 1811, he silenced eleven gun-boats by which the convoy was protected; and while the merchant ships were boarded and taken by Captain Clifford of the *Cephalus*, Napier landed at the head of the marines of his ship *Thames*, drove the enemy's sharp-shooters up the hills, and having seen the capture of the convoy secured, re-embarked with eighty-four prisoners, while the neighbouring hills were filled with armed men who could do nothing but look on. In the following November, being under the orders of Captain Duncan on the coast of Naples, he was employed in a land operation at Palinuro. Thirteen gun-boats and a number of merchant-vessels were in the harbour, which was also defended by a strong battery and tower, and a large body of troops lined the sides of a valley through which they thought the British must pass to the heights, while the heights were also manned with sharp-shooters. For this perilous adventure Napier, besides his seamen, had a detachment of 250 men of the 62d regiment. A path that was almost inaccessible being discovered, he judged it safer to take this route than advance through the fire of the valley, and his party thus succeeded in gaining the heights before the enemy could prevent them. They, however, compelled the boats which had landed the British to retire, who were thus isolated from co-operation by sea, and obliged to abide the attack of the enemy, who assailed them in great force. The British beat them back, but on the following day found their difficulties increased, and the enemy more numerous, while they were open also to the fire of the gun-boats in the port. Thus inclosed on all sides, Captain Napier caused himself to be lowered down the cliffs with ropes, and having reached his ship, both British vessels ran into the harbour with a favouring breeze, destroyed the batteries and gun-boats, captured the

convoy, and in the face of three times their number effected the rescue of their friends, and carried them off in safety.

On the 14th of May, 1812, Napier, accompanied by the brig *Pilot*, of 18 guns, attacked the port of Sapi. After a two hours' cannonade within pistol shot, a fort and battery were silenced, and twenty-eight merchant-vessels were carried off or destroyed; also some of them which were high and dry upon the shore nearly a quarter of a mile from the sea.

But the exploit at this time which gave him the greatest satisfaction was the capture of Ponza, the largest of a group of islands to the north of the Bay of Naples. To obtain possession of it was for various reasons important, but at the same time its garrison was strong, while the mole and harbour were defended by four batteries favourably situated for resistance. On being commissioned to effect the capture of the island, Napier waited for a few days until the weather should be propitious, and then stood towards the harbour, as if only in the act of cruising. But all at once he anchored unexpectedly in the mole, and opened such a sudden well-directed fire that not a man of the garrison could show his head, and the bewildered governor struck his colours. Thus a strong island, having a garrison of 180 soldiers besides its militia, was captured in a few minutes by the paralyzing suddenness of his attack, without the loss of a man to the assailants. Napier was justly proud of this achievement, the memory of which he cherished to his dying day; and many years afterwards, when he assumed the command of the Constitutional fleet of Portugal, he took from the island, as his *nom de guerre*, the title of Don Carlos de Ponza.

Soon after the taking of Ponza, Napier was transferred from the command of the *Thames* to that of the greatly-superior frigate *Euryalus*, of thirty-six 18-pounders; and in this new vessel he continued those deeds of activity and daring which made his name one of terror along the whole French coast. This continued until 1814, when the dethronement of Napoleon and peace with France removed the *Euryalus* and its commander to the American station. The resources of Britain being set free, her war with America was prosecuted with renewed vigour, and Napier, although in a subordinate command, distinguished himself in a hazardous expedition up the Potomac, and in the operations against Baltimore. The peace with America occasioned the recall of the *Euryalus* to England, where it was paid off, while the services of Napier were recognized with a companionship of the Bath. Years of peace followed, during which he had no prospect of active service, and was placed upon half-pay; but in the same year that he returned home he endeavoured to settle himself into the quiet of domestic life by marrying Eliza, the widow of Lieutenant Elers, R.N., and only daughter of Lieutenant Young-husband, R.N., to whom he had been attached from early boyhood. By her former marriage she had four young children, whom he treated with paternal care and affection, and on being married he fixed his residence in a pleasant country-residence in South Hants. But this sort of life was too peaceful for his restless temperament, and on the occupation of France by the allies he started off with Mrs. Napier on what was intended to be a short visit to Paris, but which ultimately became a tour over the greater part of the Continent. In such a flying land expedition it was not wonderful that the eccentricities of "Mad Charlie" should occasionally break out. On arriving at Pisa, and wishing to procure lodgings, two facchini offered themselves for the purpose; but Napier, thinking that one was enough, selected his

man, by whom alone the commission was to be executed, and to whom a stipulated sum was to be paid. When the residence was found, and the luggage housed, Napier proceeded to pay his facchino, but his companion, a strong powerful fellow, burst into the room, and insisted on being paid also. On a flat refusal being given, the two facchini made common cause, and thought to bully the stranger into compliance; but on their advancing against him, Napier felled the foremost with a log of wood which he snatched from the fire-place, and put the other to flight. A mob soon assembled in the street with such clamours and threats that Napier saw it necessary to appeal to the Tribunal of Justice, and having inquired where the building was, he set out for the place, leading his young step-son in his hand. His appearance in the street made the mob more clamorous; and they pressed after him as if only waiting for an apology to tear him to pieces, or throw him into the river Arno, across the bridge of which he had to walk. Napier kept a calm countenance, and walked on with a deliberate step until he had neared the building he was in quest of, when he said to the boy, "Now, hold by me, and run for your life!" Off the pair started at their utmost, with the mob in full pursuit, but Napier's lame leg and his step-son's short legs were no match for the pursuers, who soon gained upon them, and would have overtaken them had the race continued a little further. But the captain had so calculated his distance that he reached the Tribunal in the nick of time; and, finding a sentry standing at the door under the portico, he wrenched the musket from his hands, wheeled about, and advanced against the mob at the bayonet charge, who were so confounded that they pulled up, and gazed in stupid terror. This ridiculous affair detained him several months at Pisa, for the facchino's head and arm were broken, and an action of assault and battery with heavy damages was entered against him, the result of which he was obliged to await. But at the trial he was acquitted, and a handsome present which he bestowed upon the wounded man satisfied all parties alike.

Napier, however, turned his tour to better account than the breaking of impertinent heads and paying visits to picture-galleries. He studied the harbours and shipping of every maritime station, and the forts by which they were defended, with such an observant eye that nothing escaped his notice; and the profitable account to which these studies were turned was shown by his work on the *State of the Navy*, which was published in 1851. He finally settled in Paris, where he remained several years, and here he directed his attention to steam navigation, and established the first steamers on the Seine. But finding that wooden steamers did not suit that river, owing to their large draught of water, his love of surmounting difficulties induced him to try iron steamers, by which, although he solved the problem, he spent nearly all his fortune in the solution. He even started from the Thames in 1821 in one of these iron vessels, which, after crossing the Channel, sailed up the Seine to Paris—a feat which was then regarded as a miracle in sea navigation by a vessel which was thought only fit for rivers. "On his arrival at Paris," we are told by his biographer, "thousands flocked to see this eighth wonder of the world in the 'bateau à vapeur en fer,' though it puzzled many of the spectators to conceive how such a material could possibly be made to float; and a greater number were more incredulous, and declared it was an imposture, as such a thing could never be!"

In 1826 Captain Napier returned to England, and after repeated applications for employment was

appointed early in 1829 to the command of the *Galatea*, a 42-gun frigate. Two trips to the West Indies followed, and on the return of the *Galatea* from her second trip in 1831 he found that a great experiment, in which he was deeply interested, was already contemplated by our government: it was the application of the motive power of steam to ships of war. Napier entered with his whole heart into the idea, and hoped that he would be appointed to the first man-of-war steamer that could be got ready. But a different destination awaited him, for he was sent to the coast of Portugal and to the Azores, in which latter place he became acquainted with the Duke of Terceira and other leaders of the constitutional party; and this circumstance ultimately led to his obtaining the command of the Portuguese constitutional fleet, and the renown which he won at St. Vincent.

The constitutionalists or Pedroites were at this time so weak that they were blocked up in Oporto, and their cause would have been hopeless but for the sympathy of the British government. In this feeling Napier heartily participated, and it is supposed that from this cause he was commissioned to cruise upon the coast of Portugal and the Azores. He had expressed to the Pedroites the impolicy of their proceedings in allowing themselves to be shut up and blockaded in Oporto, and suggested the better plan of making a bold dash upon Lisbon, and thus bringing the question to a speedy issue. They caught his own ardour with the advice he tendered, and were willing to adopt it if he should be leader of the enterprise. Thus matters stood in 1832, when the Marquis Palmella arrived in London, to urge the cause of the young queen, Donna Maria, upon the British government; and finally, an offer was made to Napier of the command of the constitutional fleet. It was a tempting proposal, by which his attachment to popular government, his ambition for an independent command, and his love of daring enterprise and adventure, would all be equally gratified. The only bar to his acceptance of the offer was, that it would displace his old friend Sartorius, who was at present admiral of the Pedroite fleet; but Sartorius was already sick of the charge, and willing to resign it. The sole difficulty being thus removed, Napier closed with the offer of the Pedroites, and became commander of their navy. The very accession of his name to the cause was a tower of strength, as was manifested by the fact, that no sooner was his appointment made known than a considerable sum of money was contributed in London for the expedition. All his preparations being completed, he repaired to the scene of his new command accompanied by 137 seamen and four British officers; and as the expedition was contrary to the foreign enlistment act, all the four officers were obliged to assume new names for the occasion, while Napier chose for himself that of Carlos de Ponza. His fleet of five steamers also carried two battalions of soldiers, the one English and the other Belgian, who were to reinforce the Pedroite garrison at Oporto.

On arriving in Portugal, nothing could appear more hopeless than the cause which he had undertaken to restore. The land forces were shut up in Oporto, and closely blockaded by the Miguelites; while the fleet was only half manned by sailors, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and wholly disappointed. But such was the inspiring influence of their new commander, that they set sail to encounter an enemy of more than twice their force. Knowing that with only 176 guns they could not cope with a fleet that had 372, each man trusted to his sword as the weapon with which the battle was to be fought and won. In this condition

the two hostile fleets met off Cape St. Vincent on the 5th of July, 1833. Napier had only two frigates, two steamers, and four other small vessels, while his opponents had two line-of-battle ships, two frigates, three corvettes, two brigs, and a xebec. The Miguelites commenced the battle with a tremendous cannonade that seemed enough to annihilate their opponents; but the latter, lying down in their quarters, suffered little damage except in their rigging. At length the fleets closed, and in the manoeuvres of his ships Napier brought all that skill into play which he had learned in his former naval engagements. The result was the triumph of genius and experience over mere brute force and numbers, and the victory of Napier was so complete, that the enemy's two sail of the line and two frigates were captured; only the three corvettes and two brigs escaped, as he had no one to go after them, his two steamers having behaved like cowards, and done nothing. No naval action, it is asserted, was ever fought with such a disparity of force in vessels, armament, and men; and not the least remarkable feature in this deed was that of Napier in his small frigate attacking, boarding, and carrying with the cutlass the Miguelite admiral's line-of-battle ship. The Pedroite cause was now completely in the ascendant, and the young Princess Maria assured of the throne of Portugal, while the victor was rewarded by promotion to the rank of full admiral in the Portuguese navy, and the title of Viscount Cape St. Vincent.

After performing some campaigning against the Miguelites by land, in which Napier turned his military studies to good account, and several attempts to reform the Portuguese navy, which were defeated by the inertness and corruption of the government officials, Napier, finding that his mission in that country had ended, resigned his office at the close of 1834, and returned to England. During the following year his time was chiefly spent in country pursuits and literary occupations, for the last of which, like the rest of the Napiers, he had a strong predilection. In 1836 he published his *History of the War of Succession in Portugal*, his first attempt at authorship, and this was followed by several professional papers on *Impressment* and *the Manning of the Navy*, most of which were afterwards published in his work called *the State of the Navy*. In 1837 he entered into negotiation to succeed Colonel De Lacy Evans as commander of the British Legion serving in Spain, when De Lacy wished to resume his parliamentary duties in England. It was objected that Captain Napier having been a naval not a military man, was not eligible for such a situation; but Napier met this objection by stating that he had turned his mind a good deal to land operations; that he had been several months with the Duke of Wellington's army, and been wounded in the battle of Busaco; and that he had commanded 3000 men on land in Portugal, and had taken several towns; but the negotiation came to nothing. A favourite wish of his had been a seat in parliament, that he might advocate the interests of the navy, but his attempts to obtain an election had failed. The last of these was when he stood for the burgh of Greenwich in 1837, and was defeated; but this last rebuff only made him more eager to return to his favourite profession, and stimulated his appeals to the admiralty to that effect. His application, on which such important events depended, was successful; at the close of 1838 he was appointed to the command of the *Powerful*, a remarkably fine two-decker, carrying 84 guns, of which 78 were 32-pounders, and 6 68-pounders, with a crew of 635 men, 60 boys, and 150 marines, exclusive of officers. On joining his ship

he was suddenly ordered to the Mediterranean, in consequence of the revolt of Mehemet Ali against Turkey, and the hostile proceedings of his adopted son Ibrahim Pacha in Syria. In this struggle the Porte would have succumbed under its powerful vassal, but for the support of Britain and France, and a fleet under the command of Admiral Stopford was stationed at the mouth of the Dardanelles, to check the victorious progress of Ibrahim. The arrival of Napier to join this fleet put life and activity into its proceedings. In whatever enterprise he was engaged, whether as principal or subsidiary, there could be no lack of action; and although he was nominally second in command to Sir Robert, the force of his character won for him the ascendancy in the warlike events that followed.

The course of events brought on the war sooner than was expected. Sultan Mahmoud died, his young son and successor, Medjid, was unequal to the crisis; and encouraged by his possession of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, Mehemet demanded to be recognized as independent sovereign of these countries, threatening in the event of a refusal to march his army to Constantinople. The British portion of the combined French-and-English fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line, proceeded from the Dardanelles to the coast of Asia Minor; and soon after Syria revolted against the Egyptians, the mountaineers of Lebanon were in arms, and Mehemet Ali had despatched an expedition to suppress them. With a small portion of the fleet Napier was detached to the coast of Syria to hinder this advance, but with instructions not to commit himself—an order which he was not likely to regard, especially under such circumstances. An Egyptian army of 40,000 or 50,000 men was stationed throughout Syria, the insurgent men of Lebanon were quelled and in treaty with their conquerors, when Napier, having under him four ships of the line, anchored in the entrance of the port of Beyrout, where he was soon after largely reinforced by British, French, and Turkish ships of war from the allied fleet. Thus strengthened for action, he landed at Djounie Bay, and prepared for land service by entrenching his little army of 5000 British sailors and marines, Turks, and mountaineers of Lebanon who had taken arms against their oppressors. Finding that the enemy respected his position too much to attack it, Napier assumed the initiative by crossing the Nahr-el-Kelb, and driving off a strongly posted body of Albanian soldiers, of whom 400 were made prisoners. His next and more important movement was his long-projected attack upon Sidon. For this his land force consisted of 750 British marines, 100 Austrians, and 500 Turks, while this city of ancient remembrances was protected by a fort and citadel, and a garrison of 2700 men. The place, however, was speedily stormed, Napier himself leading the assailants, and when he seized the citadel he mounted to the summit of one of the turrets, and raised aloft his cap on the point of his sword—a signal of success which the crews of the British ships in the bay welcomed with three cheers. The whole garrison surrendered, and on the 29th of September, 1840, he thus briefly announced in his letter home the events of this campaign:—"I have just time to say I have gained two victories—one on the 24th, when we took between 400 and 500 prisoners; and another on the 26th, when I stormed and took the town of Sidon, and made between 2000 and 3000 prisoners."

The next proceeding which Napier recommended was a simultaneous movement upon Beyrout both by sea and land, the former by Admiral Stopford, and the latter by himself. For the execution of his own

part of the plan it was decided that from his encampment of Djounie he should lead a Turkish force across the mountains, descend in the rear of Beyrout, and there either attack the town or intercept the retreat of Suleyman Pacha, its commandant, should the latter judge it prudent to retire. But instead of Suleyman it was Ibrahim himself whom he met, and that too at the head of a considerable force. Even upon this redoubtable commander, the most formidable and successful of all the Asiatic generals, Napier inflicted a most severe defeat; but for this purpose he was obliged to urge his apathetic Turks and dispirited mountaineers to the attack, not only with exhortations, but blows of his cudgel, and by pelting them with stones. This, and the example of himself and his European staff, who charged in the front rank like ordinary soldiers, and his skilful arrangements, at length secured the victory, and the terrible Ibrahim and his highly disciplined troops fled before the Turks whom hitherto they had been wont to rout with ease. Such was the half-comic but important mountain battle of Boharsel, fought on the 10th of October, and in which his conduct was so highly valued that Admiral Stopford, among many other commendations, thus wrote to him:—"I do most heartily assure you of being fully sensible of the benefits which I and the whole expedition have received from your indefatigable services; and on rejoining the *Powerful* your conscience may be perfectly satisfied of your having accomplished all that could be done." Just before the battle Napier had received a note from the admiral, dated the day previous, apprising him of the arrival of Colonel Sir Charles Smith to take the command of the forces, and ordering him to retire, but Napier rightly judged himself too far gone, and too deeply compromised with his Syrian and Turkish allies, to obey the order. At the risk of a court-martial he therefore persevered—and we have seen the fortunate result. His soldiering ashore having ended after a month's occupation, the gallant commodore returned to the sea-service.

A still more important event, and for which Napier regarded all that had been done as only preliminary, was an attack upon Acre. This stronghold of Mehemet's authority in Syria he had carefully reconnoitred, and the effectual way of attacking it he had also calculated; and in consequence of his urgent representations it was at length resolved that the attempt should be hazarded. No wonder indeed that such hesitation should have been felt; the long and successful resistance which the town had offered to Bonaparte, and the change it had produced in his wonderful career, still continued to make the name of Acre a word of dread. The allied fleet having reduced several coast towns, resolved to crown their exploits by the capture of this town, which had been fortified by European engineers until it was considered all but impregnable. The attack was made by the admiral and the combined fleet on the 4th November, 1840. In assigning the positions of the various ships, the admiral had decided that Commodore Napier in the *Powerful* should lead in the fleet, and commence the attack. Napier, however, in passing to his station, discovered a more favourable opening, which he at once proceeded to assail, and although this movement deranged the admiral's plan, it was one that made success more easy and certain. A tremendous cannonade followed, but the Egyptians having calculated that the hostile fleet would have anchored outside of a shoal, had elevated their guns too much, so that most of their shot passed over the assailing ships, or only damaged their rigging. On the other hand, from the closeness of their approach to the town, almost every shot of the allies told

heavily upon the defences of Acre. In the midst of this cannonade, the final result of which could not be doubtful, an accident decided the fall of the town; this was the explosion of the great powder magazine on shore, by which a large portion of Acre and its batteries, and 1200 of its defenders, were blown into the air, or crushed beneath the ruins. After this, all resistance was unavailing: Acre surrendered, and Syria was set free. But why had Napier disobeyed orders, and taken up a different position? This was a subject of such disagreeable altercation between the commander-in-chief and the commodore, that the latter demanded a court-martial, which was refused, and on Sir Robert Stopford expressing himself satisfied with Napier's explanations, the affair terminated. It was still thought, however, throughout the fleet, that Napier's plan was by much the better of the two, and that without it the capture of Acre would neither have been so speedily nor successfully effected. The whole affair, which lasted only a few hours, and was of such immense importance, cost the victors a loss of not more than fourteen or fifteen killed and twenty-four wounded.

After the fall of Acre, the commodore, now regarded as the hero of the exploit, was sent to assume the command of the squadron off Alexandria, employed in the blockade of that port. But on his arrival he found his commission anything but an enviable one. With his naval force he might have successfully attacked the city; but without a considerable body of troops the attack would be nothing more than a mischievous demonstration. The season also was at hand when severe gales might be expected from almost every quarter, which would drive his ships ashore or blow them out to sea. Finding that the blockade would soon be broken up, he adopted, on the spur of the moment, such an expedient as only necessity could excuse and wisdom justify: it was to open a negotiation with Mehemet Ali on his own authority, and conclude a convention with him in the name of the allied powers, regardless of all personal consequences. He instantly followed up the resolution; in the interviews which succeeded the viceroy of Egypt and the British commodore were inspired with such a mutual esteem, as simplified the whole proceedings without the formalities and delays of diplomacy; and Mehemet agreed that on being reinstated in the hereditary government of Egypt, he would recal his son Ibrahim Pacha from Syria, and restore the Ottoman fleet to Turkey. This treaty was signed and sealed; and great was the indignation of the British ambassador at Constantinople, of Sir Robert Stopford, and our home government, so that at first the convention was repudiated. But better thoughts at last prevailed; and while the treaty was confirmed by all parties, Napier was lauded as a wise, skilful, and prompt negotiator. Napier on his part offers the following justification of his proceeding, in which every judicious person will acquiesce: "Venturing on so important a measure as the convention without authority would only be justified by the result; but it is not without precedent. Sir Sydney Smith had entered into a convention with the French for the evacuation of Egypt; and Captain Foote had also, when serving under Lord Nelson, entered into one for the evacuation of Naples. Both were rejected by their superior officers. The rejection of the first led to the expedition to Egypt, which cost some millions and the loss of much life; the rejection of the last, to scenes that are better buried in oblivion."

While Napier was thus scandalizing the whole diplomatic world by the rapidity of his proceedings, and astounding European statesmen by their sagacity,

but compelling both classes at last to confess that he had done the right thing, however he had gone about it, a picture of the commodore at this time, from the journal of one of his lieutenants, gives us a pretty correct idea of the hero of such various and important achievements:—"He is by no means a great weight [for a steeple-chase]; perhaps fourteen stone, about my own weight, but stouter and broader built; stoops from a wound in his neck, walks lame from another in his leg, turns out one of his feet, and has a most slouching, slovenly gait, a large round face, with black, bushy eyebrows, a double chin, scraggy gray, uncured whiskers and thin hair; wears a superfluity of shirt-collar, and small neck-handkerchief, always bedaubed with snuff, which he takes in immense quantities; usually has his trowsers far too short, and wears the ugliest pair of shoes he can find; and altogether takes so little pride in his dress, that I believe you might substitute a green or black coat for his uniform one, without his being a bit the wiser: still he makes all of us conform to strict uniform. This is a correct portrait of him, but, mind, you are not to laugh at him, for I do think he is one of the greatest characters of the day, and many is the person that has come on board just to have a sight of such a rum old fellow. He is by no means a pleasant officer to serve under, but one must forgive much for the honour of being commanded by such a character. His high honourable principles and gentlemanly feelings are beyond dispute; yet he is snappish and irritable at times; but shines particularly at the head of his own table, which is always well found, and no want of wine. . . . He cares not a straw for any superior as long as he conceives he is doing the best for his country—and no one knows better than himself when he is right or wrong. He is a fine fellow, and I will stick up for him against all the world."

On his return home Napier was rewarded with the distinctions which his services had merited. He was created a knight-commander of the Bath, and appointed one of the queen's naval aides-de-camp; he had also the order of Maria Theresa conferred upon him by the Emperor of Austria. On arriving in England his old desire to enter parliament was awakened anew by a general election, and on this occasion, in 1841, he presented himself as candidate for Marylebone, and was successful. Still as active in peace as in war, he was employed all day in his *History of the Syrian War*, and all the evening with the affairs of the House of Commons. The latter was a new kind of warfare, in which he had everything to learn; but he dashed into it with his usual boldness and success, and his account of his first attempt, in a letter to his wife, is both amusing and characteristic. "I have made my maiden speech," he writes; "not either so good or so long as I wished, but still it was very well received. I had it all prepared in my mind, but when I got up I forgot the second part of it, and was, as you may suppose, in a funk, and I passed over to the second sentence, which threw out the best part of it; and the thread gone, I was discouraged, and left out a great part I intended to say; but still it went off very well, and I was very much cheered." But the ice was broken, the terror of the first plunge extinguished, and ever afterwards Sir Charles Napier was a fearless speaker, more especially as the subjects which he treated were those professional matters on which no member in the house was better qualified to speak. While he was thus employed as a parliamentarian in the improvement of the navy, Sir Charles, in 1846, was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and in the spring following was appointed commander-in-chief of the Channel Fleet. In this command he made

such cruises as the office demanded; at one time to Lisbon to overawe the malecontents of that country, at another to the coast of Ireland, and on a third and still more important occasion to the shores of Barbary. The mountainous district of this part of Northern Africa was inhabited by hordes of pirates, and as merchant vessels were often becalmed upon their shores, called the "Reef," they had been wont from time immemorial to plunder the ships so becalmed, and murder their crews, that no witnesses might testify against them. In this way many rich merchantmen had disappeared that were supposed to have perished by the ordinary calamities of the sea; and although complaints had often been made to the Emperor of Morocco of the deeds of this portion of his subjects, he had always pleaded his inability to suppress them. As these losses had of late fallen heavily upon British merchant ships, Sir Charles Napier was commissioned in the beginning of 1849 to repair to the Barbary coast, and reduce the Reef pirates to order, as well as compel the Moorish government to check their future excesses. It was not easy to act by sea against those who moved like the wind, and could nowhere be found when most wanted; and all therefore that could be done against an invisible enemy was to burn their boats, and frighten them into temporary submission. On returning from his cruise Sir Charles retired to Merchiston, and was soon joined by his cousin, Sir Charles Napier, the celebrated general, who purchased a little estate called Oaklands, in the neighbourhood. Here the two sat down but not in idleness, for both were equally restless men, both public reformers, and as prompt in the use of their pens as their swords; and while he of the land was preparing for the press his work on India, in which he assailed the impolicy of our Eastern government, he of the sea was equally bitter in his letters to the newspapers on the mismanagement of the admiralty. And seldom have two such distinguished men, each a complete original in his way, but perfectly at one in their characters and even in their oddities, possessed the luck of being such near relatives and such near neighbours. Their intercourse was daily, and their conversation, when not upon serious matters, partook of the frolicsomeness of boyhood. "Black Charles" advised his cousin to cut down his fine fir-trees, because they looked, he said, like poles for monkeys; but the other replied that as he liked the trees, he would buy monkeys for the poles. The sailor also ridiculed his cousin's new water-tank, alleging that his fish would be queer ones, to which taunt the general replied, that he would put him into the pond, where he would be the queerest fish of the collection.

This union, however, which was well nigh as close as a Siamese twinsip, was sundered in 1853, by the death of General Sir Charles Napier, and the admiral after this continued his rural and literary pursuits without the companion whose society had cheered his occupations. He had been telling home truths on the defective state of our navy which were unpalatable to government; but the approach of national danger compelled inquiry, which led to the conviction that his statements were true. On this account, when there were threats of a rupture with France in 1852, the first lord of the admiralty consulted Sir Charles upon our naval defences in the event of a French landing, and in the following year he was honoured with a good-service pension in consideration of his past deeds. In returning thanks, Sir Charles replied that if his services were wanted he was still quite ready for work both in body and mind—and in 1854 this offer, which at

another time would have been disregarded, was thankfully accepted. The Crimean war had commenced, and none was judged so fit to command the Baltic fleet at this momentous crisis as Sir Charles Napier. His appointment not only gratified the public, but even suppressed the murmurs of his enemies, and no sooner had it passed than Sir Charles made arrangements for collecting and drilling the squadron placed under his command, and bringing it as much as the short time would permit to a state of efficiency. Amidst the huzzas of the whole nation, who believed that neither Russian forts nor fleets could resist his skill and boldness, and even at the dinner given to him by the Reform Club, where the speeches of some of our leading statesmen confirmed the popular presumption, Sir Charles did not permit himself to be borne along by the general feeling. He knew well the power of the enemy which our statesmen had been so accustomed to underrate; the high condition of their fleets, and the almost impregnable character of their naval fortresses; and also the condition of our own navy, against the defects of which he had appealed until his remonstrances had been set aside as those of an alarmist. He likewise knew that steam, which as yet was an unknown power, was now for the first time to be tried in naval warfare upon a large scale. Qualifying his hopes with these misgivings, Sir Charles assumed the command of the Baltic fleet, which was ordered in a hurry to sea, ill-appointed, under-manned, unprepared, and even without pilots—and yet consisting of only four sail of the line, four block-ships, four frigates, and four steamers, to give battle to the Russian fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, eight or ten frigates, seven corvettes and brigs, nine steamers, and about 180 gun-boats and small craft; a fleet mounting 3160 guns, and manned by 28,000 men! At Kioge Bay he was reinforced by twelve sail of the line from England, and although still far inferior to the enemy, he resolved to bring them to an engagement. But the Russian fleets, sheltered within their ports, refused to venture out; and while his challenges were in vain, Sir Charles was unprovided with the means of closing with them and compelling them to an encounter.

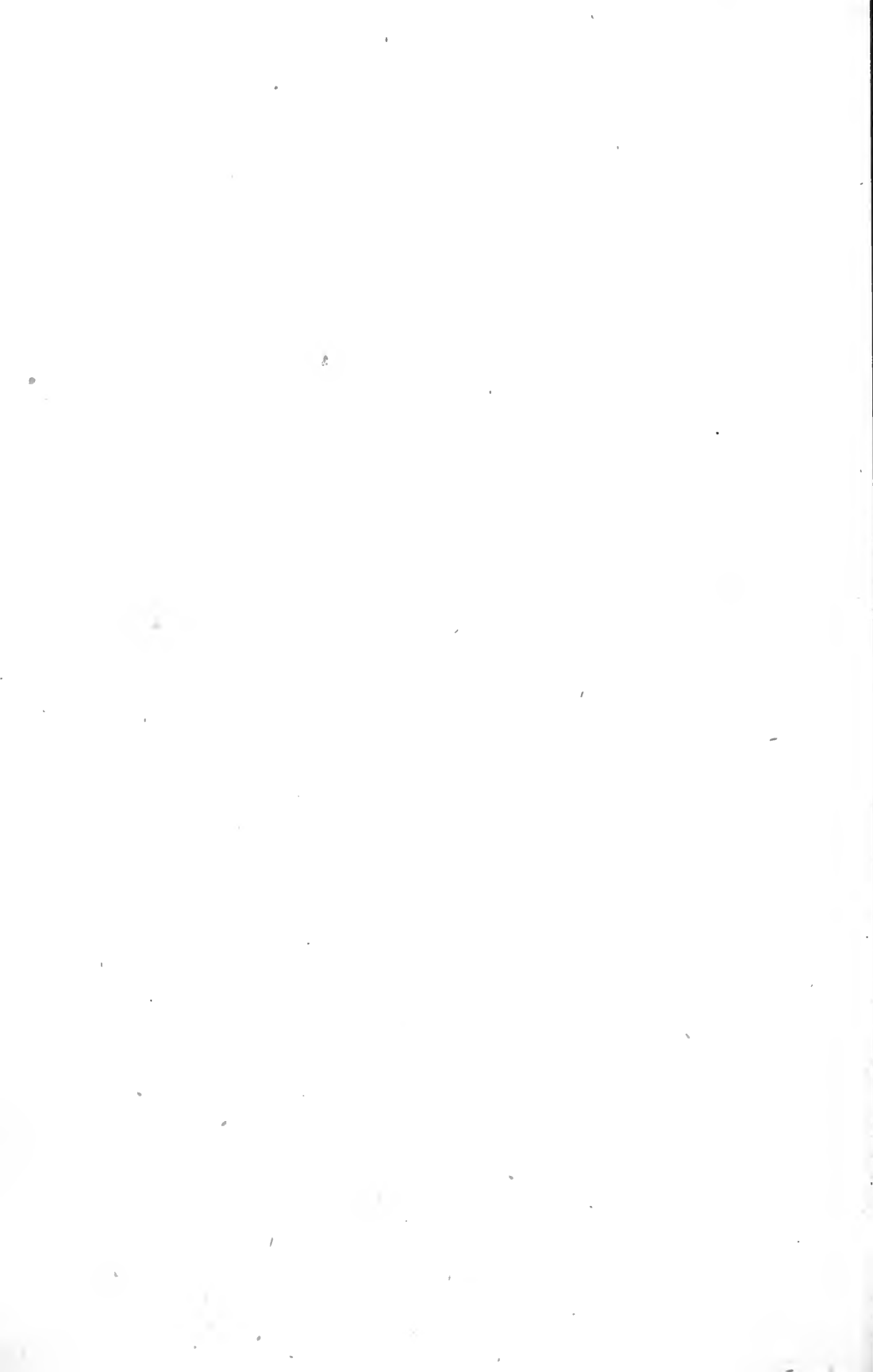
These provoking delays occurred even after the arrival of the French fleet, by which his force was so much raised as to give him the assurance of victory if the enemy would venture out and give battle; but true to their plan of defence, the Russians kept their ships within the protection of the fortresses, which both the British and French admirals found to be unassailable. Finding that a fleet, if it ventured an attack upon Cronstadt or Sweaborg, would be assuredly annihilated in the attempt, Sir Charles resolved to assail Bomarsund, the principal of the Åland Islands. This was accordingly done on the 16th of August, 1854, and with such success that its batteries were demolished and the place surrendered. As the advance of the stormy season in the Baltic was at hand, it was necessary to withdraw the united fleet without further action; and Napier accordingly left the Gulf of Finland in October, hoping to renew his attempts in the following spring with better means of success. But at home a resolution had been taken that such an opportunity should not be allowed. We have seen with what vain and ignorant hopes he had been sent out upon this expedition. His departure had been like the return of a conqueror, and the popular acclamations had already anticipated all manner of impossible victories. In such a state the national expectations were exchanged into indignant complaints, and these not at their own folly, but the innocent victim by whom their vain



WILLIAM OF ORANGE

1650-1702

WILLIAM OF ORANGE



hopes had been disappointed. Why had he not taken Sweaborg and Cronstadt? Why had he not battered Sebastopol, and crushed its defenders in its ruins? Nay, why had he not sailed right on to St. Petersburg, and by its capture brought the war to a glorious close? Even the leading statesmen who had cherished the popular hallucination, and endeavoured to make political capital out of it, had now arrayed themselves against Sir Charles Napier, and were ready to become his accusers. But, after all, had Sir Charles done nothing? This comparatively bloodless campaign was not unproductive of important results, which are thus summed up by his cousin, Sir William Napier:—"He caused the thirty sail composing the powerful Russian fleet to shrink like rats into their holes; he took Bomarsund, caused Hango to be blown up, interrupted the Russian commerce, and for six months kept in a state of inaction certainly 80,000 or 90,000 good troops. He restored and enlarged the knowledge of the Gulf of Finland to navigation; ascertained what large vessels can do there, and what they cannot do; when they can act alone, when with troops, and when gun-boats can be used with effect. He carried out an ill-manned undisciplined fleet; he brought back unharmed a well-organized, well-disciplined one, with crews exercised in gunnery and seamanship—in fine, a fleet now really what it was falsely called when it started—that is to say, one of the most irresistible that ever floated on the ocean for all legitimate purposes of naval warfare." Of the prudence with which Sir Charles saved his fleet from inevitable destruction, in spite of the popular urgency and the condemnation with which he would be visited, a single testimony which we now adduce is sufficient to outweigh a whole nation of clamour and complaint. It is that of the Earl of Dundonald—of our own gallant sea-king Lord Cochrane—than whom no man ever lived who combined such chivalrous daring with so much prudent skilful calculation, and who therefore was not only the boldest but the most successful of all our British admirals. Writing to Sir Charles Napier on his return to England, the brave old earl thus alludes to the Baltic campaign of 1854:—"Those who are acquainted with the difficulties you have had to surmount, and the nature of the obstacles assigned you to encounter, can appreciate the perseverance and moral courage requisite to overcome the one and endure the other. My anxiety lest your zeal should induce you to yield your judgment to the notions of the uninitiated is now quite relieved, and the noble fleet you command is safe from the consequences of red-hot shot and incendiary missiles propelled from granite fortresses situated out of point-blank range of combustible ships. Believe me that I sympathize with you, but do not envy the exalted position in which you have been placed, knowing that my remaining energies are incapable of effecting objects which you *have* already accomplished."

On returning home Sir Charles Napier was unceremoniously dismissed by the admiralty from the command of the Baltic fleet, and Admiral Dundas appointed in his room. But although the new admiral succeeded to the command of a fleet now raised by Napier's exertions to a high state of efficiency, and supplied moreover with a large flotilla of gun-boats which his predecessor had applied for in vain, he did not take Sweaborg, attack Cronstadt, or accomplish anything memorable. Soon after his return the Aberdeen ministry retired, and their successors offered to Sir Charles the grand cross of the Bath, which he refused, and demanded an inquiry into his conduct. At length in November, 1855, on being returned M.P. for Southwark, he brought the ac-

count of his proceedings before the House of Commons, and so complete was his justification, that even his political opponents acknowledged he had been unjustly used, and attributed the whole blame of his failure to the admiralty. Thus satisfactorily justified at last, he turned his attention to his favourite subject—the improvement of the navy; and although he did not accomplish in parliament all that he sought, he effected much in behalf of our British seamen, in which punctuality in their payment, and the means of promoting the comforts of their wives and families, were not of least account. Speaking of his exertions in behalf of our seamen, a naval officer thus writes: "He was always fighting the admiralty, and they were too strong for him; yet he was always working them up to something, and it was his agitation that was the means of getting all the good that has been done for the last twenty years. He certainly might be justly styled the sailor's friend, the sailor's advocate, and the sailor's defender, for he was always at his post when there was any move on the board about them, and always looking out sharply after their interest."

On the 6th of March, 1858, Sir Charles in the course of seniority was promoted from the rank of vice-admiral of the Red to admiral of the Blue. Onward until 1860 he continued his labours in parliament, and although he had now reached the age of seventy-four years, he was still so ready for action, that he offered to contribute his aid in upsetting Bomba, the King of Naples, as he had formerly done in dethroning Don Miguel of Portugal. He therefore proposed to Garibaldi, if he could obtain the command of the Neapolitan fleet, to appear off the coast of Naples, with which he was well acquainted, and secure the capital by a short and sudden blow. But Napier's last fight had been already fought, and the iron constitution, which seemed only to grow stronger amidst storms, and wounds, and perilous victories, at length yielded to insult and ingratitude. A change in his health had occurred before his return from the Baltic, and the labour of vindicating his character from the misrepresentations of his enemies had broken a constitution which otherwise old age alone would have exhausted. He sickened on the 28th of October, and died at Merchiston Hall, Horndean, Hants, on the 6th of November, 1860, only seven days after the decease of the illustrious Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald. Thus a single week sufficed to deprive us of the two greatest heroes of the British navy.

The literary works of Sir Charles Napier, besides numerous contributions to the newspapers and the *United Service Magazine*, consisted of his histories of the war in Portugal and the war in Syria. It was a curious distinction of the "fighting Napiers," that they wrote almost as ardently and ably as they fought. Sir Charles was no exception to the general rule; and although he was too straightforward and impatient to study the graces of composition, he showed that he had the power to become an eloquent writer. Independently of his British titles of honour, he was a knight of Maria Theresa of Austria, knight of St. George of Russia, knight of the Red Eagle of Prussia, grand cross of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, a grandee of the first class, and Count Cape St. Vincent in the peerage of that kingdom.

NAPIER, JOHN, of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, the celebrated inventor of the logarithms, was born in the year 1550. He was descended from an ancient race of land proprietors in Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire. His father, Sir Alexander Napier of Edinbellie, in the former county, and Merchiston,

in the county of Edinburgh, was master of the mint to James VI., and was only sixteen years of age when the subject of this memoir was born. The mother of the inventor of the logarithms was Janet, only daughter of Sir Francis Bothwell, a lord of session, and sister of Adam, Bishop of Orkney. There is a prevalent notion that the inventor of the logarithms was a nobleman: this has arisen from his styling himself in one of his title-pages *Baro Merchistonii*; in reality, this implied *baron* in the sense of a superior of a barony, or what in England would be called lord of a manor. Napier was simply *laird* of Merchiston—a class who in Scotland sat in parliament under the denomination of the *lesser barons*.

Napier was educated at St. Salvator's College in the university of St. Andrews, which he entered in 1562. He afterwards travelled on the Continent, probably to improve himself by intercourse with learned and scientific men. Nothing further is ascertained respecting him till after he had reached the fortieth year of his age. He is then found settled at the family seats of Merchiston near Edinburgh, and Gartness in Stirlingshire, where he seems to have practised the life of a recluse student, without the least desire to mingle actively in political affairs. That his mind was alive, however, to the civil and religious interests of his country is proved by his publishing in 1593 an exposition of the Revelations, in the dedication of which to the king he urged his majesty, in very plain language, to attend better than he did to the enforcement of the laws and the protection of religion, beginning reformation in his own "house, family, and court." From this it appears that Napier belonged to the strict order of Presbyterians in Scotland; for such are exactly the sentiments chiefly found prevalent among that class of men at this period of our history.

In the scantiness of authenticated materials for the biography of Napier, some traditinary traits become interesting. It is said that, in his more secluded residence at Gartness, he had both a waterfall and a mill in his immediate neighbourhood, which considerably interrupted his studies. He was, however, a great deal more tolerant of the waterfall than of the mill; for while the one produced an incessant and equable sound, the other was attended with an irregular *clack-clack*, which marred the processes of his mind, and sometimes even rendered it necessary for him, when engaged in an unusually abstruse calculation, to desire the miller to stop work. He often walked abroad in the evening in a long mantle, and attended by a large dog; and these circumstances working upon minds totally unable to appreciate the real nature of his researches, raised a popular rumour of his being addicted to the black art. It is certain that, no more than other great men of his age, was he exempt from a belief in several sciences now fully proved to have been full of imposture. The practice of forming theories only from facts, however reasonable and unavoidable it may appear, was enforced only for the first time by a contemporary of Napier—the celebrated Bacon; and, as yet, the bounds between true and false knowledge were hardly known. Napier therefore practised an art which seems nearly akin to divination, as is proved by a contract entered into in 1594 between him and Logan of Fastcastle—afterwards so celebrated for his supposed concern in the Gowrie Conspiracy. This document states it to have been agreed upon, that, as there were old reports and appearances that a sum of money was hid within Logan's house of Fastcastle, John Napier should do his utmost diligence to search and seek out, and by all craft and ingine [a phrase for mental power] to find out the same, or make it sure that no

such thing has been there. For his reward he was to have the exact third of all that was found, and to be safely guarded by Logan back to Edinburgh; and in case he should find nothing, after all trial and diligence taken, he was content to refer the satisfaction of his travels and pains to the discretion of Logan. What was the result of the attempt, or if the attempt itself was ever made, has not been ascertained.

Besides dabbling in sciences which had no foundation in nature, Napier addicted himself to certain speculations which have always been considered as just hovering between the possible and the impossible, a number of which he disclosed, in 1596, to Anthony Bacon, the brother of the more celebrated philosopher of that name. One of these schemes was for a burning mirror, similar to that of Archimedes, for setting fire to ships; another was for a mirror to produce the same effects by a material fire; a third for an engine which should send forth such quantities of shot in all directions as to clear everything in its neighbourhood; and so forth. In fact, Napier's seems to have been one of those active and excursive minds, which are sometimes found to spend a whole life in projects and speculations without producing a single article of real utility, and in other instances hit upon one or two things, perhaps, of the highest order of usefulness. As he advanced in years he seems to have gradually forsaken wild and hopeless projects, and applied himself more and more to the useful sciences. In 1596 he is found suggesting the use of salt in improving land—an idea probably passed over in his own time as chimerical, but revived in the present age with good effect. No more is heard of him till, in 1614, he astonished the world by the publication of his book of logarithms. He is understood to have devoted the intermediate time to the study of astronomy—a science then reviving to a new life under the auspices of Kepler and Galileo, the former of whom dedicated his *Ephemerides* to Napier, considering him as the greatest man of his age in the particular department to which he applied his abilities.

"The demonstrations, problems, and calculations of astronomy most commonly involve some one or more of the cases of trigonometry, or that branch of mathematics which, from certain parts, whether sides or angles, of a triangle being given, teaches how to find the others which are unknown. On this account trigonometry, both plane and spherical, engaged much of Napier's thoughts; and he spent a great deal of his time in endeavouring to contrive some methods by which the operations in both might be facilitated. Now, these operations the reader, who may be ignorant of mathematics, will observe always proceed by geometrical ratios or proportions. Thus, if certain lines be described in or about a triangle, one of these lines will bear the same geometrical proportion to another as a certain side of the triangle does to a certain other side. Of the four particulars thus arranged three must be known, and then the fourth will be found by multiplying together certain two of those known, and dividing the product by the other. This rule is derived from the very nature of geometrical proportion, but it is not necessary that we should stop to demonstrate here how it is deduced. It will be perceived, however, that it must give occasion, in solving the problems of trigonometry, to a great deal of multiplying and dividing—operations which, as everybody knows, become very tedious whenever the numbers concerned are large, and they are generally so in astronomical calculations. Hence such calculations used to exact immense time and labour, and it became most im-

portant to discover if possible a way of shortening them. Napier, as we have said, applied himself assiduously to this object; and he was probably not the only person of that age whose attention it occupied. He was, however, undoubtedly the first who succeeded in it, which he did most completely by the admirable contrivance which we are now about to explain.

"When we say that 1 bears a certain proportion, ratio, or relation to 2, we may mean any one of two things; either that one is the half of two, or that it is less than 2 by 1. If the former be what we mean, we may say that the relation in question is the same as that of 2 to 4, or of 4 to 8; if the latter, we may say that it is the same as that of 2 to 3, or of 3 to 4. Now, in the former case, we should be exemplifying what is called a *geometrical*, in the latter, what is called an *arithmetical* proportion: the former being that which regards the number of times, or parts of times, the one quantity is contained in the other; the latter regarding only the difference between the two quantities. We have already stated that the property of four quantities arranged in geometrical proportion is, that the *product* of the second and third, *divided* by the first, gives the fourth. But when four quantities are in arithmetical proportion, the *sum* of the second and third, diminished by the *subtraction* of the first, gives the fourth. Thus, in the geometrical proportion, 1 is to 2 as 2 is to 4; if 2 be multiplied by 2 it gives 4; which divided by 1 still remains 4; while, in the arithmetical proportion, 1 is to 2 as 2 is to 3; if 2 be added to 2 it gives 4; from which, if 1 be subtracted, there remains the fourth term 3. It is plain, therefore, that especially where large numbers are concerned, operations by arithmetical must be much more easily performed than operations by geometrical proportion; for, in the one case you have only to add and subtract, while in the other you have to go through the greatly more laborious processes of multiplication and division.

"Now it occurred to Napier, reflecting upon this important distinction, that a method of abbreviating the calculation of a *geometrical* proportion might perhaps be found, by substituting upon certain fixed principles, for its known terms, others in *arithmetical* proportion, and then finding, in the quantity which should result from the addition and subtraction of these last, an indication of that which should have resulted from the multiplication and division of the original figures. It had been remarked before this by more than one writer, that if the series of numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, &c., that proceed in geometrical progression, that is, by a continuation of geometrical ratios, were placed under or along side of the series 0, 1, 2, 3, &c., which are in arithmetical progression, the addition of any two terms of the latter series would give a sum, which would stand opposite to a number in the former series indicating the product of the two terms in that series, which corresponded in place to the two in the arithmetical series first taken. Thus, in the two lines,

1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256,
0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8,

the first of which consists of numbers in geometrical, and the second of numbers in arithmetical progression, if any two terms, such as 2 and 4, be taken from the latter, their sum 6, in the same line, will stand opposite to 64 in the other, which is the product of 4 multiplied by 16, the two terms of the geometrical series which stand opposite to the 2 and 4 of the arithmetical. It is also true, and follows directly from this, that if any three terms, as, for instance, 2, 4, 6, be taken in the arithmetical series,

the sum of the second and third, diminished by the subtraction of the first, which makes 8, will stand opposite to a number (256) in the geometrical series which is equal to the product of 16 and 64 (the opposites of 4 and 6), divided by 4 (the opposite of 2).

"Here, then, is to a certain extent exactly such an arrangement or table as Napier wanted. Having any geometrical proportion to calculate, the known terms of which were to be found in the first line or its continuation, he could substitute for them at once, by reference to such a table, the terms of an arithmetical proportion, which, wrought in the usual simple manner, would give him a result that would point out or indicate the unknown term of the geometrical proportion. But, unfortunately, there were many numbers which did not occur in the upper line at all, as it here appears. Thus there were not to be found in it either 3, or 5, or 6, or 7, or 9, or 10, or any other numbers, indeed, except the few that happen to result from the multiplication of any of its terms by two. Between 128 and 256, for example, there were 127 numbers wanting, and between 256 and the next term (512) there would be 255 not to be found.

"We cannot here attempt to explain the methods by which Napier's ingenuity succeeded in filling up these chasms, but must refer the reader, for full information upon this subject, to the professedly scientific works which treat of the history and construction of logarithms. Suffice it to say that he devised a mode by which he could calculate the proper number to be placed in the table over against any number whatever, whether integral or fractional. The new numerical expressions thus found he called *logarithms*, a term of Greek etymology, which signifies the ratios or proportions of numbers. He afterwards fixed upon the progression, 1, 10, 100, 1000, &c., or that which results from continued multiplication by 10, and which is the same according to which the present tables are constructed. This improvement, which possesses many advantages, had suggested itself about the same time to the learned Henry Briggs, then professor of geometry in Gresham College, one of the persons who had the merit of first appreciating the value of Napier's invention, and who certainly did more than any other to spread the knowledge of it, and also to contribute to its perfection."¹

The invention was very soon known over all Europe, and was everywhere hailed with admiration by men of science. Napier followed it up in 1617, by publishing a small treatise, giving an account of a method of performing the operations of multiplication and division by means of a number of small rods. These materials for calculation have maintained their place in science, and are known by the appellation of Napier's Bones.

In 1608 Napier succeeded his father, when he had a contest with his brothers and sisters on account of some settlements made to his prejudice by his father, in breach of a promise made in 1586, in presence of some friends of the family, not to sell, wadset, or dispose, from his son John, the lands of Over Merchiston, or any part thereof. The family disputes were probably accommodated before June 9, 1613, on which day John Napier was served and returned heir of his father in the lands of Over Merchiston.

This illustrious man did not long enjoy the inheritance which had fallen to him so unusually late in life. He died, April 3, 1617, at Merchiston Castle, and was buried in the church of St. Giles, on the

¹ The above account of logarithms, which has the advantage of being very simple and intelligible, is extracted from the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*.

eastern side of its southern entrance, where is still to be seen a stone-tablet, exposed to the street, and bearing the following inscription:—"Sep. familie Naperoru. interius hic situm est."

Napier was twice married; first, in 1571, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, by whom he had a son and a daughter; secondly, to Agnes, daughter of James Chisholm of Cromlix, by whom he had ten children. His eldest son, Archibald, who succeeded him, was raised to the rank of a baron by Charles I., in 1627, under the title of Lord Napier, which is still borne by his descendants. A very elaborate life of him was published in 1835 (Blackwood, Edinburgh).

NAPIER, MACVEY. This learned lawyer, professor, and encyclopedist, was born in 1777, and was the son of John Macvey of Kirkintilloch, by a natural daughter of Napier of Craignannet. He was educated for the profession of the law, and passed as a writer to the signet in 1799. As his training had been of no ordinary kind, while his talents and attainments were of a very high order, a career of profit and reputation was anticipated for him by his friends, which, however, was not fulfilled, as he was not only of too sensitive a disposition for the practical department of his profession, but too exclusively devoted to the abstract philosophy of legislation, and the charms of general literature. These researches, however, were such as to win him distinction in the path he had chosen. His first production as an author appeared in 1818, when he published, but for private circulation, *Remarks illustrative of the Scope and Influence of the Philosophical Writings of Lord Bacon*. In 1825 he was appointed professor of conveyancing in the university of Edinburgh, having been the first who held that chair of the law faculty; and his lectures, while he officiated in this capacity, evinced the vigorous and thoughtful attention he had bestowed upon the subject. In 1837 he was finally raised to one of the clerkships of the Court of Session, an office of sufficient honour, as well as emolument, to satisfy the ambition of the most thriving legal practitioner.

The elevation of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Jeffrey to the deanship of the faculty of advocates in 1829, was the cause of bringing the literary talents of Macvey Napier into full exercise. On becoming dean of faculty the great Aristarchus of criticism was obliged to abandon the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*, and this responsible charge was forthwith devolved upon Mr. Napier. To have been summoned to such an office, and to succeed such a man, shows the high estimate that had been formed of his talents. Afterwards a still more important claim was made upon his labours: this was to undertake the editorship of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, of which a seventh edition was about to be published, with many additions and improvements. Such, indeed, had been the progress of art and science in the course of a few years, that not only a new edition of the work, but also a nearly new work itself, was deemed necessary, so that such an editorship was in the highest degree a most complex and laborious task. Of the manner in which this was discharged by Mr. Napier there can be but one opinion. He not only wrote able articles for the work, but secured the co-operation of the most talented writers of the day; and the result was, that the *Encyclopedia*, on being completed, took the highest place in that important class of publications to which it belongs. Years, which are now accomplishing the work of centuries, sufficed to make this edition obsolete, so that an eighth had to be produced under the editorship of Professor Trail.

Such renovations must now be the fate of colleges and encyclopedias alike: modern knowledge in its manifold changes and additions will not submit to the imprisonment of stereotype.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that the literary life of Macvey Napier was of that kind in which the individuality of the author is lost in the association of which he forms a part. In this way it would be difficult to particularize his writings, which are scattered over such extensive fields as those of the *Encyclopedia* and *Edinburgh Review*. But such is now the fate of many of the most talented of our day, whose anonymous productions melt away into the mass of journalism, and are forgot with the occasion that called them forth. Such men, however, do not live idly nor in vain, and their history is to be read in the progress of society, which continues to go onward with an always accelerating step. This was eminently the case of Macvey Napier during a life of literary exertion that continued over a course of thirty years. He died at Edinburgh on the 11th of February, 1847, in the seventieth year of his age.

NASMYTH, ALEXANDER. This excellent artist, the father of the Scottish school of landscape-painting, was born in Edinburgh, in the year 1758. Having finished his early education in his native city, he went, while still a youth, to London, where he became the apprenticed pupil of Allan Ramsay, the portrait-painter, son of the author of the *Gentle Shepherd*. Under this distinguished artist Nasmyth must have been a diligent scholar, as his subsequent excellence in portrait-painting sufficiently attested. Italy, however, was the land to which he turned his desires; and in that beautiful country, where nature and art equally unfold their rich stores for the study of the painter, he became a resident for several years. During this period he ardently devoted himself to the study of historical and portrait painting. But the attractive beauty of nature, over its wide range of varied scenery, led him at his leisure hours among the rich Italian landscapes, which he studied with the fondness of an enthusiast, and in this way, while he was daily employed in copying the best productions of the Italian schools, and endeavouring to penetrate the hidden secrets of their excellences, he was also a diligent student of natural scenery, and qualifying himself to be a landscape-painter, in which department afterwards his distinction principally consisted. To these were added the noble productions of ancient and modern architecture, that breathe the breath of life through inanimate scenes; the mouldering walls and monuments of past generations and mighty deeds, alternated with those stately palaces and picturesque dwellings that form the homes of a living generation. It was not enough for Nasmyth to delineate these attractive vistas and noble fabrics, and store them in his portfolio, as a mere stock in trade upon which to draw in future professional emergencies. He, on the contrary, so completely identified himself with their existence, that they became part and parcel of his being. This he evinced some fifty years after, when Wilkie, then fresh from Italy, visited the venerable father-artist, and conversed with him upon the objects of his recent studies. On that occasion Nasmyth astonished and delighted him by his Italian reminiscences, which were as fresh and as life-like as if he had but yesterday left the country of Raffaele and Michael Angelo.

On returning from Italy, Nasmyth commenced in earnest the practice of portrait-painting in his native city. In those days personal vanity was to the full as strong in Edinburgh as it is at present, while portrait-painters, at least artists worthy of the name,

were very scarce; and it was not wonderful, therefore, that the talents of Nasmyth in this department should soon find ample occupation. The most distinguished ladies and gentlemen of his day were proud to sit to him; and of the numerous portraits which he produced, his admirable likeness of Burns will always be considered as a valuable national monument of our honoured peasant bard. But still the artist's enthusiasm lay elsewhere: the countenance of nature possessed more charms for him than even the "human face divine," and he could not forget the delight he had experienced in sketching the beautiful and picturesque scenery of Italy. And his own native Scotland too—was it not rich in scenes that were worthy of the highest efforts of his art, although they had hitherto been overlooked? To this department he therefore turned, and soon became exclusively a landscape-painter, while his successful efforts quickly obtained for him a still higher distinction than his portraits had secured. The admiration excited by his numerous productions in this walk of art occasioned frequent visits to the mansions of the noble and wealthy, by whom he was employed. On such occasions he was sometimes led to make suggestions for the improvement of the picturesque character of the pleasure-grounds and surrounding scenery. The suggestions thus offered were so highly approved of that they not unfrequently were carried out, and Nasmyth came to be sought after as a professional adviser on the means of improving and rendering more picturesque the scenery surrounding the mansions of the great ones of the land. He therefore added this to his other occupations, and found in it an ample source of emolument, as well as professional enjoyment. Many a stately castellated and time-honoured abode of the day, which still looked as if it cared for nothing but its defences, was converted by Nasmyth's arrangements into the striking central object of an effective scene, upon which the tourist could pause with delight, instead of hurrying on as he had been wont to do. Nor was the enthusiasm of Nasmyth confined exclusively to rural beauty. He appreciated the noble site of Edinburgh, that fitting throne for the queen of cities, and was anxious that man's art should correspond with nature's beneficence in such a favoured locality. He therefore gave suggestions for the improvement of the street architecture, which have been happily followed, while many others have been partially adopted, connected with the varied scenery of the northern metropolis, by which the whole aspect of the city from its environs has been improved at almost every point. The capabilities, in an artistic point of view, of his native city, was the favourite theme of his evening conversations to the close of his long-protracted life; and many can still remember how ancient Athens itself was eclipsed by the pictures which he drew of what Edinburgh might be made, through the advantages of her position and the taste of her citizens.

To these important and engrossing occupations Nasmyth added that of a teacher of his art, by opening a school of painting in his own house, where he had for his pupils many who have since distinguished themselves as artists. Among these may be mentioned his own family of sons and daughters, all of whom were more or less imbued with his spirit, particularly his eldest son Patrick, who died before him, whose paintings now command great prices and take their place among those of our leading British painters. In this way the days of Alexander Nasmyth were spent, until first one generation of artists, and then another, had passed away; but although more than eighty years had now whitened his head and wrinkled his

brow, he still pursued his beloved occupation, as if death alone could arrest the labours of his pencil. And that all the ardour as well as skill of his former life continued unabated, was shown in his last work but one, the "Bridge of Augustus at Narni," which he sent to the exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1840. At length the hoary veteran died, and died at his post. A melancholy interest is attached to his final effort. A few days before his last illness he expressed to his daughter Jane, herself an artist of no ordinary merit, his wish to paint something, but his difficulty in finding a subject. After some deliberation and rejection, he said he would paint a little picture, which he would call "Going Home." The subject was an old labourer wending homeward when his day of labour had ended. The sombre evening sky reposes upon the neighbouring hills; on the foreground is an ancient oak, the patriarch of the forest, but now in the last stage of decay, with one of its arms drooping over a brisk stream—that stream of time which will still flow onward as merrily when the whole forest itself has passed away. The old labourer, with the slow step of age, is crossing a broken rustic bridge, and supporting himself by its slender railing, while his faithful dog, who accompanies him, seems impatient to reach home, a lonely cottage at a distance in the middle ground, where the smoke curling from the roof announces that supper is in readiness. It was the artist's own silent requiem. His last illness, which continued five weeks, was soothed by the solicitude of his family, to whom he declared that he had lived long enough, and could not die better than when surrounded by such dutiful, affectionate children. He died of natural decay, at his house, 47 York Place, Edinburgh, on the 10th of April, 1840, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

Nasmyth's landscapes are numerous, he having painted industriously throughout a long life. His scenes are naturally picturesque and well chosen. His style is simple, rarely striving after grand effects, however much his subject seems to call for such a mode of treatment. His colouring is somewhat weak, and his execution of a neat and detailed rather than a vigorous character.

Alexander Nasmyth, soon after his return from Italy, married the sister of Sir James Foulis of Woodhall, Colinton, who survived him, and by whom he had a numerous family, distinguished for talent and success in their several departments of life. Seldom, indeed, is paternal care so well rewarded, or paternal genius so perpetuated.

NASMYTH, MAJOR CHARLES. This gallant officer, one of the heroes of the Crimean war, was the eldest son of Robert Nasmyth, F.R.C.S., Edinburgh, and was born in 1826. Having been educated for the East India military service at Addiscombe College, he, after passing his examination there, was appointed director to the Bombay artillery. Having been seriously affected by the climate, he obtained the regular sick-certificate of leave of absence, and on arriving in England, in 1853, he was advised to try the effects of a change of air on the Mediterranean. In consequence of this advice he was in Turkey in 1854, at the outbreak of the Russian war, and with him was Captain Butler, also a young officer of the East India Company's service. On the investment of the Turkish town of Silistria by the Russians, this gallant pair threw themselves as volunteers into the place, and their arrival was equal to whole brigades of reinforcements. The Turkish officers, however brave, were unskilled in the use of artillery, an arm in which the Russians

excelled; and the Turks had little confidence in their leaders, so that the fall of Silistria was accounted certain; but in the two British volunteers who had come to their aid, they at once felt themselves a match for the enemy at their own weapons. Of their firm resolution to defend the town to the last they also gave an amusing indication at the commencement of the siege. A Turkish officer, who was sent over to the Russian camp, was warned of the impossibility of saving the town, and advised to surrender it on easy terms, "for," said the Russians, "we *must* take it, as the emperor has ordered us." "Well," replied the Turk, "it shall not be taken, as our sultan has ordered us to keep it."

It is not our purpose to enter into the details of the defence of Silistria, more especially as this was given in the diary of Lieutenant Nasmyth published in the *Times*. The resolution of the two belligerent parties, which they had expressed as above, was fully borne out by the deeds that followed; and as fast as the Russians advanced, whether by mine, cannonade, or hand-to-hand conflict, they were met and baffled by the indomitable obstinacy of the Turks, whose fortitude in the defence of streets and walls has become proverbial. Eight batteries were erected against the town, and each was armed with artillery of very heavy calibre. The Russians had sixty guns in position at Silistria, and threw upwards of 50,000 shot and shell, besides an incalculable quantity of small-arm ammunition. They constructed more than three miles of approaches, sprung six mines, and kept up their persevering assault during forty days. On the other hand, the Turks, confident in their two British leaders, whose directions they implicitly obeyed, handled spade or weapon as the emergency required, and either worked or fought with equal coolness under the heaviest of the fire. In every circumstance these two volunteers were the soul of the defence and the directors of all its movements. Captain Butler died, rather worn out by the fatigues he had undergone than of the wounds he had received in action; but Nasmyth, although left alone, with a double amount of toil, still animated the defenders, and taught them to hold out. And well was his perseverance rewarded at last; for after losing about 12,000 men by wounds and sickness, and alarmed at the threatened advance of the allies, the Russians hastily raised the siege.

The young artillery officer was now the object of popular applause. At a single step he had risen to the character of a skilful and successful commander, by producing such results with materials so unpromising; for he was unacquainted with even the language and manners of the people whom he had so generously come to defend, and whom his example and instructions had converted into heroes. Nor was the defence of this Turkish fortified town of inferior consequence in the war that followed. It saved the British and French armies from the necessity of conducting a campaign amidst the swamps and marshes of the Danube, which in all probability would have proved another Walcheren, and enabled them to transfer the scene of operations to the Crimea. From the East India Company's service he was transferred to the royal army, and in the Crimean campaign, through which he served, he obtained the medal with clasps for Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol. Being invalided from the Crimea in consequence of failing health, he returned to England, and was subsequently appointed to the Kilkenny district as an assistant adjutant-general, afterwards brigade-major at Curragh, and latterly brigade-major and deputy-assistant adjutant-general in Dublin. But his health again breaking down, he was transferred to Aus-

tralia, from which he was invalided home in 1859. It was not surprising that the fatigues he had undergone at Silistria, under which Captain Butler succumbed, should have completely undermined the constitution of Major Nasmyth. He retired to Pau, and there he continued to reside until his death, which occurred on the 2d of June, 1861. Among the honours and promotions which he so justly won, it should not be omitted that the freedom of the city of Edinburgh was conferred upon him for his services in the Turkish campaign, and particularly in the defence of Silistria.

NASMITH, DAVID. This energetic Christian philanthropist, the originator of town and city missions, was born in Glasgow, on the 21st of March, 1799. His parents were of respectable station, and eminent for piety. Like other boys of his condition, David Nasmith, after the usual course of an elementary education, was sent to the city grammar-school for the purpose of learning Latin; but after a four years' course at this academy, it was found he had profited so little, that he was found ignorant of even the rudiments of the language, and therefore unfit to enter college. And yet, during all this time, he had never been an hour absent from his classes. Judging it of no use to train him for a learned profession, his parents had him educated for business, and afterwards apprenticed him to a manufacturer. Even at these tender years, such was the religious sensitiveness of his character, that although apparently no worse than other boys, his impressions of his own worthlessness were so harassing, that more than once he was tempted to take refuge from them in suicide. But in process of time this evil spirit was cast out of him, while these experiences only tended to strengthen and confirm his faith, and prepare him for a course of correspondent action. His religious training also from earliest boyhood was such as to fit him for that especial mission to which his life was devoted, and in which he was to be so successful. From the time that he was six years old he attended a Sabbath-school; and when he had reached the age of fourteen, he and two of his school-fellows formed a society in their school, which was called the "Glasgow Youths' Bible Association," for the purpose of distributing Bibles among the poor. Of this society he was elected secretary, although, as he confesses, he neither understood the name nor the duties connected with the office. It was the commencement of a new era in his history. It brought him into contact with those youths of Glasgow who were like-minded with himself, and by whose society his religious impressions were enlarged and elevated. The circulation of the sacred volume in which he was employed made him study more earnestly its contents, that he might be better able to recommend its perusal to others. And above all, his office of secretary habituated him to the work of organizing and directing those religious societies which afterwards acknowledged him for their founder. On completing his sixteenth year he became a member of the congregation assembling in Nile Street; but although a Congregationalist or Independent, his aims as well as his disposition were of too catholic a character to be circumscribed by any sect, so that to the close of his life he regarded all Christians as his brethren.

With his growing enlargement of views, it was natural that David Nasmith should seek a field of action more immediately connected with the ministry. It was the common desire of a young enthusiast, who had not yet learned that the cause of religion can be promoted in any station of life, whether lay or clerical.

Under this impulse he resolved to be a missionary, with Africa for his sphere of occupation. Accordingly, he somewhat hastily abandoned his mercantile employment, and betook himself wholly to study, but on applying to the managers of the Theological Academy, they did not judge it fit to admit him as a pupil. Keen as was his disappointment, he meekly submitted to this rejection, and turning again to business, he was for several months unable to obtain a situation, until at last he happily succeeded. It was now also that he turned to his proper work of a home missionary. He had a Sabbath-school, where he administered religious instruction to 200 children. He took a very active share in the establishment of adult schools in Glasgow in connection with the Sabbath-evening School Youths' Union. In addition to these laborious and gratuitous services, he was secretary to the Bridewell Association for the moral and religious improvement of the male prisoners, and a visitor in the Glasgow prison to criminals under sentence of death. This was much for a youth only in his nineteenth year, and who had his daily occupation to employ him.

After having been employed in these self-imposed tasks of Christian philanthropy, which had now become the great charm of his existence, a change occurred by which David Nasmith was enabled to give himself wholly up to his beloved work. The arrival of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow had given such a new impulse to religious benevolence and activity, that the old societies were renovated, and new ones formed, which had the diffusion of divine truth and the improvement of public morals for their object. But as their aim was one, however various their titles and modes of operation, it was deemed expedient to combine them for mutual support in their common effort, and they had accordingly procured a large and commodious edifice, which was divided into rooms and offices suitable for their respective purposes. These establishments being thus collected under one roof, a manager and overseer of the whole was found necessary, and accordingly a public advertisement was published in October, 1821, to the following effect: "Clerk wanted.—A person acquainted with books and accounts, to act as assistant-secretary to the religious societies connected with the Institution Rooms, No. 59 Glassford Street, to whom liberal encouragement will be given. None need apply but such as can satisfy the committee that their character is unexceptionable, and that they have the interest of such societies at heart." This was precisely the situation for Nasmith: it would furnish him with the means of following out his chosen lifelong occupation upon a wider scale, and with larger means of action, and he accordingly hastened to answer the advertisement. As yet he was only twenty-two years old, and might be objected to on the score of his youth and inexperience; but he stated in his application that such institutions had been "the delightful and interesting employment" of his leisure hours for the space of ten years, during three of which he had officiated as secretary to the Glasgow Youths' Bible Association—and for proof of his continued interest in it and other religious societies, he referred to several distinguished gentlemen in the city, both clerical and laic. In reference to his business habits and knowledge of books and accounts, which were also of such importance for the office, he offered to produce testimonials from his employer, the manufacturer in whose service he had been employed nearly five years. His application was successful, and the committee of the Religious Societies' Rooms elected him for their clerk. In stating this to him, however, the convener also notified that the

salary fixed for the first year was not more than sixty pounds! It was the pittance of a shop-porter for the work of a scholar, a gentleman, and a clergyman—and this too from a combination of twenty-three institutions, whose principle of action was based upon Christian liberality! But David Nasmith, with such an amount of work before him, and such scanty remuneration, was not a man to stickle upon pounds, shillings, and pence, however provident the directors might be on that head, and he closed immediately with the offer in terms of grateful acknowledgment. But the situation had benefits for him in return which money cannot buy, and which are thus stated by his biographer: "The three-and-twenty committees with and for whom he acted, were composed of ministers and laymen of all sects and of all parties, both in religion and politics. . . . To David this became not only a high sphere of religious and philanthropic action, but of moral and intellectual education. The most distinguished men in the city became his personal friends and his daily companions. Close and constant contact with such society could not fail to refine his manners, enlarge his views, and elevate his character. To his lengthened training here he mainly owed that free, and easy, and noble air which, on all occasions in after-life, so distinguished him. With scholars and gentlemen he was quite at home. His manner was nevertheless marked by singular modesty, without a particle of the embarrassments of bashfulness; and by the most perfect self-possession, without one particle of the offensiveness of arrogance. . . . To the training through which David passed during his lengthened connection with the Institution House, and the knowledge of men and things he there acquired, his success in afterwards dealing with mankind may very mainly be attributed. He thus became thoroughly conversant with associated operation; he obtained a very deep insight into the true condition of city society, and thus discovered its wants; he saw directly before him the amount and character of the agency provided for the supply of those wants; and hence he ascertained how much of those wants still remained unsupplied. Living society was in fact the great theme of his constant and intense study. Morning, noon, and night he was deeply employed in pondering the book of human nature." Nor was Nasmith indifferent to those scholastic aids by which his training might be matured and perfected. For this purpose he attended the course of lectures on logic and rhetoric delivered by Professor Jardine in the university of Glasgow, and the morning lectures of Dr. Mc'Gill, professor of theology. He also employed every moment of his leisure time in perusing the current literature of the day, and especially of such as was connected with his own avocations.

After attending to the Sabbath-schools, in the establishment, visitation, and teaching of which he showed a tact, energy, and persuasiveness that were unrivalled, David Nasmith's attention was called from the condition of children to that of young men of a better class with which every such mercantile city as Glasgow abounds—the youths especially who serve as clerks and apprentices in shops, warehouses, and public works, and who, being largely recruited from the rural districts, are at a distance from the restraints of home, and exposed to the allurements of a town life—and university students from the country, who are liable to the same temptations. To collect these and other such young men together for mutual religious instruction and improvement was now a great aim of Nasmith, and in this he succeeded so well, that in 1824 fifteen associations of the Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement were established within

less than a twelvemonth; and in 1838 (the year before he died) he had formed about seventy young men's societies in the United Kingdom, France, and America. The nature and object of these associations will be best explained in his own words:—

"These societies consist of young men between the age of fourteen and thirty-five, of good moral character, and professing no opinions subversive of evangelical principles. The members of each association meet periodically, under the superintendence of a pious and experienced president, for purposes of mutual improvement and benevolent exertion. The Bible is considered as their rule, and all political discussion is prohibited.

"Young men thus associated have had their minds and time occupied with that which was profitable, and so far they have been saved from that which was injurious, at a period the most dangerous in the life of man, when his passions are strong, when he is least disposed to submit to wholesome restraint, and most liable, through ignorance of the world, to be led astray by the subtle infidel and the embrace of her who flattereth with her lips.

"In these associations, native talent that lay hid has been brought to light, cultivated, and directed. Young men who were favourably disposed to religion, but not decided, have been won to Christ; those who in business or otherwise were necessarily associated with the infidel and licentious youth of their own age, or with masters of iniquity, have had their minds fortified, and in the hour of imminent peril have been preserved or rescued. Young men who lacked a judicious counsellor have found one in their president; others who desired suitable and profitable companions have met with them in the members of these associations. The timid have been encouraged, and the forward youth has been restrained."

Proceeding to state the beneficial public effects of these young men's societies, Mr. Nasmith thus continues:—

"These associations have united young men of various ages, grades in society, and attainments in religion and piety, and furnished opportunities to each of receiving and doing good. They have been found nurseries for the agency and committees of our Christian-visiting, tract-distributing, Bible, missionary, and benevolent societies. Missionaries now in heathen lands have gone from their ranks; home missionaries, pastors of churches, and secretaries of various Christian and philanthropic societies, can bear testimony to the advantages they have derived from their connection with young men's societies.

"Some most useful and valuable societies now existing have originated in, and been mainly promoted through, the influence of young men's societies. I have known an infant-school erected, and paid for; prisons visited; the spiritual welfare of seamen promoted; a Sabbath market stopped; Sabbath-schools established; people of colour instructed; the sick visited; the destitute relieved; temperance promoted; seventy-nine sermons preached; and 290,000 tracts and handbills distributed at two fairs, all through the united efforts and influence of young men's societies."

But all merely human institutions, however pure and elevated their aim, must be subject more or less to the corruptions of humanity, and Nasmith, while enumerating the benefits of these societies, was obliged to acknowledge their occasional shortcomings. In some instances they had failed to produce that benefit, either to their members or others, which might have been expected or that was desired, and the causes of this he has manfully and frankly

stated to be the following:—"The indisposition of men of piety, sound judgment, and experience to preside over them, and thus guide the youthful energies of their members;—the determination of young men of ardent zeal to have their own way, even to the annoyance and injury of the whole body—an attempt at a display of one's own powers rather than a determination to use them only to the edification of his associates—a love of the showy instead of the solid—the irregular attendance of the presidents, and of the more experienced members of associations—the introduction of a spirit of criticism—a want of forbearance with the young, the ignorant, or the weak members; so treating them as to lead to their discouragement and ultimate withdrawal—a departure from that *practical* reading of the Word of God which ought ever to characterize that part of the exercises of their meetings; and these," he concluded, "are *some* of the difficulties that have impeded the progress and efficiency of young men's societies." These, however, were the inevitable evils of all such Christian institutions; they annoyed David Nasmith, but they had also annoyed the apostles themselves. Even in the great work of regenerating the world it was impossible but that offences should come.

But the great enterprise of Nasmith's benevolence, to which all that had gone before was only a preparative, was the establishment of city missions, which he commenced in Glasgow in January, 1826.

At that time efforts had been made to preach the gospel to the poor in school-houses and other such places as they would attend. But these were only desultory and individual efforts, and as such they proved a failure. The myriads of poor in such a city as Glasgow could not be overtaken by the occasional labours of a few ministers, and these preaching visitations, few and far between, left little or no permanent effect upon their auditories. The benevolent men who had originated the practice acted without any established system; and the clergymen who were employed in such extra labours were in demand at so many different stations, that they withdrew, declaring they could stand it no longer. Nasmith waited personally upon eighteen ministers, and asked how many sermons they would undertake to preach in a year; but when only sixty-seven sermons were promised, he saw that this was scarcely more than sufficient to supply the requirements of a single station. The plan was then devised of setting apart one or more persons to carry religious instruction to the poor in their own dwellings; but here the sectarian spirit interposed, so that each individual was willing to contribute only on condition that the missionary belonged to his own religious denomination. Nasmith saw that churches, not individuals, were needed to sustain such a work, and accordingly he commenced with his own brethren, the Nile Street congregation. They entered heartily into the design, and without any sectarian limitations, for a plan was drawn up that embraced the whole city, and upon such a broad basis that every denomination could unite with it. Six young men of the congregation were chosen to collect the funds necessary for the support of a single missionary, with three seniors to select and superintend him; and before the day of meeting a sister congregation intimated their desire to unite with them, from whom an equal number was united to the committee. Thus the Glasgow City Mission was formed on the first day of January, 1826. Before the year had closed eight evangelical denominations were united in the board of management, and as many city missionaries were in active employment. At the end of the second year the number of missionaries had increased to thirteen, with an adequate fund chiefly

contributed by ladies. Having thus tested the experiment, and proved its efficiency, Mr. Nasmith wrote to his correspondents, and afterwards printed 2000 circulars explanatory of the design and plan of the society, with recommendations appended from Dr. Chalmers and other influential clergymen; and these were sent to the principal cities and towns of Scotland, England, Ireland, France, and other places on the Continent, also to Asia, Africa, and America.

Various circumstances now made it necessary for Nasmith to resign his charge at the Institution House. He was a married man, and the scanty salary was insufficient for the maintenance of a family. Its societies were already organized and in full working trim, and might be carried on by a less experienced agent. And above all, his health required relaxation and change. In writing of his condition, he states, "My desires were unbounded, and my mind got so constantly engrossed with the thirty machines at work in devising and attempting to execute plans for rendering them efficient, that the feeble frame could no longer endure it. To have continued in the situation and taken things more easy was impossible without injury to my mind, for I considered that a proper discharge of my duties did not admit of it without positive injury to the general cause." In 1828 he accordingly sent in his resignation of office, which was regarded by the institution as a heavy calamity, and accepted with regret. Another field of occupation must be found, but connected with missionary enterprise, which had now become to him a necessary of life; and being invited to visit a friend in Dublin, he went there the same year. Here he addressed himself with his wonted zeal to the establishment of city missions, and their auxiliary, the institution of Scripture-readers; and while thus employed he was offered the situation of assistant-secretary to the Scripture-reader Society in Dublin, to visit the poor and ignorant of the city, and read to them the Bible three hours a day, with a salary of eighty pounds per annum attached to it. This, however, he declined, and added, "I do so from a persuasion that the situation would not afford sufficient scope for the expansion of my mind, the exercise of those habits which have been formed by the experience of many years, and the satisfying of the desire for more extensive and varied usefulness which the great Head of the church has been pleased to give me." It was afterwards proposed to appoint him secretary of their city mission, with a salary of £100 a year, but this also he rejected, upon the following conscientious grounds: "1. The funds of the society may not exceed £400 the first year, and to give £100 of that to any man for merely working the machinery would be quite too large a proportion of the whole. 2. It would lead people to say that I had come to form a society that I might get a bit of bread by it. 3. My influence in society and consequent usefulness would be retarded. And 4. Many would make it an excuse for not contributing to the funds of the institution."

His temporary visit in Dublin being ended, Mr. Nasmith repaired to London, where he spent a few days, and during that short period not fewer than six situations were offered to him, one of which was the secretaryship of a city mission for London, with a salary of £200 per annum. But the condition of Ireland and its need of evangelistic agencies were so impressed upon his mind, that he accepted in preference an offer from Dublin, where only one-fifth of that amount was insured to him as secretary of its city mission society. And this was the deliberate choice of a man who was solicited by his friends to enter into business, and to whose remarkable talents,

in all its departments, no amount of success seemed impossible. On the 3d of September, 1828, he set sail for Ireland, and the spirit in which he went thither the following entry in his diary will indicate:—"Two days more and I bid adieu to Scotland, to Glasgow, to relations, to friends, to spheres of usefulness in which I have been enabled, through grace, to walk for some time, and to the dear church in Nile Street; and I go to a land of comparative darkness; not that I may be richer as to this world; not that I may be more esteemed and honoured; not that I may be idle: but I go seeking only the glory of God, and the advancement of his salvation amongst the inhabitants of that land. Whether I shall be long or usefully employed the Lord knows; I go forth leaning upon the Lord for temporal and spiritual support, believing that he will open to me a door of usefulness, that he will provide me with bread in it, and give me grace to be faithful. I desire to be extensively useful to the church with which I may be connected;—to the circle of acquaintance that may be given to me;—to children;—to young men;—to students of divinity;—to the poor;—to the inhabitants of Dublin;—to the inhabitants of Ireland at large."

On arriving in Dublin Mr. Nasmith addressed himself heart and soul to his beloved and appointed work—and Sabbath-schools, Scripture-readers, and city missionaries soon showed the impulse they had received from his arrival. In his new sphere of action he made little account of the premature decay both of mind and body which his marvellous exertions in Glasgow had superinduced, and still less of the poverty which his change to Dublin had occasioned. He was now constrained, from the expensiveness of that city and his small precarious allowance, to inhabit a house of only two rooms and a kitchen, and to keep no servant. And this he had freely and cheerfully exchanged for the £300 a year which his various resources in Glasgow had brought him. Even with these reductions he was contented and happy, and only annoyed by the impediments that were offered to his work. These impediments were partly owing to the peculiarities of his field of labour. The ascendancy of Popery in Ireland was especially hostile to Protestant city missions, and could make its hostility be felt. Dublin also was so different from Glasgow, that the former city could not supply as many missionary agents as could be drawn from a single congregation of the latter, so that they had to be brought from a distance, or imported from Great Britain. But the chief difficulty experienced by the city missions in Dublin arose from the coldness or positive dislike of the clergy themselves. They were suspicious of every religious movement, unless it originated in the church and was superintended and directed by its authority; and they were jealous of the missionaries and Scripture-readers, as intruders into those kinds of teaching which ought exclusively to belong to the ministry. They taught, but they also preached while they taught. But what else could be done so long as the church itself rejected the work, and refused to become a missionary institution? "I have known," writes Nasmith, "so much of the coldness and hostility of ministers to the advancement of the Redeemer's glory, unless the effort was made by *themselves*, or *their church*, that I have ceased asking the co-operation of any minister; besides, I conceive that, in general, the ministers have quite *too much to do*, either with the things of the world, or what are called our religious societies, and the effects are too obvious in the neglect of their flock."

After the establishment by his personal labours of

town and city missions in Ireland as well as Scotland, and having seen the prospect of their increase in England, Mr. Nasmith resolved to attempt the same experiment in America. He accordingly went to New York on the 4th of September, 1829. By the 20th of the same month he had established a city mission in New York, and soon after a town mission in Newark, in the state of New Jersey. To New York he had gone without any pecuniary stipulation whatever, although his private resources were so scanty that at first he was unable to keep a servant, so that his public labours were sometimes alternated with the office of nursing his infant child. It was the spirit of Paul the apostle and tent-maker, who would labour with his hands rather than be a burden to the church. After this hopeful beginning in New York, he commenced the work of itinerating through the principal towns of America and Canada, preaching, exhorting, and conversing wherever he came upon the great purpose of his visit, urging the establishment of city missions—and everywhere strengthening the ardent, rousing the sluggish and indifferent, animating the desponding, and leaving behind him those footprints on the religious soil of America which time will not easily efface. Often also, while thus travelling from place to place, we find him going dinnerless, to save time and the expense of innkeepers' bills. The particulars of such a lengthened tour we must omit, but the result is thus summed up by his biographer: "Our philanthropist has now reached the limit of his purpose, and we are enabled to glance over the mighty expanse of his laborious pilgrimage, and to form a general estimate of his travel and toil. He has visited forty cities and towns of America, and two of Canada. In the States he has been instrumental in forming sixteen city missions, the American Young Men's Society, and eight or ten auxiliaries to it: to which must be added several associations in behalf of coloured people, and also various benevolent associations for supplying the temporal wants of the poor. In Canada he visited Quebec, Montreal, St. Andrews, Fox Point, New Glasgow, Kingston, Buffalo, and York, forming among them in all fifteen societies. These are matters of fact; but there is another view of David's labours, far more difficult to be estimated, and in its results perhaps far more important—the moral influence he exerted on a multitude of the moving and leading minds of the Christian church. Who can calculate the sum of this influence? Who can estimate the effects which may flow from it for centuries to come?" How disinterestedly this great work was performed may be seen from David Nasmith's receipts and expenditure. In Ireland he spent £366, and received £216. In the United States he spent £271, and received £98. In Canada he spent £25, and received £16. He returned to Scotland poorer by £232 than when he left it, independently of the toil he had bestowed, which of itself might have won a fortune, while he was content the while to depend upon the chance contributions of the friends of city missions for his very economical style of living. Although he knew that the labourer is worthy of his hire, he refused to present any claim, lest the cause which he had so much at heart might be misrepresented; and the Americans, thinking from the nature of his labours that he was a gentleman of independent fortune, would not insult him with the offer of repayment.

Having completed his appointed mission in America, and feeling that his own health and that of his wife required the benefits of their native climate, Mr. and Mrs. Nasmith returned to Scotland in December, 1831, and immediately on his arrival he resumed his

wonted tasks in Glasgow and Dublin alternately. The effect of this activity was, that only five months afterward he had succeeded in forming a monthly distribution tract society, a maternal association, a young ladies' society, an Irish young men's society, and a Dublin young men's society, with the prospect of other associations of a similar description being speedily formed. His attention while in America having been directed to France, and the necessity of such societies for that country, he went there in June, 1832. On landing at Boulogne his papers were examined; and finding them filled with outlines of his proceedings, and the plans of strange associations that they had never heard of, and were unable to comprehend, the French authorities at first suspected that he was some desperate and dangerous conspirator, and were with some difficulty penetrated by an inkling of his harmless purposes. As he had letters of introduction to some of the principal French and British Protestants in Paris, he was soon enabled to break ground in that famed capital, and there a city mission was formed, and funds collected for a school for English children, and a young men's society. At Havre also, during this short visit, he formed both a city mission and a young men's society; and returning home by the way of London, he there reconnoitred the ground, with a view to his future operations, as it was there that he finally hoped to spend his days. He returned to Glasgow in the beginning of August, and only two months after he was thus enabled to write to a friend in that city:—"Since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have been in Ayrshire, at Campsie, and other places, and had the satisfaction of seeing about sixteen new societies formed. The number of new tract societies formed since my return from America is about seventeen, and these together issue almost 83,000 tracts per month, or *one million* annually." Being prevented from settling in London at present by circumstances over which he had no control, the same circumstances required that he should now take steps to support his family by his own efforts. For this purpose he rented a large house in Glasgow, which he occupied as committee-rooms, offices, reading-room, &c., for the purpose of acting as a general agent to religious or philanthropic individuals or societies who might be pleased to employ him. But although it was a generous, it was a rash, speculation: it was one that to succeed would have required capital, and of this the self-denying David Nasmith had none whatever; and when he tried to obtain for the purpose a loan from some moneyed citizens, these men buttoned up their prudential pockets, and would advance nothing on such a venture. After a trial of eighteen months the unfortunate experiment was abandoned, but at the same time one of his friends had obtained for him the situation of secretary to the Continental Society in London, to which city he repaired with his family in March, 1835. His chief work was to establish a city mission in the metropolis, and his Irish friends of Dublin had promised to contribute for him a salary of £200 per annum for three years—a modicum for the expense of living in the great metropolis with which Mr. Nasmith was more than content. Of the need of such a society for London the following extracts from one of his recommendatory testimonials will suffice to show:—"He organized the first mission in Glasgow in the year 1826, where there are now upwards of twenty missionaries engaged in the instruction of the neglected portion of the population. Similar institutions have been established extensively throughout Scotland. Mr. Nasmith then repaired to Ireland, and formed a mission in

Dublin, which now enjoys the undivided labours of twenty-nine missionaries! . . . If more than twenty in Glasgow, and if twenty-nine in Dublin, be found necessary, what shall be said of the wants of London? But it is not yet clear that these numbers suffice for these cities. Dr. Chalmers has recorded his opinion that 'forty or fifty would be required to form an adequate band of labourers' for Glasgow. A number amounting to several hundreds are imperatively demanded to carry the gospel to the whole mass of our neglected and perishing fellow-citizens."

To establish, however, a city mission in London, even upon a humble scale, was no easy task. Unless it was exclusively a church movement, or exclusively one of dissenterism, its success was deemed impossible; while the patronage of the one party would be certain to excite the antagonism of the other. But Nasmith's catholic and prudent views were alike opposed to such restricted views and a one-sided course of operation. The evil to be overcome was a general one, and therefore a general effort was needed for the purpose. But he went quietly, and therefore wisely, to work in the attempt to reconcile both parties to the enterprise; and his first proceedings were commenced with a few men from the several churches who were not too bigoted to combine in a common task. Having privately originated the society, four city missionaries were chosen, and appointed to their respective localities in the more destitute parts of London, with proper salaries for their labour. The work was thus an accomplished fact, and many who would have hesitated while it was still a theory, abandoned their objections, and came forward to support it. Soon after Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, by becoming treasurer of the society, imparted to it a character which its worst enemies could not gainsay. Six months had not elapsed when the London city mission had ten missionaries at work; in twelve months it had forty; and in twenty-two months, sixty-three missionaries; while £4000 had been received in contributions. In consequence of this rapidly growing prosperity, the society was encouraged, after half a year of existence, to establish the *City Mission Magazine*, a monthly publication, costing only twopence, and therefore within the reach of all classes, containing an account of the society's proceedings. But while devoting his principal cares to the city mission, it did not wholly absorb David Nasmith's energies; and along with it, or soon after, he formed other societies in London, which had the elevation of the Christian character of the masses for their aim. These, however, we can only name in passing. They were, the Philanthropic Institution House, the Metropolitan Tract Society, the Young Men's Society (which afterwards was changed into the British and Foreign Young Men's Society), the Reading-room, the Adult School Society, and the London Female Mission. Such activity would be incredible did we not take his abilities and their previous training into account. "With all such matters," his biographer states, "he was thoroughly familiar; he could have formed the four societies enumerated in these letters in a single evening. He framed constitutions with more facility than some men write letters of common friendship; and with respect to personal agency, a single day to David Nasmith was equal to a whole month to the great body of mankind."

But it was from this very zeal and activity, so exceeding that of ordinary mortals, that he was now to experience mortification and defeat. Many who endeavoured to keep pace with his career were distanced and left behind. Many were indignant at his superior reputation, by which they found them-

selves eclipsed. The cry was raised that, by dividing his attention among so many aims, one and all of them must be imperfectly and inefficiently followed out. To add also to the confusion, it was alleged by the churchmen that the agents whom Nasmith employed were chiefly selected from the ranks of dissenters, and that all his proceedings were for the aggrandizement of sectarianism. It was easy to refute such objectors if they had been willing to listen to refutation; but as such was not the case, he found it expedient, for the welfare of the societies he had created, to resign his charge. This he could also the more freely do, as he had brought them into such working trim that they could now go prosperously onward under ordinary agencies. He accordingly adopted this step, to the great regret of the committee, who passed on the occasion the following resolution:—"At a meeting of the committee of the London City Mission, held March 17, 1837, Resolved, that the thanks of the managers be given to Mr. David Nasmith, the founder and gratuitous secretary of this society, for his unwearied devotion to its interests; that the managers cannot but deeply lament the occurrence of any circumstance rendering his resignation in his opinion advisable; and that it is with pain they lose the services of one who, from his great experience and unceasing assiduity, was an invaluable coadjutor in this great work."

Being now free to follow out his plans of Christian benevolence in his own way, Nasmith, immediately after his resignation, formed the society called the British and Foreign Mission, for the purpose of opening correspondence with all existing city and town missions, and planting new ones where they did not exist. In his first tour for these objects he formed a town mission and a young men's society at Cambridge, and a young men's society at Ely. Passing on to Birmingham, he there formed a town mission, a ladies' branch in aid of it, and a young men's society. West Bromwich succeeded, where he planted a town mission, a maternal society, and a young men's society. All this was but the work of two or three days. Continuing his rapid and active course, he visited Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield, and York; and in all of these important localities he planted missions and young men's societies, and in some of them also tract societies and maternal societies. When his work in Yorkshire was ended he went to Scotland, for the purpose of forming branch societies in aid of his newly established British and Foreign Mission, and was for three months so actively employed in the principal cities of his native country, that he was enabled to establish about thirty societies. And all this he achieved with a total expenditure of not more than £21, 2s. 7½d.—a sum that might well put many travelling agencies to the blush. While he was thus traversing the land as a conqueror, it was often with an empty pocket. His own occasional details of the state of his finances, communicated only to his wife, while they are sometimes amusing, attest how completely self was swallowed up in heroic devotedness to his sacred work. Writing to her at this time from Scotland, he mentions incidentally the following particulars:—"Yesterday morning my stock was sixpence, and I owed perhaps thirty shillings for advertising, &c. Now I have paid all my debt, in Edinburgh, except one of about five shillings, and have £4, 5s. in hand. I have been bare enough repeatedly on this journey. No one has known it but my Father in heaven; and he has provided just as I required it, so that I have not known want. I have dined on three pence, and not been the worse for it, day after day in Yorkshire."

But how the while could the society in London be so inattentive to its parent and founder? The answer is contained in the following words of a letter written to one of his friends in Dublin. "The funds of the British and Foreign Mission are low, low, low; £130 wanted *now* to pay what is due, besides what they owe me; as yet I have not received *one penny* from them for my family; for they have not had it to give." After the first nine months of its existence the society was not able to give him more than the sum of three pounds!

When the year 1838 commenced, David Nasmith remarked in his diary, "I am on my journey to heaven; I am more than three-quarters past my thirty-eighth mile-stone on the road, and will soon be at thirty-ninth mile-stone." Among the aims which he contemplated for this year's accomplishment, were the formation of a universal itinerating library, a loan fund for the industrious and deserving poor, twenty city missions, thirty young men's societies, twenty tract societies, twenty maternal societies, fifty family missions, and ten female missions. He added, "Great usefulness is my aim; let it not be my idol: great holiness is my aim; let me enjoy, but not *glory* in anything but Christ." By the middle of the year he had visited two English and fourteen Welsh towns and villages, and formed three city missions, thirteen tract, thirteen young men's, four maternal, three young women's, and one little girls' associations; besides four female and nine family missions, and a society for the benefit of domestic servants. In October, after a four months' absence from London, he was able at his return to announce the establishment of seventy-three societies for the various objects of religious philanthropy. At the commencement of the following year he planned a still greater amount of work, which he specified as follows:—"Finish four months' tour; write twelve city mission letters; write twenty family mission tracts; form twenty city and town missions, twenty young men's societies, ten tract societies, five female missions, twenty family missions, five young men's societies, five maternal societies, five girls' associations, five boys' associations, five servants' and providence houses, one benevolent society, and one night-asylum—one hundred and two in all." To this huge task he went with his wonted energy, visiting in his tour some of the principal towns of England, and forming societies wherever he came—making way as usual by the precarious bounty of his kind friends, but still finding his expenditure greater than his receipts, although his wonted economy had been more rigid than ever. But at length the brave one was to droop and fall, overpowered but not conquered. Such excessive labours and severe privations combined were too much for merely human energy; but although his health was yielding, he still continued to persevere in his self-appointed task. In a state of physical weakness and depression of spirit he set out to Guildford, to form a town mission, believing that the journey and work would revive him, and had reached that place apparently much recruited, when he was suddenly seized with such intolerable pain as prostrated him, and made him writhe in agony. It was his last illness, and so sharp that it could not be otherwise than short. But even in the midst of his sufferings, his devout character and entire reliance upon his heavenly Father predominated, so that when a friend observed to him, "It is hard, amidst such troubles as this, to say 'The Lord's will be done!'" he answered with much energy, "*Not at all.*" He afterwards added, "I have only one request—that God would make me eminently holy and humble." His severe pains were only terminated by death, and

his remains were interred in Bunhill-fields Churchyard, on the 25th of December, 1839.

Thus died David Nasmith in the prime of life, for he had little more than entered his fortieth year. And yet, what an active life was his, and how much it had accomplished! With the simplicity, self-abnegation, and zeal of an apostle, he combined those talents of planning, arranging, and executing great enterprises with small means, that were not surpassed by a Wesley or a Wellington; and of his success, the institution of town and city missions alone will prove an abiding memorial. The solitary pilgrimage which he commenced has swelled into the march of an army, while nobles and prelates are following his footsteps, and emulating his example. It is a most impressive attestation that in this nineteenth century, the age of political and moral reform, when so many experiments are tried and thrown aside, David Nasmith was a great and a true reformer; and that with every year his character will be better understood, and his worth and services be more highly appreciated, until his name is enrolled among the leading spirits of our age.

NASMYTH, PATRICK, the son of Alexander Nasmith, of whom a memoir has already been given, was born in Edinburgh, 7th January, 1786. He was named after Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, one of the inventors of steam navigation. In his earliest boyhood Patrick showed that love for painting by which his family, of whom he was the eldest son, were distinguished. So wholly, indeed, were his affections devoted to this pursuit, that he made no progress in the ordinary branches of a schoolboy's education, and neither the allurements of duxship nor the compulsion of the *lawse* could suffice to make him even a tolerable scholar. The school-room itself was abandoned whenever a bright sunshine announced that nature could be seen at its best; and on these occasions the truant boy was to be found in the fields or among the hedges, pencil in hand, taking sketches of the flowers and trees. Another proof of his enthusiastic devotedness to the art is yet more remarkable. While still very young, he was engaged to accompany his father on a sketching excursion; but in his preparations for the journey on the previous evening, an accident lamed his right hand, so that he was to be laid aside as unfit for service. But his left hand was still untouched, and with this he handled his pencil so effectually that the difference in the work was not greatly perceptible. Many of these left-handed sketches are now sought after by collectors, and prized for their remarkable neatness and fidelity. As Scotland, with all its beautiful scenery, has one of the most fickle of climates, so that its landscape-sketchers are often wetted to the skin, Patrick Nasmith endeavoured to counteract these interruptions, so as to continue his labours in storm as well as sunshine, by an expedient which has since become more common among artists—a travelling tent, which he sometimes carried about with him into the country. Though it was more like a little booth for the exhibition of Punch than the atelier of an artist, having been formed by his own hands, which had no skill whatever in carpentry, he consoled himself for the jeers of his companions by the good service which it yielded him. As may be guessed, this booth was never pitched upon the mountain tops when the storm was at the wildest.

Having hitherto studied under his father, Patrick Nasmith went to London, and commenced in earnest the profession of a landscape-painter, in which he acquired such distinction that he was called the

English Hobbima, although his style was liker that of Wynant. It was from the minuteness of his touch and finish that he resembled the great Flemish painter, for he could not pretend to Hobbima's boldness and vigour. Nasmyth's pictures show rather much attention to small detail, so much so as to detract from force and breadth of effect. Still his scenes, especially his English ones, are extremely pleasing. They abound in objects of quiet beauty, such as rivers with wooded margins, meadows, and gently rising grounds, reposing tranquilly beneath an untroubled sky, and secured him a reputation as a landscape-painter superior to that of his father. His Scottish scenery is not so excellent; as its wild grandeur and massiveness were not so suited to his style and general mode of treatment. Hobbima and Ruysdael were his favourite guides; but while he endeavoured to acquire their spirit, he was far from being a copyist: on the contrary, he had a delicacy which was all his own, and gained for him the foremost place in that distinguished family which has obtained the name of the "Nasmyth School."

The success with which his excellences were rewarded was such as to animate him in his labours, and his productions were so highly prized as to be in general request among the lovers of art. The most choice collections of England contain the works of his pencil, and when any of his pictures are brought to sale they generally command great prices. He is sometimes spoken of as Peter, but his pictures are signed *Patk. Nasmyth*. But while patronage was at the height, and orders steadily flowing in upon him, he was dying before his day—not a martyr, however, to the ennobling art he loved so well, and which would have cherished him so affectionately, but to a vice which degrades the highest intellect and most refined tastes to the level of the meanest. At the early age of seventeen Patrick Nasmyth, in consequence of sleeping in a damp bed, was seized with deafness, which continued with him to the last; and being thus in a great measure shut out from the healthful excitement of conversation, he endeavoured to console himself by the stimulus of the bottle—and that, too, in the retirement of his study, where the usual checks were not likely to enter. Of course the habit grew rapidly upon him, so that he became old and feeble while still young in years. At last, being attacked by influenza, he ventured, before he had recovered, to go to Norwood, to make a sketch of a scene which he had particularly admired; but he paid dear for his enthusiasm by a return of the disease, against which his enfeebled constitution had no power to rally. Even then his dying gaze was still in quest of the grand and the beautiful; and in a thunder-storm which occurred while he was dying, he besought his sisters to raise him up in bed, that he might see its passing splendour and its effects before he had himself departed. Thus he passed away, on the 17th of August, 1831, at his lodgings in South Lambeth, at the age of forty-five years.

NEILL, GENERAL JAMES GEORGE. This gallant soldier, who won for himself a high name in the suppression of the Sepoy mutiny of 1857, was the eldest son of Colonel Neill of Burnweill and Swendridge Muir, in Ayrshire, and was born in the neighbourhood of Ayr on the 26th of May, 1810. The daring and decisive spirit by which his military career was distinguished displayed itself in early boyhood. Before he was fully five years old he had strayed from home unattended; and after an absence of several hours, his anxious father, who had gone in search of the truant, saw him coming homeward across a long dangerous embankment which confined the water of

Burnweill Loch. "Where have you been, Jamie?" cried the colonel; to which the boy coolly answered, "Well, I just thought I'd like to take a long walk, and look at all things as I went on, and see whether I could get home by myself. And I have done it!" he added triumphantly, "and now I am to have no more nursery-maids running after me: I can manage myself." "You are quite right, Jamie," replied the father; and from that moment the bold urchin was manumitted from nursery control.

Having received his education at the academy of his native town until he had reached the age of fifteen, James George was sent to the university of Glasgow, to complete it. It was intended that he should devote himself to the profession of the law, but his devotedness to active sports soon showed that he was not likely to shine as a lawyer: he was a daring rider and a good shot, and preferred the liberty of the fields to the seclusion of the study. These tendencies showed his inclination; he would be a soldier; and when the events of the Burmese war were exciting general attention in Britain, he threw his heart enthusiastically into the subject, expressed his eagerness to be in the field of action, and declared that distinction could only be won in India. It was, a modification of Napoleon's well-known declaration, "All glory arises in the East." The father of Neill, like a true soldier, sympathized in the youth's ardour, and obtained for him an Indian cadetship before he had reached the age of seventeen. In January, 1827, young Neill set sail for Madras, and on arriving there, Sir Thomas Munro, who was governor of the presidency, and had married a relative of Neill, got him appointed to the 1st European regiment. It was a corps that had won a high reputation in many a well-fought engagement; and being one of the very few European regiments in the Company's service, it was likely to find abundant employment in the first war that might break out. But at present there was profound peace in India, and Neill devoted himself to his regimental duties and the study of his profession. During the first years of his service his regiment was stationed at Masulipatam, and his diligence obtained for him promotion to the post of fort-adjutant, afterwards that of quarter-master, and subsequently he was appointed adjutant of the Madras Europeans. In this last situation, upon which so much depends, and where the talents and activity of an officer are brought into full exercise, Lieutenant Neill distinguished himself by the pains he took to improve the moral character, as well as professional efficiency, of the soldiers under his command. He regulated the sale of intoxicating liquors, so that indulgence in their use should be limited to what was necessary, and kept the men in healthy activity by adult schools, workshops, and the encouragement of athletic exercises. When years had been passed in such occupations, he, in October, 1835, married Isabella, daughter of Colonel Warde, of the 5th regiment of Bengal cavalry, and in the society of his "dearest Isy" enjoyed a domestic happiness that made amends for the monotony of his professional occupations.

In 1837, when he had now been ten years in India, the effect of the climate upon his health required the wonted relief, and he returned home on a leave of absence for three years. But in his native country he was roused by reports of those commotions in Central India which afterwards terminated in the Afghan war. Hoping to have now a chance of active employment in the field, after so many years of peace, Neill hurried back to India in 1839, long before his leave of absence had expired, and volunteered for service in Afghanistan; but instead of get-

ting what he sought, he received an appointment on the general staff as assistant adjutant-general of the Ceded Districts, an office which he held for some years. His sword being thus doomed to rest in its sheath, he betook himself to those literary occupations with which so many of our Indian officers have honourably filled up their intervals of leisure, and the result was the history of his own regiment, under the title of an *Historical Record of the Madras European Regiment*, which was published in 1843. Nor were his proper duties the while neglected, but were performed with a diligence which called forth the repeated thanks of the general in command of the Ceded Territories. But the military rather than the civil department of the service was still the object of his longing, and in this he had the prospect of being gratified by the breaking out of the second Burmese war. His regiment being ordered out for Burmah, he hurried to rejoin it, but was met on the way by the announcement that he had been appointed adjutant-general of the Madras troops under Sir Scudamore Steele. On the termination of the war he was left in charge of the Madras troops in Burmah, and was actively employed in putting down the insurrections that followed in various parts of the country, a service in which his diligence and ability were repeatedly and highly commended by the governor-general of India. But his zeal and labours were too much for the climate, which laid him prostrate; and a brain fever had nearly deprived him of life, when by the care of his friends he was so far recovered as to be embarked in a steamer bound for England, which he reached in June, 1854.

On his return to his native climate the health of Neill was rapidly recovering, when the cheering prospect of occupation tended to complete the cure. The Crimean war broke out, and among the various plans for conducting it, our government had resolved to organize and discipline an army of Turkish soldiers commanded by British officers. For such a service our officers who had been in India were reckoned to be best adapted, in consequence of the nature of their military experience among Asiatics; and amidst the appointments which took place for this Anglo-Turkish contingent, General Vivian, who had been adjutant-general of the Madras army, was selected as its commander, and Colonel Neill to be his second in command. Impatient to commence his duties, Neill was so fortunate as to be among the first who were conveyed to the Bosphorus; and on assuming the command at the camp of Bayukdere of the division assigned to him, he commenced the work of discipline in good earnest, and was soon able to report his recruits as "good and steady, very smart under arms, and painstaking to a degree." But this orderly spirit unfortunately did not prevail over all the departments of this Anglo-Turkish force. The Bashi-Buzoukhs, an irregular kind of cavalry, although brave and servicable enough in action, were, like the moss-troopers of our old Scottish armies, more intent upon spoil than the cause for which they fought, making plunder of friend and foe without distinction; and in consequence of their excesses a military commission was established, having complete authority to try and punish the offenders, with Colonel Neill for its president. In such active hands the office was not likely to remain a dead letter; and on the second day of its proceedings two notorious trespassers having been tried and convicted, were punished each with 500 stripes administered "with a stick, to the enlivening strains of a quick march played by a band of music," in accordance with the military customs of the Turkish army. The punishment was a wholesome check upon the Bashi-Bu-

zoukhs, but it was necessary to continue the inquiry, and having done this he detected and fearlessly exposed the corruptions of the whole system, and proceeded to the remedy. This stern but necessary severity was so displeasing to General Beatson, the commander of the Bashi-Buzoukhs, that he published indignant contradictions to Neill's statements, which led to a long and angry controversy, and twelve officers, among whom were one brigadier-general, three lieutenant-colonels, and three majors, retired from this branch of the service. But firm in his rectitude, and confident that these wild troopers might be converted into a gallant efficient cavalry, the colonel persevered in his unwelcome reforms until his services were justly appreciated by our government, so that Lord Stratford, the British ambassador at Constantinople, required General Beatson either to adhere to the regulations of Neill in the management of his soldiers, or resign his command into the hands of the latter. It was now the hope of Colonel Neill that he should be called into active service—that he should have an opportunity of displaying the powers he was conscious of possessing, and win those military distinctions which he reasonably regarded as his due. But here, as on former occasions, his hopes were disappointed. Sebastopol fell, the war was terminated, and there was no further need of the Anglo-Turkish contingent. "It has certainly been provoking," he wrote in one of his letters, "that we have been kept back, and thrust out of the way; however, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have succeeded admirably in organizing this contingent. . . . I have seldom seen men who move better, and are more easily handled in the field; at ball-practice they are first-rate. During the winter, when we were several times threatened, the fellows turned out in the highest possible spirit. Whether the force will be kept up remains to be seen. The French will be averse to it, as giving us so much more influence. The sultan is anxious to have British officers to organize his army, and the report is that they will be lent to him. I of course will stay if the government and Company will allow it." But amidst these surmises for the future the contingent was disbanded, and Colonel Neill returned to England.

During his stay at home, previous to the expiration of his leave of absence, his time was chiefly spent with his wife and family, interrupted at intervals by a vexatious correspondence with the authorities connected with the affair of General Beatson and the Bashi-Buzoukhs. In the midst of these, however, he was gratified by the kindness of some of the directors of the East India Company, through whom cadetships were obtained for two of his sons. But on the 16th of February, 1857, the hour of parting came, and he set out for India, where he landed on the 29th of the following month. His regiment in the meantime had gone to the Persian Gulf, in the expedition of General Sir James Outram, and Neill was about to rejoin it, but was prevented by tidings that the war in Persia had terminated. On the return of his regiment of fusiliers he was appointed to its command, his senior officer having been obliged to go to England in bad health, and he entered upon the duties of his office with alacrity. In this, one of his cares was to keep the younger officers from acquiring a habit of excess in drinking, and to cure a young gentleman of this fault he kindly invited him to live with him in the same house. He had only been two weeks thus employed when the earthquake shock commenced under which all India reeled, and our eastern empire all but toppled down. Colonel Neill had just made arrangements for a per-

manent residence at Madras when he was instantly summoned to Bengal. The call though so sudden was most welcome, for he found that the hour and occasion had arrived in which his services would be needed and found most available.

At the very commencement of his journey to Bengal, the crater of this wide-spreading Indian volcano, Neill showed his sense of the full danger of such an emergency, and the decisive daring with which he was prepared to meet it. His Madras fusiliers were to be hurried to the scene of action, and he sent them off by the quickest means of conveyance to Benares, one detachment by a steamer, while the rest were to be conveyed by railway. Connected with this land conveyance occurred the following important incident, which is best told in his own words:—

“The terminus is on the bank of the river, almost opposite the fort, at Howrah. There is a landing-place and jetty. The train was to start at 8:30 P.M. My men were all on board flats in the river, where they were cool and comfortable, and out of the way of mischief. When a party of 100 men were intended to go by train, the flat on which they were hauled into the jetty. On the night on which the second party left, the flat was hauled in, but there was a squall, and consequent delay. The railway people on shore gave no assistance. As we neared the jetty, a jack-in-office station-master called out to me very insolently that I was late, and that the train would not wait for me a moment. He would send it off without me. A little altercation ensued. Our men were landed by their officers, and went, making the best of their way up to the carriages. The fellow was still insolent, and threatened to start the train; so I put him under charge of a sergeant’s guard, with orders not to allow him to move until I gave permission. The other officials were equally threatening and impertinent. One gentleman told me that I might command a regiment, but that I did not command them; they had authority there, and that he would start the train without my men. I then placed a guard over the engineer and stoker, got all my men safely into the train, and then released the railway people. Off went the train—only ten minutes after time. . . . I told the gentlemen that their conduct was that of traitors and rebels, and fortunate it was for them that I had not to deal with them. The matter has been brought to the notice of government. I have heard nothing more than that Lord Canning thinks I did what was right; and the railway people are now most painfully civil and polite. It is given out that there was never an instance known of the railway officials being interfered with, far less made prisoners, except once in Ireland, in the Smith O’Brien affair, by Sir E. Blakeney.”

Having thus forwarded his regiment, Colonel Neill speedily followed by horse-draw. On arriving at Benares, he found that in addition to seventy men of his own regiment who had reached it, there were 120 men of her majesty’s 10th foot, and thirty European artillerymen, with three guns. But Benares was the venerated capital and nursery of Brahminism, while the native force there consisted of the 37th Sepoy regiment, a regiment of irregular cavalry, and the Sikh regiment of Loodiana. In this state of things, and with the spirit of mutiny approaching their gates, Neill suggested the daring expedient of instantly disarming the 37th regiment, and as Brigadier Ponsonby, his superior in command at Benares, had been disabled from action by a sunstroke, the colonel arranged and conducted the enterprise himself. By the decisive rapidity of his advance the Sepoys were thrown into confusion, and when they

resisted they were met at every point, broken, and put to flight. Thus the mutiny was checked before it had reached Benares, and Colonel Neill had the satisfaction of protecting the inmates of the British residency from that massacre with which the other cantonments had been visited. Not a woman or child had been touched; and having made arrangements for their safety and the protection of the place, he directed his attention to the advancing revolt, in order to check its progress, if possible, at the outset.

The condition of the city of Allahabad was the first subject to attract his attention. It was not merely the nearest point of danger, the city being not more than eight miles in advance, upon the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, and reckoned the key of the lower provinces of Hindostan, but the native troops stationed there were of doubtful fidelity, and might at any moment be tempted to join the revolt. Nor were Neill’s anxious surmises without foundation. They had volunteered to march against the insurgents at Delhi, for which they had been thanked by letter from the governor-general; but only three hours after the letter was read to them on parade, they raised the war-cry of rebellion, murdered their English officers, threw open the prisons, and after carrying murder and havoc through the city, prepared to invest the fort in which the remains of the British had taken shelter. But even while all was tranquil at Allahabad, Neill had sent thither a detachment of fifty of his fusiliers, with orders to proceed by forced marches; and his apprehensions were verified by their finding the city and the bridge in the hands of the mutineers, so that they entered the fort with difficulty. Two days after, Neill forwarded another detachment on the same mission; and having provided for the safety of Benares in his absence, he followed in person with a third. On arriving at Allahabad his toils and dangers in reaching the fort were almost incredible. A march of a mile through burning river sand well nigh killed him, and he was only kept alive by having water dashed over him. He could only obtain conveyance by a boat which was stolen from the rebel side of the river, and in the short transit two of his men died in the boat from sunstroke. When he reached the beleaguered fort, he was welcomed with the silent gratitude of its trembling inmates; while the sentries at the gate exclaimed fervently, “Thank God, sir, you’ll save us yet!” He was now more dead than alive, sitting in a choultry unable to move, but with a mind as active as ever he directed every proceeding for the safety of the fort and dispersion of the mutineers. On the 12th of June, the day after his arrival, he recovered the bridge of boats, by which the arrival of other detachments from his regiment was secured, and on the 13th he swept the enemy out of the adjacent villages, where they were mustering in great strength. On the 14th he effected the removal from the fort of a corps of Sikhs who, on account of their unruly and mutinous behaviour, were more to be dreaded than the enemy who were without. By these energetic measures the safety of the fort was insured, while he who superintended them could only sit up for a few minutes at a time, and give his orders and directions while sitting in the batteries. The importance of such a rescue was thus announced in a letter from Lord Canning to the chairman of the East India Company: “At Allahabad the 6th regiment has mutinied, and fearful atrocities were committed by the people on Europeans outside the fort. But the fort has been saved. Colonel Neill, with nearly 300 European fusiliers, is established in it; and that point,

the most precious in India at this moment, and for many years the one most neglected, is safe, thank God!"

After the fort was relieved, Colonel Neill felt as if his duties had only commenced; and although still an invalid, while cholera was making frightful ravages among his troops, he resolved to attempt the relief of Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore. He accordingly sent a large detachment of his force for this service, under Major Renaud, his second in command, which was to proceed by land; but as speed was of the utmost importance, he also assigned a detachment of 100 men, who were to proceed by water up the Ganges to the same service, under Captain Spurgin. The instructions which he drew out for the guidance both of Renaud and Spurgin on this occasion are master-pieces of military arrangement, as well as characterized by his usual tactics of aiming right at the head of the evil. While thus employed, he was visited by General Havelock, who had just returned from Persia, and been appointed to relieve Lucknow. The meeting of two such men, so like in some respects and so unlike in others, was as cordial as could have been desired, and the instructions which Neill had drawn out to Major Renaud for the relief of Cawnpore met with Havelock's highest approbation. But scarcely had they been signed when tidings arrived of the butchery at Cawnpore, by which all mortal aid was rendered useless. It was such a tale of treachery and horror that Neill was disposed to treat it as a mere invention of the enemy, and urged the immediate commencement of Renaud's march. This was grudgingly allowed, and Havelock soon following, entered upon that path which led him to victory and renown. While he was in the midst of his glorious career, Neill was ordered to join him as soon as possible. "But his health is not strong," added the telegram of the commander-in-chief, "and the season is very trying; it is urgently necessary, therefore, that provision should be made for placing the command of the column in tried hands, of known and assured efficiency, in whom perfect confidence can be placed, in case Havelock should become from any cause unfit for duty. You have been selected for the post, and accordingly you will proceed with every practicable expedition to join Havelock; making over the command of Allahabad to the next senior officer." Neill set off next morning at dawn, and in five days got to Cawnpore, where he found General Havelock in the midst of his victories, and making preparations for more. These preparations he evidently did not wish in any way to be tampered with, and the pair had no sooner met than Havelock said, "Now, General Neill, let us understand each other; you have no power or authority here whilst I am here, and you are not to issue a single order." After superintending the crossing of his troops and material over the Ghaut, he left Cawnpore, and General Neill in command of it.

A stern act of justice characterized the commencement of Neill's command in this memorable place. He instituted strict inquiry into the particulars of the Cawnpore massacre, and having ascertained the particulars of this frightful iniquity and its perpetrators, he resolved that the punishment should be as signal as the crime, and on the 25th of July, 1857, he issued the following appalling order: "The well in which are the remains of the poor women and children so brutally murdered by this miscreant the Nana, will be filled up, and neatly and decently covered over to form their grave: a party of European soldiers will do so this evening, under the superintendence of an officer. The house in

which they were butchered, and which is stained with their blood, will not be washed or cleaned by their countrymen; but Brigadier-general Neill has determined that every stain of that innocent blood shall be cleared up and wiped out, previous to their execution, by such of the miscreants as may be hereafter apprehended, who took an active part in the mutiny, to be selected according to their rank, caste, and degree of guilt. Each miscreant, after sentence of death is pronounced upon him, will be taken down to the house in question, under a guard, and will be forced into cleaning up a small portion of the blood-stains; the task will be made as revolting to his feelings as possible, and the provost-marshal will use the lash in forcing any one objecting to complete his task. After properly cleaning up his portion the culprit is to be immediately hanged, and for this purpose a gallows will be erected close at hand." This sentence, so revolting to the religious feelings of the culprits, and such a dreadful reminder of their offence, was executed without abatement, and the first to undergo it was a Brahmin of the highest caste. The next was a Mahometan officer of our civil court, one of the leading men in Cawnpore. After several instances of merciless retributive justice, General Neill applied himself to keep out the mutiny from Cawnpore, and to maintain the communications of that place with Allahabad, and with General Havelock in Oude—a task for which he had only 300 soldiers, who were all that could be spared. His proceedings for that purpose were conducted with his usual sagacity and promptitude, and he was impatiently waiting for tidings of the advance of Havelock upon Lucknow, when he was paralyzed by the intelligence of that general's retrograde movement in the midst of his successful career, and an angry correspondence between them on the subject was the result. In such an extremity the utmost of daring was, in Neill's opinion, the utmost of prudence, and that to retreat, or even to stand still, was to fall. His continual cry therefore throughout the whole mutiny was "Forward!" and after events indicated that his judgment was in the right. But who, on considering the wonderful campaign of Havelock, will declare that that general was in the wrong? Both were complete commanders; both had remained comparatively unnoticed for years, until the Indian mutiny called them into notice; and both, though with different qualities, were signally adapted for the crises. Even in their death also they were not divided, for the one died in bringing relief to Lucknow, and the other after it had been relieved. The reputation of two such men cannot for a moment be impaired by a trivial disagreement.

While Havelock was thus struggling for a passage through Oude, the difficulties of Neill were multiplying at Cawnpore. About 2000 of the enemy were mustered at Bithoor, only twelve miles distant; 8000 were at Futtehgur, which was only seven miles off; 1500 at Shevrapore, twenty-four miles distant; and about the same number equally high on the opposite side of the river. And against this formidable collection of armies Neill had only his handful of 300 soldiers to encounter and keep them in check. This, however, he did successfully by a series of rapid blows, now at one party now at another; until 4000 men and five guns were about to advance from Bithoor to Cawnpore, for the purpose of cutting off its communications and attacking the town. In such a case, as what resistance he could offer would have been hopeless, he sent tidings of his case to General Havelock, who came immediately to his aid. On the 16th of August they fell upon Bithoor and routed the insurgents, after which Havelock

posted himself in Cawnpore, until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell as commander-in-chief in India called both generals into the field for the relief of Lucknow.

After so many inevitable delays that object was to be achieved at last, and the expedition was to be commanded by Havelock, who, notwithstanding his previous quarrels with Neill, selected him for the command of the right wing of his force. It was a choice not only honourable to him who made it, but the officer on whom it fell: it showed that the one was superior to all private resentments, and that the other was judged the worthiest to hold such an office. The advance on Lucknow was commenced, and among Neill's military preparations to insure its success, his tender care for the comfort of those who were to be relieved is thus described by one of his officers: "The kind and thoughtful general, who was always thinking what he could do for others without a thought for himself, had taken great pleasure in laying in a little store of arrow-root, sago, candles, and wine, to take to the poor ladies who had been suffering for so long in Lucknow; and he took his palkee carriage to place at the disposal of some of them for their journey back to Cawnpore." The march was commenced on the 19th of September, 1857, and on the evening of the 23d the troops were in possession of the Alumbagh, in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. On the following day there was some hard fighting, but the Sepoys were defeated, and on the 25th Lucknow was to be entered by two divisions, the one commanded by Havelock and the other by Neill. After suffering by the fire from the Kaiser Bagh and the Mess House, Neill's division had entered the city, and were preparing, under a heavy fire of musketry from every house-top, to force their way to the British residency, when the general, who was a conspicuous object on horseback, was aimed at by the enemy, a bullet passed through his head, and in an instant the brave Neill was lying on the ground a corpse. In a few minutes more, had he been spared from the fatal shot, he would have entered the residency a living man and a conqueror; but as it was, his lifeless body was brought into it by his weeping soldiers, who loved him as a father. He was buried in the churchyard of the residency, and his grave was watered with the tears of all ranks, who lamented his death as a bereavement in which all equally shared.

In this manner a great soldier prematurely passed away, when the world had learned his value, and were anticipating for him a brilliant career. Much indeed he had already accomplished, but it was regarded merely as an earnest of what he was yet to achieve. Of the manner in which the loss was felt in India, the following extract from a despatch of Lord Canning, when the report had reached him only as a rumour, will convey some idea: "The governor-general in council forbears to observe further upon information which is necessarily imperfect; but he cannot refrain from expressing the deep regret with which he hears of the death of Brigadier Neill, of the 1st Madras European fusiliers, of which it is feared that no doubt exists. Brigadier-general Neill, during his short but active career in Bengal, had won the respect and confidence of the government of India; he had made himself conspicuous as an intelligent, prompt, and self-reliant soldier, ready of resource and stout of heart; and the governor-general in council offers to the government and to the army of Madras his sincere condolence upon the loss of one who was an honour to the service of their presidency." Nor was our government at home less eager to testify to his worth. For his earlier

services in the war of the Indian mutiny General Neill had already been appointed an aid-de-camp to the queen; had he survived, he would have been recommended for the dignity of knight-commander of the Bath; but as it was, his widow was commissioned by royal order to hold the title, rank, and privileges she would have held had that honour been conferred upon her husband. To these honours a liberal endowment was added by the East India Company. As was most fitting for so distinguished a man, a monument was erected to his memory in the town of Ayr, nigh to the place of his birth. The figure is of colossal size, ten feet high, and stands upon a pedestal of Dalbeattie granite twelve feet high. The incident selected by the artist was that which occurred at the railway station at Howrah. When Neill and his fusiliers were about to proceed to Benares, a portion of his regiment having not yet arrived, the train was about to be started without them, when the general immediately arrested the railway officials, and compelled them to await the expected arrival. The monument itself bears the following inscription:—

"JAMES GEORGE SMITH NEILL, C.B.,
Aid-de-camp to the Queen,
Lieutenant-colonel in the Madras Army,
Brigadier-general in India:
A brave, resolute, self-reliant soldier, universally
Acknowledged as the first who stemmed
The torrent of rebellion in Bengal.
He fell gloriously
At the relief of Lucknow,
26th Sept. 1857,
Aged 47.

NEILSON, JAMES BEAUMONT, the inventor of the hot-blast in its application to the smelting of iron, was born at Shettleston, near Glasgow, 22d June, 1792. His father, Walter Neilson, was what at that time was called an engine-wright, or at the present time an engineer, and died at a good old age, in the employment of the late William Dixon, ironmaster, as engineer at his collieries at Govan—greatly respected by all who knew him, and by his employer, who had his portrait painted and hung on the walls of his residence. Walter had two sons, John and James, who both became engineers. John, who was some years the senior of his brother, received a classical education, and was a great reader and ardent student. At his works, the Oakbank Foundry at Glasgow, in 1825, he designed, and afterwards constructed, the first iron steamer that went to sea. Latterly he became also an ironmaster, and died at a good age: his sons are proprietors of extensive ironworks in Lanarkshire. James, or Beaumont as he was usually called, at an early age assisted his father in erecting and working the steam-engines constructed for mining purposes, and was afterwards apprenticed to his brother. In 1814 he left his brother's works, like his father became engine-wright, and was employed by Mr. William Taylor at his collieries, near Irvine. In 1817 he was appointed engineer to the gas-works then just established at Glasgow, where he remained until he resigned this situation as engineer and manager in 1847. The gas-works were greatly extended under his directions, and many improvements introduced by him into gas manufacture, then practically little known. In consequence of the great eminence to which he rose as a gas-engineer, he was much consulted from all quarters. He introduced clay-retorts instead of iron, and as early as about 1826 heated his retort ovens entirely by the waste coal-tar as liquid fuel—used sulphate of iron solutions to remove the ammonia found so injurious to pipes and gas-fittings, &c. &c.; but the most beautiful and ingenious of his inventions was the

"swallow-tail" burner, since used all over the world. The first large roof constructed entirely of iron was erected by him in the early extensions of the old works at Kirk Street. Neilson patented none of these inventions, but gave them to the company, which in a great measure assisted in bringing them to the very prosperous condition they at that time enjoyed. The boy Beaumont Neilson received a very ordinary education; but in after-life he prosecuted his studies with great diligence and perseverance—had no love for society, his books being his constant companions; and so much was he impressed with the advantages to be gained by a study of the practical sciences, that in 1821 he established a workman's institution for the benefit of the men in his employment, with models, laboratory, and workshop; in fact, a little school for technical education.

Dr. Ure, in his *Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures*, says—"One of the greatest improvements made by simple means in any manufacture was accidentally observed by my pupil Mr. James Beaumont Neilson, at a smith's forge." But here the doctor is in error: the forge was constructed with a furnace under the hearth in which the air or wind was heated before being blown into the fire. This arrangement was not accidental; the experimenter was searching for some means to improve the blast employed to excite the combustion of furnaces in which iron is made, because his attention as a man of science had been drawn by an ironmaker to the fact of the irregularity of the action of these furnaces, particularly the difference between winter and summer working. It was suggested to him that the blast might be submitted to some purifying process; but Neilson thought that the object to be aimed at was to increase the action of the oxygen in the air, and free it from moisture. Many experiments were made, and the result was, that the patent for the hot-blast was taken out on 1st October, 1828, the title having been written by Lord Brougham. The invention may be simply described as the heating of the air-blast by passing it through vessels placed in ovens before it is blown into the smelting-furnace.

The patentee, who had neither the pecuniary means nor the influence necessary to introduce his invention to practice, applied for advice and assistance to his friends Charles Macintosh (the celebrated inventor of waterproof cloth), Colin Dunlop of the Clyde Iron-works, and John Wilson of the Dundee Iron-works. To the two former he gave each three-tenths of his patent, to the latter one-tenth, reserving only three-tenths for himself. Great difficulties were encountered in persuading ironmakers to use the invention, the general belief being that instead of heating the blast, it ought to be made as cold as possible, for which purpose refrigerators had been used, and even ice applied to them to cool the air to the utmost. Ultimately, however, it became universally adopted, and the great value of the invention was proved beyond question by the fact, that thirty-two shillings and sixpence per ton was saved in the manufacture of the iron, besides each furnace making twice the quantity of iron which it formerly did. Coal and ironstone from which iron was with difficulty made by the old system, was found most suitable by the new process. The patentees demanded only one shilling per ton of royalty.

Like other inventors who had gone before him, Neilson was subjected to great persecutions from those he had so much benefited. The ironmakers in Scotland from time to time attempted to destroy his patent; and at last, in 1840, a confederation was secretly formed, united under a formal deed,

in which "they bound themselves to institute, defend, carry on, and follow out to a conclusion such actions, and generally to adopt such proceedings, judicial and extrajudicial, as their advocates or survivors of them shall advise to be expedient and proper for setting aside the said letters-patent, and for resisting the enforcement of the claims founded by the said James Beaumont Neilson, &c. &c."

Now the struggle began in earnest between the patentees and the confederate ironmasters, and continued from 1839 to 1844. Twice a jury refused to deprive the patentee of his rights; twice were appeals to the House of Lords unsuccessful, two jury trials occupied sixteen days, about 140 witnesses were examined, at one and the same time twenty different actions were carried on, and the litigants spent between them on law charges alone not less than £40,000. Neilson was terribly discouraged and broken down in health. When the news arrived of the final decision of the House of Lords in his favour, he lay insensible under typhus fever not expected to recover.

Notwithstanding the small share of the patent he retained, and the losses from litigation, the inventor of the hot-blast realized a moderate fortune; and it may be estimated that his country benefited by his invention to the extent of about twelve millions per annum, besides the impetus it imparted to all those great works in which the price and abundance of iron forms an important element of their success.

Neilson retired to that seclusion he was so fond of on the island of Bute, where he lived several years on a property which belonged to the late marquis, and whose friendship he enjoyed. Married in early life to an Ayrshire lady, an orphan, Barbara Montgomerie, he had by her several sons and daughters. She did not live to share that repose which later in life her husband enjoyed, but by her great spirit and energy, she cheered and stirred him up when with utter despondency his health and courage seemed entirely to fail. In 1851 he bought an estate in Kirkcudbrightshire, where he lived much loved and respected, pleasing and instructing all from the store of knowledge he had accumulated, and taking an active interest in all that tended to the welfare of those around him. His love of education never left him. He built an institution, with library, school, &c., for the instruction of the people on his estate—was a member of the Church of Scotland, but left it with the Free Church at the disruption; a strict Presbyterian, with perhaps a little too much of the Puritan in his character; severe and exacting in all questions of truth or honour. He died 18th January, 1865, at Queenshill, now the property of his eldest son, Walter Montgomerie Neilson, the well-known engineer and locomotive-engine maker of Glasgow.

NICHOL, JOHN PRINGLE, LL.D. This learned professor and popular lecturer on science was one of those many Scotsmen who have raised themselves by their talents and persevering industry from a humble origin to high mark and position in the intellectual world. His father was a respectable trader in the town of Brechin, and there John was born on the 13th of January, 1804. He was the eldest of a family of three sons, all of whom were distinguished by a more than ordinary share of talent, activity, and enterprise. At first he received such an ordinary education as might qualify him for his father's business; but even at school he was so much distinguished by precocious ability and superiority to his class-fellows, that the situation of a provincial trader was thought unworthy of him. It was accordingly resolved that the church should be his future sphere,

and he was sent to the college of Aberdeen, where he maintained the same superiority which he had shown in the academy of Brechin. As his limited means made it necessary that he should work for his own support while he underwent the long course of study, he became a successful candidate for the mastership of the parish school of Dun, and afterwards succeeded to the same charge in the more important town of Hawick. Subsequently he became one of the teachers of the academy in Cupar-Fife, where he was also for some time editor of the only journal in that thriving town, and finally settled in Montrose as the rector of its academy. He thus while still in youth had continued a course every step in which was an ascent, and qualified himself for the honours and office of a professorship. In Montrose he was too active to confine himself to the ordinary task of rector of the academy; and while he faithfully discharged its duties, so as to secure the affection of his pupils and the confidence of their parents, he commenced that office for which he was best qualified, and on which his future fame was chiefly to rest. It was to popularize the abstruse sciences, and make them intelligible to the general mind, which had hitherto been excluded from their mysterious circle by subtle distinctions and an unintelligible nomenclature. He therefore gave public lectures frequently upon light, heat, electricity, and astronomy; and these difficult subjects he illustrated with such apt experiments and in such eloquent language that all acknowledged this work to be his proper office.

After having won such distinction in Montrose and over the whole district as few schoolmasters have achieved, Mr. Nichol, who amidst his professional and other occupations had never ceased to give a few weeks of attendance yearly at the divinity hall of St. Andrews as an irregular or partial student of theology, betook himself to his original destination, and as his prescribed course of college study had expired, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel. But this was all, for his mind had already acquired a new bias. Even in the theological hall he had been unable to reduce his annual probationary discourses to the common standard of orthodox intelligibility; and a subject in his hands assumed such new forms, and betook itself to such unwonted flights of illustration, that the students were astonished, and even the professor bewildered. The latter, a man of ordinary and matter-of-fact intellect, once endeavoured, at the close of one of these strange disquisitions, to deliver the usual critique upon it—but when he opened his mouth it remained open, while not a sound issued from it. Mr. Nichol soon found that neither his varied scientific knowledge nor his remarkable eloquence were of a character or style to win popularity as a preacher, or secure a call to a church, and he wisely resolved to remain a preacher and expositor of religion as unfolded in the gospel of science. He returned therefore with double ardour to the study of astronomy, in which his essays and lectures could always command a willing audience.

In 1836 the professorship of astronomy in the university of Glasgow became vacant. This was a chair which had hitherto been of little account, as it had no royal endowment, while the small number of students made its fees a narrow revenue. But on the other hand it gave a high status in the literary world, and might be raised to its proper place by a distinguished occupant. These circumstances induced the college to offer, and Mr. Nichol to accept, the appointment. He was now professor of astronomy in Glasgow College, with the royal observatory of that city for his place of residence, and his appointment gave great satisfaction both to the students and

the public. But while he ably discharged the duties of the chair, he did not circumscribe himself to its limited range. On the contrary, during the months that he was free of his class-room, he was employed as the missionary of the science in the cities, towns, and villages of Scotland, where he expounded the wonders of astronomy as earnestly to the peasantry and mechanics as to the most learned and scientific auditories. With the exception of Dr. Dick, author of the *Christian Philosopher*, no one perhaps has ever done more to popularize the sciences, and bring them down to the common understanding. His pen was equally active, and his astronomical works, the chief of which were the *Architecture of the Heavens*, the *Planet Neptune*, the *Cyclopædia of the Physical Sciences*, the *Solar System*, and the *Planetary System*, are still too widely known to require further notice.

Besides being learned in the exact sciences, Professor Nichol was distinguished by his general knowledge and great conversational power, exhibiting in the latter department all the eloquence and aptitude of illustration by which his writings and lectures were distinguished. After a life of such active usefulness and distinction, he died at Glenburn House, Rothesay, on the 19th of September, 1859, aged fifty-five years. He was twice married, and by his first wife, Miss Tullis, daughter of Mr. Tullis, publisher and printer, Cupar-Fife, he had an only son, John Nichol, B.A. Oxon, who now holds the professorship of English literature in the university of Glasgow.

NICHOLSON, PETER. This skilful architect, whose long life was one of continued usefulness, and whose scientific knowledge was constantly turned to practical results, was born in the parish of Prestonkirk, East Lothian, on the 20th of July, 1765. Even before he had reached his ninth year he had unconsciously chosen his future profession, as was manifested by his drawings and models of the numerous mills in the neighbourhood of Prestonkirk. When a young school-boy, his scientific tastes so strongly predominated, that mathematics formed the chief object of his study; and his proficiency was so much beyond his years, that, having on one occasion borrowed from an elder boy Commadine's *Euclid*, translated by Cann, in which the engraved diagrams of the eighteenth proposition of the third book were wanting, he supplied the loss by constructing them from the proposition itself. His ardour in these studies was only increased by the difficulty he experienced in obtaining or borrowing works upon the subjects of his inquiry.

At the age of twelve Peter Nicholson was taken from the parish school of Prestonkirk, where he had been a pupil for three years, that he might assist in the occupation of his father, who was a stone-mason. But having no liking for this uncongenial work, Peter betook himself to that of a cabinet-maker; and having served a four years' apprenticeship to it at Linton, he repaired to Edinburgh, and afterwards to London, working in both capitals as a journeyman. In the latter city he also commenced teaching at an evening-school in Berwick Street, Soho, and his success in this new profession enabled him to abandon the making of chairs and tables for more intellectual pursuits, as was shown by his first publication, *The Carpenter's New Guide*, in 1792, the plates of which were engraved by his own hand. In this work the originality and inventiveness by which he was afterwards distinguished were shown in his new method in the construction of groins and niches. His next productions in authorship were the *Stru-*

dent's Instructor, the *Joiner's Assistant*, and the *Principles of Architecture*—the last-mentioned work, in three volumes, 8vo, having commenced its serial appearance in 1794, and been completed in 1809.

After a residence of eleven years in London, Mr. Nicholson returned to Scotland in 1800, and dwelt eight years in Glasgow, a city already rising into eminence, and which his skill as an architect greatly aided to adorn and benefit. His chief works in Glasgow were the wooden bridge formerly across the Clyde; Carlton Place, which may be termed the commencement of these handsome modern residences in which the city is now so abundant; and the large structure that terminates the second quadrangle of the university.

The next residence of Mr. Nicholson was Carlisle, where, through the recommendation of his countryman Telford—who, like himself, had commenced life as a stone-mason—he was appointed architect of the county of Cumberland, and in this situation he superintended the building of the new court-houses in the county town. While here he also obtained rewards from the Society of Arts for an improvement in hand-railing, and for the invention of an instrument called the centrolinear. After remaining two years in Carlisle, he returned in 1810 to London, and resumed the work of authorship, in which his pen was both active and prolific, as appears by the list of his works at this period. These were, the *Architectural Dictionary*, in two volumes large quarto, the publication of which extended from 1812 to 1819; *Mechanical Exercises*, and the *Builder and Workman's New Director*. Besides these practical works connected with his own profession as an architect, Mr. Nicholson turned his attention to subjects of a more purely scientific character, and was author of the *Method of Increments*, *Essays on the Combinatorial Analysis*, *Essay on Invololution and Evolution* (for which he received the thanks of the Académie des Sciences at Paris), *Analytical and Arithmetical Essays*, and the *Rudiments of Algebra*. In 1827 he commenced the publication of a work entitled the *School of Architecture and Engineering*, which he designed to complete in twelve numbers at 1s. 6d. each; but in consequence of the bankruptcy of the publishers, only five numbers appeared. This failure, combined with the pecuniary loss it occasioned him, so annoyed Mr. Nicholson, that in 1829 he removed from London to Morpeth, and afterwards, in 1832, to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where his time was chiefly spent in teaching, for which purpose he opened a school in the Arcade; and in the production of various scientific works. Here, also, his well-established reputation procured his election as president and honorary member of several societies connected with architecture, civil engineering, and the fine arts. But notwithstanding such a long life of interesting and multifarious authorship, his pecuniary profits by no means kept pace with his merits; and while he was the means of enriching others by his discoveries and instructions, he obtained little else for his own share than the reputation of a highly-talented originator. His writings, twenty-seven in number, were thus justly characterized in a petition from the inhabitants of Newcastle to his majesty in 1835, for the grant of a pension to Nicholson from the privy-purse:—"The works of Peter Nicholson, while they have contributed to the advancement of knowledge, have tended to raise the English mechanic to that pre-eminence he has attained over the other artificers of Europe; and, while they have been honoured with the proudest marks of distinction by the various learned societies of this kingdom, have yet failed to produce to their author those benefits which are

necessary for his existence; and it must ever be a source of regret that an individual who, having devoted his best energies to the advancement of science, should be left at the close of a long and laborious life, and in his seventy-third year, to struggle in penury and want." This application to the royal bounty was made after an attempt of Nicholson's grateful friends in Newcastle had failed to raise for him an annuity by a general subscription. On this occasion the sum of £320 had been subscribed, which only sufficed for present emergencies. Mr. Nicholson left Newcastle for Carlisle in October, 1841, and died there, June 18, 1844, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was twice married. By his first wife, who died at Morpeth in 1832, he had one son, Michael Angelo, author of the *Carpenter and Joiner's Companion*, who died in 1842; by his second marriage Mr. Nicholson had a son and daughter, who survived him.

NICOLL, REV. ALEXANDER, D.C.L., canon of Christchurch, and regius professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, was the youngest son of John Nicoll, at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, where he was born, April 3, 1793. He was carefully reared by his parent in the principles of the Scottish Episcopal church; and, while little more than four years of age, was placed at a private school conducted by a Mr. Sivewright, where he received the first rudiments of learning. Two years afterwards he was put to the parish school, taught by Mr. Duff, who grounded him in classical literature. His behaviour at school was that of a modest, assiduous student, and nothing but a reprimand ever disturbed the composure which was natural to him. At this school his attainments were such as to attract the notice of the clergymen of the presbytery in the course of their professional visitations. In 1805 he removed to the grammar-school of Aberdeen, at which city his elder brother, Mr. Lewis Nicoll, advocate, was able to take charge of his personal conduct. At the commencement of the winter session of the same year he became a candidate for a bursary at the Marischal College, and obtained one of the smallest in the gift of that institution. He therefore attended the classes of Latin and Greek during the session 1805-6, at the close of which he gained the prize of the silver pen, always bestowed on the best scholar. This honour, being as usual announced in the provincial newspapers, caused him to be noticed by various eminent individuals as a young man of peculiar promise. Before the next session he had studied mathematics at home, and pursued a course of miscellaneous reading. Besides attending the classes formerly mentioned, he entered in 1806 that of mathematics, then taught by Dr. Hamilton, the well-known expositor of the national debt; and also attended the prelections of Mr. Beattie in natural and civil history. During the ensuing vacation he directed his attention to drawing, and produced several maps sketched in a very neat manner.

Soon after the commencement of his third college session in 1807, Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen, informed him that there was a vacancy at Balfol College, in one of the exhibitions upon Snell's foundation, which he thought might be obtained. By the advice of his elder brother he proceeded to Oxford, with a letter of recommendation from Bishop Skinner to Dr. Parsons, the master of the college, and was at once elected to the vacant exhibition. Having been put under the charge of a tutor (the Rev. Mr. Jenkyns), he commenced his studies with great eagerness, particularly in the department of Greek, where his chief

deficiency lay, and where he found himself, with only seven months' study of that language in a Scotch university, pitted against youths who had studied at the much superior schools of Oxford for three years. His native capacity and unwearied application soon placed him on a level with his companions, and a college life then began to have great charms for him. At Baliol he had the society of a little knot of Scottish students, partners with himself in the enjoyment of Snell's foundation, and among whom were several individuals afterwards distinguished in public life. For several years he prosecuted his studies with much diligence and success; and in 1811, after the usual examination, obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts. It was not till 1813 that he directed his attention to the languages of the East, in which he was destined to become so noted a proficient. In a letter to his brother dated in December that year, he says: "For the last year I have been chiefly engaged in the study of the oriental languages, the Hebrew, Arabic, and Persic, and occasionally the modern languages. I have latterly obtained some knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German. There is no place where there are finer opportunities for studying the oriental languages than in Oxford. The Bodleian Library, to which I have had access for the last two years, is said to be richer in that department than any other. I have lately been introduced to Dr. Winstanley, principal of Alban Hall, one of the best linguists in Oxford. I also know Dr. Macbride, who has lately been appointed principal of Magdalen Hall and lecturer in Arabic, who has already shown me great kindness." Soon after, on account of his knowledge of languages, particularly those of the East, he was appointed, without solicitation, one of the sub-librarians of the Bodleian, a situation which greatly favoured the progress of his studies.

In 1817 Mr. Nicoll received deacon's orders, and was appointed the curate of one of the churches in Oxford, where he had part of the duty to perform. This, however, did not in the least retard his studies, or his exertions in the Bodleian. On considering various circumstances in the history of this institution, he had marked out for himself a line of duty, by which he greatly benefited its interests and elevated his own reputation. He perceived that the enormous treasure of oriental manuscripts, about 30,000 in number, was in a great measure useless, from being imperfectly catalogued; and to remedy this defect he forthwith applied himself. He first drew up a catalogue of the manuscripts brought from the East by Dr. E. D. Clarke, and, by publishing it, at once established his fame as an orientalist of the first class. He then entered on the gigantic task of completing the general catalogue of the eastern manuscripts, which had been begun about a hundred years before by Uri, the celebrated Hungarian. The first fasciculus which he put forth of this work, embracing manuscripts in nearly a dozen different tongues, analyzing their contents, and estimating their merits in clear, forcible, and elegant Latin, diffused Nicoll's reputation throughout Europe, and brought him into acquaintance and correspondence with all the eminent orientalist at home and abroad. Every summer thereafter he visited the Continent in order to examine various celebrated collections; and ere he died, there was not one of any note which he had not seen. His epistolary correspondence with the eminent foreign literati was conducted chiefly in Latin, which he wrote with perfect facility; but his knowledge of the modern European languages was hardly less extraordinary than his oriental scholarship. He spoke and wrote with ease and

accuracy French, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, and Romain. In short, it was the common saying of the Oxonian common-rooms, that Nicoll could walk to the wall of China without need of an interpreter. In the midst of all the honours that were paid to him, and though his intercourse with so many distinguished men had given ease and elegance to his manners, he never lost the original modesty and reserve of his nature. It was forcibly said of him by an eminent scholar, after conversing with him, "Sir, he is not modest—he is modesty itself."

The time at length arrived when he was to receive a reward due to his great merits and exertions. In June, 1822, on the promotion of Dr. Richard Laurence to the archbishopric of Cashel, Nicoll was, without solicitation, appointed to the vacant chair of regius professor of oriental languages; the following being the letter in which Lord Liverpool announced the appointment:—

"*Fife House, 19th June, 1822.*

"SIR,—In consequence of the promotion of Dr. Laurence to the archbishopric of Cashel, the regius professorship of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, together with the canonry of Christchurch attached to it, becomes vacant. The high reputation which you have acquired as an oriental scholar, and the value attached to your labours, have induced his majesty to approve of you as Dr. Laurence's successor; and I can entertain no doubt that this mark of royal favour conferred upon you without solicitation, will be a strong inducement to you to persevere in those studies by which you have acquired so much credit, and to use your utmost endeavours to promote the study of oriental literature in the university of Oxford.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

"LIVERPOOL."

Nicoll was thus elevated from a salary of about £200 a year, and the comparatively humble situation of a sub-librarian in the Bodleian, to the enjoyment of £2000, and two of the highest dignities in the university. He soon after took the degree of D.C.L.

For some years Dr. Nicoll performed the duties of his high station with the greatest zeal and success, producing a considerable increase in the attendance of his class, and not neglecting at the same time the important task which he had undertaken at the Bodleian. He had nearly completed the catalogue, when, on the 24th of September, 1828, having previously weakened his constitution by intense study, he was cut off by an inflammation in the windpipe, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Dr. Nicoll was twice married; first, to a Danish lady, who died in 1825; secondly, to Sophia, daughter of the Rev. J. Parsons, the learned editor of the *Oxford Septuagint*, and by whom a memoir of Dr. Nicoll was prefixed to a posthumous volume of his sermons. By his second wife Dr. Nicoll had three daughters, who survived him. "This great scholar," said one of the journals in alluding to his death, "has left behind him a reputation which his family may well consider as their dearest treasure. While his attainments were of the first order, his personal character was without spot or blemish. He was virtuous in every relation of life; cheerful in poverty; humble in prosperity; sincere, kind, generous, and eminently pious."

NICOLL, ROBERT. The life of a poet born and nursed in poverty is generally continued in poverty to the close: his career is a struggle of want and privation, of which the end too often is nothing but defeat and disaster. Such was the history of Robert Nicoll, a poet of great promise, but whose career was

terminated before the promise was fulfilled: he was only shown to us, and then snatched away. He was the second son in a family of nine children, and was born at the farm of Little Tulliebeltane, in the parish of Auchtergaven, in Perthshire, on the 7th of January, 1814. At the time of his birth his father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances; but having rashly become security to the amount of £500 or £600 for a friend who failed, he was reduced to the condition of a day-labourer on the fields which he had formerly rented. It was one of those numerous cases in which Scottish caution is no match for Scottish clannishness. Not only was the worthy ex-farmer thus a sufferer, but his family also; for as fast as they grew up to active boyhood they were sent out to work for their living. Such was the fate of poor Robert Nicoll, who, when only seven years old, was employed in herding all summer, that he might be able to afford attendance at school during the months of winter. It was fortunate for him that with means of education so scanty and precarious, he had, in his mother, the best of all teachers. She taught him to cherish the love and practice of truth—to struggle boldly with adversity, that he might eat, however sparingly, the bread of independence—and, what was better still, she instructed him to rest his hopes and aspirations upon something nobler than mere earthly subsistence. These lessons, moreover, were given not merely in formal words, but also in living practice, for she too was frequently employed in field labour, to contribute her full share in the maintenance of the family, while she endured her hard fate not only with resignation but cheerfulness. When Scotland ceases to abound in such mothers, it will no longer have a history worth recording.

Having thus laid an educational foundation that could bear a superstructure however broad or weighty, Robert Nicoll found that he was fitted for something better than tending cattle. It had now done its good work, as he afterwards testified:—

"A wither'd woodland twig would bring
The tears into my eye:—
Laugh on! but there are souls of love
In laddies herding kye."

He bound himself apprentice to Mrs. J. H. Robertson, wine-merchant and grocer in Perth, and during the little spare time which his new duties allowed him he commenced the work of self-education in good earnest. For this purpose he purchased Cobbett's *English Grammar*, and did not rest till he had made himself master of its principles. He thus writes to his brother: "I am grown very industrious. I read in the morning while sluggards are snoring; all day I attend to my business; and in the fore-nights I learn my grammar." He thus also specifies the amount of his opportunities: "I am employed in working for my mistress from seven o'clock in the morning until nine at night, and I must therefore write when others sleep." His means of intellectual improvement were greatly facilitated by the kindness of a friend, who lent him his ticket to the Perth Library, and the books which he especially selected for study were such as showed the serious cast of his mind: they were Milton's prose works, Locke's works, and several of the writings of Jeremy Bentham, the last of which became his chief favourites. And that he was studying to purpose, the following extract from a letter to his mother will sufficiently attest: "I look upon the earth as a place where every man is set to struggle and to work, that he may be made humble and pure-hearted, and fit for that better land to which earth is the gate. I think, mother, that to me has been given talent; and if so, that

talent was given to make it useful to man. I am determined never to bend to the storm that is coming, and never to look back on it after it has passed. Fear not for me, dear mother; I feel that, whether I be growing richer or not, I am growing a wiser man, which is far better."

On finishing his apprenticeship, Nicoll repaired to Edinburgh; but not finding employment there, he opened a circulating library in Dundee, for which undertaking his affectionate mother lent him £20—to her an absolute fortune—the raising of which must have involved her in trying difficulties, but which he gave himself no rest until he had repaid. It was the year 1835, the year in which he became "of age," and by the character as well as amount of his labour, he soon showed how conscious he was of the duties of full-grown manhood. He became an extensive contributor to the newspapers of the liberal party in Dundee; he delivered political lectures; he made speeches at public meetings. It will be seen from these that he was an enthusiastic politician, as well as a devout believer in the fact that everything good in government can be made better still. But that species of intellectual labour by which he will be best and longest known, and with which we have most to do, consisted of poetry, of which he published a volume, under the title of *Songs and Lyrics*. The chief faults of these were, that they were written in many cases in the Scottish dialect, of which he had not full mastery—and that his language, when impassioned, overflowed into redundancy. Had he lived longer, it is probable that a more matured experience would have induced him to abandon the former, and correct the latter error. Even as it is, however, these poems are admirable, considering that they were written at such an early period: they strike those key-notes of the heart which matured age cannot always reach, but to which old age as well as youth can gladly listen. Indeed, the character and spirit of his poesy, so gentle, so thoughtful, and devout, and withal so imbued with deep truthful feeling, are perhaps best embodied and illustrated in the following extract:—

"The green leaves waving in the morning gale—
The little birds that 'mid their freshness sing—
The wild-wood flowers, so tender-ey'd and pale—
The wood-mouse sitting by the forest spring—
The morning dew—the wild bee's woodland hum,
All woo my feet to nature's forest home.

"There I can muse, away from living men,
Reclining peacefully on Nature's breast—
The wood-bird sending up its God-ward strain,
Nursing the spirit into holy rest!
Alone with God, within this forest fane,
The soul can feel that all save Him is vain.

"Here I can learn—*will* learn—to love all things
That He hath made—to pity and forgive
All faults, all failings. Here the earth's deep springs
Are open'd up, and all on earth who live
To me grow nearer, dearer than before—
My brother loving, I my God adore."

There were times, however, when the heart of Nicoll, otherwise so gentle, could express its feelings in the most indignant outburst. In proof of this we have only to allude to his *Bacchanalian*, a wild, but eloquent and heart-rending appeal in behalf of the poor, on account of the reckless intemperance with which the pangs of starvation and the precariousness of utter poverty are too generally accompanied.

The shop which Nicoll opened as a circulating library gave little promise of success: an attachment, also, which he had formed for a young and amiable woman, whom he wished to make his partner in life, induced him to seek more remunerative occupation, for which he had already shown himself to be fully qualified. He therefore left Dundee in 1836, and

was soon after appointed editor to the *Leeds Times*, through the kind interposition of Mr. Tait, the Edinburgh publisher. He now considered himself settled for life, so that after a short continuance in Leeds he ventured, at the close of 1836, to bid adieu to the love of change, by becoming a married man. Everything now wore the rose-hue of happiness: he had a delightful home and an affectionate partner to animate him in his literary duties; and these duties were so successful, that the journal which he conducted was weekly increasing in circulation. But a cankerworm was at the root of this fair-spreading gourd, and even already it was about to wither. The origin of this is to be found more or less in the nature of provincial journalism over the whole of Britain. Although the *Leeds Times* was a large weekly paper, filled within and without, and so ably managed that its circulation was increasing at the rate of 200 subscribers per week, the salary it afforded was nothing more than £100 per annum. Thus it is that the great political *Jupiter Tonans* of a county town, whose *W*e seems to "shake the spheres," is often the miserable thrall of a knot of shareholders, whose only aim is to secure a large dividend at the smallest amount of outlay; and thus he is compelled to occupy a position in society for which his income is totally inadequate. It is, in short, the very perfection of poverty, because the show of respectability eats up the substance: the larder is empty, that the neat drawing-room may be kept up. All this Robert Nicoll soon experienced; and although he was already overtoiled with the labours of his journal, which he performed without an assistant, he found that additional toil must be endured to meet the necessary expenditure of his station. He therefore undertook, in the spring of 1837, the task of writing the leading articles of a journal newly started in Sheffield; and this, with his duties in the *Leeds Times*, which he continued without abatement, soon turned the balance. His health gave way, and his constitution was broken. He continued to struggle on, and perhaps might have rallied for a new life of exertion, for as yet he had only entered his twenty-third year, but the general parliamentary election in the summer of 1837 interposed, in which the representation of Leeds was contested between Sir John Becket and Sir William Molesworth; Nicoll espoused the cause of the latter, and entered the contest with such ardour that his health was injured beyond recovery. Unable any longer to toil at the editorial desk, he returned to Scotland, in the hope that his native air would cure him; but after a few months of painful lingering he died at Laverock Bank, near Edinburgh, on the 9th of December, 1837. It is gratifying to know that his last days were soled by the kindness of influential friends, whom his genius and virtues had deeply interested in his behalf. After his death a complete edition of his poems was published by Mr. Tait, with a biographical sketch prefixed, from which, and a short article in *Tait's Magazine* by Ebenezer Elliott, we have derived the foregoing particulars.

NIMMO, ALEXANDER, F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A. Among the members of a profession so congenial to the intellectual character of Scotland as that of a civil engineer, Alexander Nimmo deservedly holds an honoured place. He was born at Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, in 1783. His father, who was distinguished in his own sphere by remarkable talents and acquirements, had originally been a watchmaker, but afterwards kept a hardware store. Alexander's education was commenced at the grammar-school of his native town, afterwards continued for two years at

the university of St. Andrews, and completed at the university of Edinburgh. The result was, that besides being an accomplished scholar in Latin and Greek, he was distinguished for his proficiency in algebra and the higher branches of mathematics. The latter departments, however, by which he was ultimately to be brought into notice, employed the greater part of his attention.

As early occupation was necessary for his limited means, Alexander Nimmo, at the age of nineteen, was obliged to commence the business of life as a schoolmaster. This commencement was honourable to his talents, as well as predictive of his future distinction; for it was as rector of the academy of Inverness, a situation laid open to public competition, which he won by a unanimous vote of the trustees, after an examination of three days, where he had several candidates of high talent for competitors. In this situation his scientific attainments were so highly estimated by Mr. Telford, that the latter recommended him to the parliamentary commission appointed for fixing and determining the boundaries of the Scottish counties. On being employed on this arduous scientific duty Mr. Nimmo accomplished it during the vacations in a manner that gave complete satisfaction. This was attested by a further recommendation of Mr. Telford in his behalf, to the commissioners for reclaiming the bogs of Ireland, by whom he was appointed to the survey. Mr. Nimmo accordingly repaired thither, and not only constructed an admirable series of maps and reports upon the subject, but thoroughly acquainted himself with the character, manners, and necessities of the Irish peasantry, and the best modes of alleviating their poverty. After this survey was finished he made a tour through France, Germany, and Holland, to inspect public works, especially those connected with his new profession.

In consequence of the able manner in which Mr. Nimmo had discharged these public duties, fresh occupations were poured upon him, by which his whole life became one of continual action. The first of these upon his return from the continental tour was the construction of Dunmore harbour, a work of immense difficulty, in consequence of the great depth of water and the heavy roll of the Atlantic to which that coast is exposed. After this followed a commission, in which he was employed by the Fishery Board to make surveys of the harbours of Ireland, and construct harbours and piers all round the coast. Another office connected with this duty, and in which he was employed by the Ballast Board, was to make a chart of the whole coast, which he executed with his usual ability and accuracy. He also compiled a book of sailing directions for St. George's Channel and the Irish coast—a work of high utility in a navigation at that time so imperfectly known, and so full of danger. His services in behalf of Ireland did not here terminate; for, during the great distress of that country in 1822, he was appointed engineer of the western district. The experience which he had formerly acquired while surveying the Irish bogs with a view to their cultivation, was now brought into active practical use; and between the year already mentioned and 1830 he caused £167,000 to be expended in reclaiming waste land, improving what was as yet but partially cultivated, and establishing new settlements, upon which the destitute peasantry were located and employed. The increase of the revenue of that district to the amount of £106,000 per annum was the result of these labours and provident outlay, independently of the industry and comfort which they created, and the moral improvement of the population.

The labours of Mr. Nimmo as a civil engineer, extending to the year 1832, are thus briefly enumerated in the notices of his professional career. Besides his surveys in Scotland and Ireland, above thirty piers or harbours were built upon the Irish coast under his direction. He also designed the Wellesley bridge and docks at Limerick. He superintended the construction of the harbour at Perth Cawl in South Wales. Latterly he was engaged in Lancashire in projecting a railway from Liverpool to Leeds, and also employed upon the Manchester, Bolton, and Bury Railway.

These tasks, which occupied a life of no long continuance, left Mr. Nimmo little time to distinguish himself in authorship, notwithstanding his numerous attainments and ardent love of science in general; and therefore his productions in this way were miscellaneous treatises rather than formal volumes. He wrote an occasional paper for the various periodicals, in which he unbent his mind from the more severe studies of his profession. He also published an article in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*,

showing how the science of geology might be made available in navigation. He was author of the article in *Brewster's Cyclopædia* on "Inland Navigation." He wrote, jointly with Mr. Telford, the article on "Bridges;" and with Mr. Nicholson that on "Carpentry." The evidence he delivered on the trial between the Corporation of Liverpool and the Medway Company, which has been published, was also greatly admired by mathematicians and engineers, as containing a sound and practical elucidation of the scientific principles of their profession.

As Mr. Nimmo's first success in life was owing to his accomplishments as a scholar, his early love of literature continued with him to the close. His acquirements therefore were extensive, so that besides being well acquainted with the classical languages, he was master of French, German, Dutch, and Italian; he was also thoroughly skilled in the sciences of practical astronomy, chemistry, and geology. He died at Dublin, on the 20th of January, 1832, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

O.

OGILVIE, JOHN, D.D., a poet and miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1733. His father was one of the ministers of Aberdeen, and he received his education in the Marischal College in that city. Having qualified himself as a preacher, he was settled, in the year 1759, as minister of the parish of Midmar, in Aberdeenshire, where he continued to exercise his useful duties till the close of his life, in 1814. With the exception of the publication of a book and an occasional visit to London, the life of Dr. Ogilvie was marked by hardly any incident. The list of his works is as follows: *The Day of Judgment*, a poem, 1758; a second edition of the same with additional poems, 1759; *Poems on Several Subjects*, 1762; *Providence, an Allegorical Poem*, 1763; *Solitude, or the Elysium of the Poets, a Vision*, 1765; *Paradise*, a poem, and two volumes of poems on several subjects, 1760; *Philosophical and Critical Observations on the Nature, Character, and various Species of Composition*, 1774; *Rome*, a poem, 1775; *An Inquiry into the Causes of Infidelity and Scepticism in all Times*, 1783; *The Theology of Plato compared with the Principles of the Oriental and Grecian Philosophy*, 1793; *Britannia*, an epic poem, in twenty books, 1801; and *An Examination of the Evidence from Prophecy in behalf of the Christian Religion*, 1802.

The name of Ogilvie is certainly not unknown to fame; yet it cannot be said that any of his numerous works has maintained a place in the public eye. To account for this, one of his biographers makes the following remarks: "Ogilvie, with powers far above the common order, did not know how to use them with effect. He was an able man lost. His intellectual wealth and industry were wasted in huge and unhappy speculations. Of all his books there is not one which, as a whole, can be expected to please the general reader. Noble sentiments, brilliant conceptions, and poetic graces may be culled in profusion from the mass; but there is no one production in which they so predominate (if we except some of his minor pieces) as to induce it to be selected for a happier fate than the rest. Had the same talent which Ogilvie threw away on a number of objects

been concentrated on one, and that one chosen with judgment and taste, he might have rivalled in popularity the most renowned of his contemporaries."¹

OGILVIE, JOHN, LL.D. This talented and industrious pioneer in literature, whose labours were so available for its progress, and whose worth was more in substance than show, was the son of a small farmer, and was born in the parish of Mar-noch, Banffshire, in 1797. He was one of a family of six children, who were taught reading at home, and there also received careful moral and religious training, while made useful in farm labours as soon as their strength permitted. The subject of our memoir, after receiving additional instruction for two quarters at a parish school, went out as a farm-servant, and soon became a stout and skilful ploughman. When a boy he had been noted for an insatiable thirst for information, and for asking questions which few who heard them could answer; and in farm service most of his spare time was given to reading, when books were accessible. At the age of twenty-one, in the exercise of his employment, he met with an accidental injury which forced him, after much severe suffering, to submit to the amputation of one of his legs. Unfitted now for farm-labour, he supported himself, for a few years, by teaching a subscription-school in a rural district, eagerly gathering knowledge wherever he could reach it, making considerable unaided progress in mathematics, and often expressing to a friend his regret that he had not got a classical education. Encouraged by this friend he began the study of Latin; and his progress showed how disaster or deprivation, instead of damping the ardour of a brave heart, will stimulate its efforts, and accelerate its progress. In the short space of sixteen months, chiefly by self-teaching, and although conducting his school for three-fourths of the period, he made such progress that, in October, 1824, he gained a high bursary at Marischal College, Aberdeen. Although we use the term *high*, it is in the sense of

¹ *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen*, ii. 137.

university honour merely, for the bursary, measured by pounds, shillings, and pence, was a very small modicum. Such as it was, however, it was enough, aided by a little private teaching, to clear off his college and other expenses, and carry him through his curriculum until he took the degree of A.M. A few years afterwards, on a teachership in Gordon's Hospital, Aberdeen, becoming vacant, he presented himself as candidate for the appointment, and carried it by comparative trial over several others whose qualifications were above the common standard. The lame peasant had having thus fought his way to a comfortable position in society, could employ his leisure hours in those occupations to which his bias directed him, and in which he could win emolument as well as literary distinction.

The commencement of John Ogilvie in authorship was as a poet; and in the local press several of his contributions appeared, especially *Imitations of Horace in the Scottish Garb*, which attracted considerable attention. His ambition in this attempt had probably been awakened by the example of Allan Ramsay, whose Scottish paraphrase of the *Mæneas atavis editæ regibus* of Horace must be known to most of our readers. But although an enthusiast in poetry, and an absolute worshipper of Burns, he was fitted for a higher distinction than that of a fourth-rate poet, or an occasional contributor to provincial magazines and newspapers—and it was perhaps as well for him that the current of his genius and great acquirements was turned into another direction.

While Messrs. Blackie & Son were publishing an edition of Stackhouse's *History of the Bible*, some contributions were sent by Mr. Ogilvie, which were of such a suggestive and satisfactory character, that he was requested to continue his communications; and when the work was completed, the publishers entered into arrangements with him to prepare an English dictionary for popular use. This publication was to be mainly an abridgment of Webster's dictionary; but after many months had been expended in the task, it became evident both to editor and publishers that a more ample work than any abridgment could produce was required. The great and acknowledged desideratum of the day was a complete English and technological dictionary, and nothing less would have proved satisfactory. In consequence of this conviction, the work already done was laid aside, and Mr. Ogilvie commenced anew upon a greatly enlarged and more comprehensive plan. The result of ten years' unremitting labour and research was the "*Imperial Dictionary*, English, Technological, and Scientific." In recognition of the great merits of the *Imperial Dictionary* the Senatus Academicus of Marischal College, Aberdeen, conferred upon Mr. Ogilvie the degree of LL.D. The success of this work, and the direction it had given to his studies, was naturally followed by other cognate productions, in which he was employed during the rest of his life, comprising the long period of thirty years. During the earlier part of it he spent as much time upon these philological occupations as was consistent with his duties in Gordon's Hospital; and after his retirement from that institution, his whole time and that of several assistants was devoted to the works in question.

Of the first and greatest of these works—the *Imperial Dictionary*—something more than a passing notice is necessary. Notwithstanding the great and acknowledged merits of Webster's dictionary, which was adopted as the basis of the *Imperial*, it is not abreast of the present condition of literature, science, and art: many additions and emendations had there-

fore to be introduced, and many Americanisms thrown out. These additions alone amount to 15,000 words, terms, and phrases, which were still further augmented by 20,000 in the "Supplement." In the *Imperial Dictionary*, also, the technical and scientific terms were revised by scientific and practical men who had devoted themselves to the several departments of science and art committed to them for revision, and who besides verifying the definitions of the terms included by Dr. Ogilvie, supplied a number of additional terms, many of them of recent origin. On the appearance of the *Imperial Dictionary*, it was universally welcomed as an invaluable contribution to our literature, and critical journals of every class were loud in its praise. It was pronounced not only the best existing English dictionary, but, so far as the actual state of knowledge permitted, to have made some approach towards perfection. "The extent and value of his labours," writes an experienced practical educationist, "can be appreciated only by those who are acquainted with the condition of English lexicography before the appearance of the *Imperial Dictionary*. Todd's edition of Johnson and Richardson's dictionary were practically the only works of authority in this department available for the students of English. But both of these works, admirable as they are, are limited in their scope; the former confining itself to the definition of common words, with illustrative extracts, while the latter essentially is simply a dictionary of derivations and extracts. In the *Imperial Dictionary* Dr. O. may be said to have inaugurated a new era in this branch of literature, not so much by his modifications and improvements on Webster's, and his addition of many thousands of new words, as by his having combined in it the characteristics of a word-book of the highest class, with those of a succinct but accurate and scientific encyclopedia."

The *Imperial Dictionary* was published in parts, and first appeared in its complete form in 1850, but long before that period the necessity for a "Supplement" to it became apparent. Among the myriads of words defined and explained it was inevitable that many should be omitted; many new terms had sprung up in science and art; and it was considered desirable to introduce such obsolete words contained in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, as had not been included in the dictionary, as also the Scottish words contained in the writings of Burns and Sir Walter Scott. These alone made an addition of 20,000 words, terms, and phrases to the original work. This labour of compilation occupied six additional years before the "Supplement" was finished, and as in the case of the larger work, it underwent a careful revision by writers versed in the different departments of science and art, who also contributed and defined many additional terms.

In 1863 appeared Dr. Ogilvie's "*Comprehensive English Dictionary*, Explanatory, Pronouncing, and Etymological," which is to a large extent a condensation and abridgment of the *Imperial*. In this work the department of pronunciation was confided to the care of Mr. Richard Cull, F.S.A., London. Although less extensive in its range, it retains the principal features of the larger work, and is valuable not only as an English dictionary, but as a work of general reference on miscellaneous subjects.

In 1865 was published the "*Student's English Dictionary*, Etymological, Pronouncing, and Explanatory." In this work the best evidence of Dr. Ogilvie's tact and versatility will be found in accommodating himself to the intellectual requirements of the public. Its appearance was met with universal approval. It was hailed as a great advance beyond any dictionary

of the kind previously published, and has taken its place as a standard. In the *Student's Dictionary* the etymology is more carefully elaborated than in either of the two preceding works, while the meanings are arranged in their natural order of sequence more logically than in any previous dictionary whatsoever, the root meaning being regularly placed the first.

In all these three dictionaries illustrative engravings, inserted in the text, are extensively employed as a means of elucidating significations not otherwise easy of comprehension. The *Imperial Dictionary* was the first in which this useful element was recognized since the days of Bailey.

The last work produced by Dr. Ogilvie was an "*English Dictionary, Etymological, Pronouncing, and Explanatory, for the use of Schools,*" which was published in 1867. It stands in the same relation to the *Student's Dictionary* as the *Comprehensive* does to the *Imperial*, being a succinct and successful abridgment. It was pronounced the most comprehensive and intelligible of all school dictionaries. In all these works, which are so extensively known and highly prized, it is perhaps unnecessary to add that there is abundant proof of Dr. Ogilvie's ability, scholarship, extensive reading, sound judgment, and patient industry. In the preparation of the two lesser dictionaries it is just to add that he received much valuable assistance from Mr. John Wilson, A.M. From this list the nature of Ogilvie's authorship will be seen, as well as the variety of his talents and his unwearied industry, which had thus found an outlet in the way most suited for it. His productions are a literary life-task which few would have dared to face, and which not one litterateur in a thousand could have done so well. Still, with ardour undiminished, he was employed upon a new edition of his great work the *Imperial Dictionary*, when death unexpectedly arrested the brain that had toiled so unweariedly and the hand that had written so much.

Little remains to be added to this brief memoir of Ogilvie. He remained in office in Gordon's Hospital for about thirty years, and in his situation of teacher acquitted himself so satisfactorily, that about eight years before his death, when he retired from office, he was presented by his pupils with a substantial token of their gratitude. During his long tenure of office not only his zeal as a teacher, but his quaint sayings and caustic jokes, had won upon their esteem. He was a man of very retiring manners, yet he was distinguished by his social qualities in company, though sometimes thought misanthropical by those who did not know him, or were unable to appreciate his dry humour. With his life of intellectual toil is also to be taken into account his health, which had never been vigorous after the accident above referred to, and the fact that for many years before his death he was almost blind. In recognition of the boon he had conferred on the nation at large by the eminently useful character of his literary labours, an application was made by his friends to obtain for him a pension on the civil list; but although the application was made by leading men of all sects and parties, it did not meet with the response which might well have been expected. He was seized with typhoid fever in the midst of his literary labours, and after two months of suffering died at Strawberry Bank, Aberdeen, on the 21st of November, 1867, aged seventy years.

OGILVY, JOHN, a poet and geographer, was born in the year 1600 at or near Edinburgh. While he was very young his parents removed with him to London, where his father, some time after, fell into debt, and was confined in the King's Bench Prison.

Notwithstanding family misfortunes the subject of this memoir was able to pick up a slender knowledge of Latin grammar. What is still more to his praise, he put himself apprentice to a teacher of dancing, and with the first money he procured from his master freed his father from confinement. A sprain which he got in dancing at a masque put a temporary stop to his career in this profession and made him slightly lame ever after, yet he is found to have been retained by the celebrated Earl of Strafford as teacher of dancing in his lordship's family, at the same time that he accompanied the earl to Ireland as one of his troop of guards. At this time he wrote a humorous piece, entitled the *Character of a Trooper*. Under favour of the Earl of Strafford he became in time Master of Revels, and built a theatre in Dublin. The civil war, however, which had made shipwreck of the fortunes of his patron, seems to have also blasted the prospects of Ogilvy, who, about the time of its conclusion, arrived in a necessitous condition in London, and soon after applied himself at Cambridge to remedy the defects of his original education. In the latter object he succeeded so far as to be able to publish, in 1649, his translation of Virgil into English verse; which was followed in 1660 by a similar version of Homer. In 1651 he produced the *Fables of Æsop Paraphrased in Verse*, in a quarto volume, with commendatory verses prefixed by Sir William Davenant, and James Shirley, the dramatic poet. Four years afterwards he published another volume of translations from Æsop, with some fables of his own. Ogilvy was a fertile writer of original verses. We are fortunately saved the trouble of making an estimate of his literary character, by Winstanley, whose panegyric, utterly preclusive of all rivalry, is as follows:—"John Ogilvy was one who, from a late initiation into literature, made such progress as might well style him the prodigy of his time; sending into the world so many *large volumes*; his translations of Homer and Virgil, *done to the life*, and with *such excellent sculptures*; and, what added *great grace to his works*, he printed them all on *special good paper* and of a *very good letter*." Miserable as his translation of Homer is allowed to have been, it was a favourite of Pope in his younger days, and it is impossible to say to what extent we may be indebted for the beautiful versions of the latter writer to the early bias thus given to his taste. It is also to be mentioned to the honour of Ogilvy, that the elegance of the typography of his translations was in a great measure owing to his own exertions for the improvement of that art. The engravings, moreover, which he caused to be executed for his Virgil were of such superior merit for their time, as to be afterwards employed in illustrating an edition of the original poet, and subsequently for the decoration of Dryden's translation. At the Restoration our author was replaced in his situation of master of the revels in Ireland, and once more erected his theatre in the capital of that kingdom. His chief attention, however, seems to have been now devoted to the composition of an epic poem, entitled the *Carolies*, in honour of Charles I., the manuscript of which was lost in the great fire of London when his house was burned down. He immediately commenced reprinting all his former publications, and sold them, as he had previously done, by means of a lottery, whereby he now raised £4210, which enabled him to set up a printing-office, for the purpose of producing geographical works, he having received the appointment of cosmographer and geographic printer to the king. In this capacity he projected a general atlas of the world, of which he only lived to complete the parts descriptive of China, Japan,

Africa, Persia, Britain, &c. He also produced several topographical works, one of which, entitled the *Traveller's Guide*, describing the roads of Eng-

land from his own actual survey, was long a well-known and serviceable book. Mr. Ogilvy concluded an active, and upon the whole useful, life, in 1676.

P.

PANTHER, DAVID (whose name is diversely spelled Panter and Paniter), a learned diplomatic character of the sixteenth century, was descended from an ancient family near Montrose. He successively held the ecclesiastical offices of vicar of Carstairs, prior of St. Mary's Isle, commendator of Cambuskenneth, and Bishop of Ross, and in the latter part of the reign of James V., and for some years later, was principal secretary of state. In this latter character he wrote many official letters to foreign courts, which have been highly praised for the extraordinary elegance of their Latinity. In 1722 Ruddiman published two well-known volumes, entitled *Epistole Jacobi Quarti, Quinti, et Marie Regine Scotorum, eorumque Tutorum et Regni Gubernatorum, ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Civitates et Alios, ab Anno 1505 ad Annum 1545*; of which the whole of the second is the composition of David Panther, while the first contains letters written in a similar official character, by Patrick Panther, his near relation.

Panther subsequently acted for seven years as ambassador of Scotland at the French court. After a life distinguished by high services, but it appears by no great purity of morals, he died at Stirling, October 1, 1558.

PARK, MUNGO, the distinguished African traveller, whose name became a household word, was born at Fowlshiels, in Selkirkshire, September 10, 1771. His father, who rented the farm of Fowlshiels from the Duke of Buccleuch, had thirteen children, of whom Mungo was the seventh. Notwithstanding his limited resources he kept a private tutor in his house for the education of his family; and of the advantage of this arrangement the subject of the present memoir largely partook. He was afterwards sent to the grammar-school of Selkirk, where he made astonishing progress, not so much by his ready talents, as by his remarkable perseverance and application; and, despite of many disadvantages, uniformly kept the place of *dux*, or head of his class. This early devotion to study and aptitude of acquirement, together with his thoughtful and reserved disposition, seemed to his father to point out the church as his future profession, but upon his son's expressing a decided preference for that of medicine, he at once agreed, and bound him apprentice for three years to Mr. Thomas Anderson, surgeon in Selkirk. At the close of his indenture, in 1789, being then eighteen years of age, he went to Edinburgh, and attended the classes for three successive sessions, continuing to exhibit the same thirst of knowledge, and unwearied application to all the studies connected with his profession, particularly botany. In the latter he is said to have been greatly assisted and encouraged by a brother-in-law, Mr. James Dickson, who, from an origin even more humble and obscure than that of Park himself, subsequently raised himself to fame and fortune, and became celebrated as one of the first botanists in the kingdom. He had gone to London in search of employment as a journeyman gardener, and procured

an engagement in that humble capacity with a nurseryman at Hammersmith, where he had the good fortune to attract the notice of Sir Joseph Banks, to whose kind friendship and patronage he was mainly indebted for his future success and celebrity.

After qualifying himself in his profession at Edinburgh, young Park went to London in search of employment, and was very speedily appointed assistant-surgeon on board the *Worcester*, East Indiaman, through the interest of Sir Joseph Banks, to whom Mr. Dickson had introduced him. Mr. Park showed himself every way worthy of this appointment, and made an adequate return to his distinguished patron, by the valuable observations and discoveries he made in botany and other branches of natural history, in a voyage to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra. On his return in 1794, being then only twenty-three years old, he had the honour of reading a paper before the Linnæan Society in London, giving a description of eight new species of fishes he had observed in Sumatra, which was afterwards published in the *Transactions* of the society.

After leaving the *Worcester*, Mr. Park appears to have had no certain or fixed views as to his future career, but his talents and genius had already distinguished him too much to allow him to remain long unemployed. The wealthy and scientific Association for the Promotion of Discovery through the Interior of Africa were at that time preparing to send out an expedition, with the view of endeavouring to trace the course of the Niger, and procuring every information relative to the great central city of Timbuctoo, of which little more than the name was then known. Sir Joseph Banks, one of the leading men of the association, immediately pointed out Park as one peculiarly eligible for taking the management of the expedition, and the offer being accordingly made to him, was eagerly accepted. He immediately prepared himself, therefore, for the task, being liberally supplied, according to his own statement, with the means of furnishing himself with everything he reckoned necessary, and sailed from Portsmouth on the 22d of May, 1795, in the brig *Endeavour*. His instructions were to proceed to the Niger by the nearest and most convenient route, and endeavour to trace its course, from its rise to its termination; as also to visit, if possible, all the principal towns and cities on its banks, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa, and afterwards return to Europe by the river Gambia, or any other way he thought advisable. He arrived at Jillifica, in the kingdom of Barra, and lying on the northern bank of the Gambia, on the 21st of June; and after proceeding up the river as far as Jonkakonda, he quitted the *Endeavour*, and proceeded by land to a small British factory which had been established at Pisania, in the King of Yam's territories, where he took up his residence for a short time with Dr. Laidley. He immediately applied himself to the study of the Mandingo tongue, and to collect all the information possible relative to the various people and countries in the interior, preparatory to his journey. In consequence, however, of exposure to the night dew

while observing an eclipse of the moon in the month of July, he was seized with fever, attended with delirium, which brought him almost to the grave; nor was he sufficiently recovered to commence his journey till December. On the 2d of that month he set out, having for his escort a negro servant, named Johnson, who had resided many years in Great Britain and understood both the English and Mandingo languages, as a guide and interpreter; a negro boy belonging to Dr. Laidley, and whom that gentleman promised to set free on his return, in the event of his good conduct; with four others, not immediately under his control, but who were made to understand that their own safety depended upon their fidelity to him. It may be interesting also to notice the nature and value of his equipments for a journey of such length, peril, and importance. These consisted of a horse for himself, two asses for his servants, provisions for two days, a small assortment of beads, amber, and tobacco, a few changes of linen and other apparel, an umbrella, a pocket-sexant, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, two fowling-pieces, two pairs of pistols, and a few other trifling articles. Such were all the means of sustenance, comfort, and safety, with which this intrepid man was provided for an expedition the duration of which it was out of his power to calculate, but whose route, he well knew, lay in some places through pathless deserts, where neither tree grew nor water ran, and beset with beasts of prey; in others, through the territories of barbarous tribes, from whose inhospitality or savage dispositions he had scarcely less to fear.

At the very outset an event occurred which seemed to bode ill for the result of his journey. Dr. Laidley, and a few other of the Europeans at Pisania, having escorted him during the first two days, bade him adieu, convinced that they would never see him more; and scarcely were they out of sight when he was surrounded by a horde of native banditti, from whom he only got free by surrendering the greater part of his small store of tobacco. Park, however, was not a man to be depressed by evil auguries, and he accordingly pushed on to Medina, the capital of Woolli, where the king, a benevolent old man, received him with much kindness, and furnished him with a trusty guide to the frontiers of his dominions. Our traveller then engaged three elephant-hunters as guides and water-bearers through the sandy desert which lay before him, where water was frequently not to be found for several days together. He performed the journey in safety, but after much fatigue, and reached Fatteconda, the residence of the King of Bondon, situated upon the very frontiers of his dominions, adjoining the kingdom of Kajaaga. It was at Fatteconda, and at the hands of the same chief, that Park's predecessor in enterprise, Major Houghton, had received such ill-usage, and was plundered of almost everything he possessed; but the only article he exacted from Park, and that not by force but by such warm and animated expressions of admiration as left our traveller no alternative to choose, was his new blue coat, with gilt buttons, in return for which he presented him with five drachms of gold. From Fatteconda he proceeded to Joag, the frontier town of Kajaaga, travelling in the nighttime for fear of robbers, and through thickets abounding with wolves and hyenas, which glided across their silent path in the clear moonshine, and hung round the small party with yells and howlings, as if watching an opportunity to spring upon them. At Joag, and whilst preparing to proceed on his journey, he was honoured by a visit from the king's son, who plundered him of the half of his little stores, on pre-

tence of his having forfeited all his property by entering the kingdom without leave. As a sort of consolation for this disaster, and whilst appeasing his hunger with a few ground-nuts which a poor negro slave had given him in charity, he was waited upon by the nephew of the King of Kasson, who had been at Kajaaga on an embassy, and who, taking pity on him, offered to escort him to his uncle's capital, to which he was now returning, and which lay in the line of our traveller's route. After crossing the river Senegal, however, which was the boundary of Kasson, his royal guide left him, having first taken from him the half of the little property he had left. A few days after this Park, for the first time, had an opportunity of observing the manners of the barbarous and untutored natives of Africa in all their primitive simplicity and unchecked ardour. They came to a village which was the birth-place of one of his faithful escort, a blacksmith that had accompanied him from Pisania, and who was now about to leave him, having amassed a considerable deal of money in his profession on the coast, and resolving to spend the rest of his days in ease and independence amongst his family and friends. The meeting which ensued was characterized by the most extravagant demonstrations of joy and triumph, and Park was convinced that, "whatever difference there is between the negro and European in the conformation of the nose and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature."

With these warm-hearted villagers our traveller rested for a day or two, and then proceeded to Kooniakary, where the king, a worthy old man who was greatly beloved by his subjects, received him with much kindness. From this point new perils beset Mr. Park's further progress, in consequence of war breaking out between the people of Bambarra, to which kingdom his course was directed, and other tribes, through whose territories he had to pass on his way thither. He nevertheless persevered, although even his faithful negro Johnson, who was aware of the dangers he was running into, refused to accompany him farther. They parted accordingly at Jarra, in the kingdom of Ludimar (the people of which, as well as of the neighbouring nations, were found to be Mahometans), and Mr. Park, having intrusted Johnson with a copy of his journal to carry back with him to Pisania, set out for the camp of Ali at Benowm, accompanied only by Dr. Laidley's slave-boy and a messenger who had arrived from Ali to conduct him thither. On the way he suffered great privations, and was repeatedly beaten and robbed by the fanatical Moors, to whom he was an object of peculiar detestation as a Christian. All the sufferings and insults which he had yet undergone, however, were nothing to what he was doomed to endure while in the power of the tyrant Ali. His appearance at Benowm excited the greatest astonishment and consternation amongst the inhabitants, scarcely one of whom had ever seen a white man before. When taken before Ali, the latter was engaged in the dignified occupation of clipping his beard with a pair of scissors, and paid little regard to him; but the ladies of the court fully maintained the character of their sex for inquisitiveness, searched his pockets, opened his waistcoat to examine his white skin, and even counted his toes and fingers to make sure of his being human. It would occupy far more space than the limits of this memoir will allow, to detail the innumerable and unremitting sufferings of our unfortunate countryman during his detention at this place. The unfeeling tyrant would neither permit him to depart, nor grant him any protection from the per-

secution of the fanatical rabble. He was beat, reviled, compelled to perform the meanest offices, frequently on the point of starvation, and was often necessitated to sleep in the open air. All his baggage was taken from him to deter him from running away, with the exception of a pocket compass, which was supposed to be the work of magic, from the needle always pointing in the same direction, and was therefore returned to him. At last it began to be debated how he was to be disposed of—some advising that he should be put to death, others that his right hand should be cut off, and another party that his eyes should be put out. Park's health at length gave way under the accumulated horrors of his situation, and he was seized with a fever and delirium, which brought him to the brink of the grave. Yet even in this extremity his persecutors never desisted from their cruelties, and tormented him like some obnoxious animal for their amusement. Perhaps the strongest proof that can be given of the extent of his sufferings at this time, and of the deep and lasting impression they made on his mind, is the fact, that years afterwards, subsequent to his return to Scotland, and while residing with his family on the peaceful banks of the Tweed, he frequently started up in horror from his sleep, imagining himself still in the camp of Ali at Benownm. But perhaps nothing gave our traveller so much permanent grief as the fate of his faithful slave-boy Demba, whom Ali impressed into his service as a soldier, and who had conceived a great affection for Mr. Park, who describes their parting as very affecting.

After a month's residence at Benownm Ali removed to Jarra, back to which place of course Mr. Park was obliged to accompany him. Here all was alarm and terror, from the approach and apprehended attack of the King of Kaarta; and amid the bustle and confusion of the inhabitants fleeing from their homes, the preparations for war, &c., Mr. Park at last, after great difficulty and amid many perils, found an opportunity of escaping, and struck into the woods back towards Bambarra. Being under the necessity of avoiding all intercourse with the natives, in order to avoid being recaptured by the emissaries of Ali, who were in pursuit of him, he was at one time nearly famished in the wilderness, and we will take his own account of his sensations at this awful crisis. Thirst, intense and burning thirst, was the first and direst of his sufferings; his mouth and throat became parched and inflamed, and a sudden dimness frequently came over his eyes, accompanied with symptoms of fainting. The leaves of the few shrubs that grew around were all too bitter for chewing. After climbing up a tree in the hopes of discovering some signs of a human habitation, but without success, he again descended in despair. "As I was now," says he, "too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself; in doing which I was affected with sickness and giddiness, and, falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here then, thought I, after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation; here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast, as I believed, a last look on the surrounding scene; and whilst I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world and its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed her functions; and on recovering my senses, I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the

sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence: and as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, in hopes of reaching (my only resource) a watering-place. With this view I put the bridle upon my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the north-east; a most delightful sight, for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly, and in less than an hour I heard the wind roaring behind the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the refreshing drops which I expected, but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind, as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms; and I was obliged to mount my horse and stop under a bush to avoid being suffocated. The sand continued to fly for nearly an hour in amazing quantities, after which I again set forwards, and travelled with difficulty until ten o'clock. At this time I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. I alighted, and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw would certainly fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst by wringing and sucking my clothes."

Park at length entered the kingdom of Bambarra, where he found the people hospitable, and was astonished at the opulence and extent of cultivation he everywhere found. The country, he says, was beautiful, intersected on all sides by rivelets, which, after a rain-storm, were swelled into rapid streams. He was, however, such an object of amusement and ridicule to the inhabitants, from his own tattered condition, together with the appearance of his horse, which was a perfect skeleton, and which he drove before him, that the very slaves, he says, were ashamed to be seen in his company. Notwithstanding all this, however, he held on his way, and at last, on the 21st of July, 1796, had the inexpressible gratification of coming in sight of Sego, the capital of Bambarra, situated on the Niger, which the natives denominated *Joliba*, or the "Great Water." "As we approached the town," says Park, "I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I anxiously looked around for the river, one of them called out *Geo affilli* (see the water). Looking forwards, I saw, with infinite pleasure, the great object of my mission—the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward. I hastened to the brink, and having drunk of the water lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success." Sego consisted of four distinct towns, two on the northern and two on the southern bank of the Niger; "and the view of this extensive capital," says our traveller, "the numerous canoes on the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed altogether a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa." The king, Mansong, however, refused to see Mr. Park, for fear of exciting the envy and jealousy of the Moorish inhabitants, and ordered him to remove to a village in the vicinity. He had no alternative but to comply; and it was here that one of those fine traits of female compassion, and of the kind interposition of Providence in his favour when at the last extremity, which he has frequently borne testimony to with thankfulness

and gratitude, occurred; and this truly affecting incident we cannot avoid giving in his own simple language. On arriving at the village he was inhospitably driven from every door with marks of fear and astonishment. He passed the day without victuals, and was preparing to spend the night under a tree exposed to the rain and the fury of the wild beasts, which there greatly abounded, "when a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving me weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat upon the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry she said she would procure me something to eat; she accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which having caused to be broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour with songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it; it was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated, were these: 'The winds roared and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree—he has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn.' Chorus—'Let us pity the white man; no mother has he!' &c. &c. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was so oppressed by such unexpected kindness, that sleep fled before my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons that remained on my waistcoat, the only recompense I could make her."

Mansong, the king, having ordered Park to leave the neighbourhood (sending him, however, a guide, and a present of 5000 cowries as some recompense for his involuntary inhospitality), our traveller proceeded down the Niger along the northern bank. On one occasion, while passing through the woods, he narrowly escaped being devoured by a large red lion, which he suddenly came upon crouching in a bush, but which did not attack him. He proceeded first to Sansanding, thence to Moodiboo, Moorzan, and finally to Silla. Here, worn out by fatigue and suffering of mind and body, destitute of all means either of subsistence or of prosecuting his journey—for even his horse had dropped down by the way—his resolution and energy, of which no man ever possessed a greater share, began to fail him. The rainy season had set in and he could only travel in a canoe, which he had no money to hire; and he was advancing farther and farther into the territories of the fanatical Moors, who looked upon him with loathing and detestation, and whose compassion he had no gifts to propitiate. It was with great anguish of mind that he was at last brought to the conviction of the necessity of returning; but no one who has read his own simple and manly statement of his actual situation, and of the prospect before him, together with his poignant sensations at his disappointment, can for a moment blame him for turning back. Pre-

paratory to doing so he collected all the information in his power respecting the future course of the Niger, and the various kingdoms through which it flowed; but subsequent discoveries have since proved how little credit could be attached to the accounts of the natives, either from their positive ignorance or their suspicious jealousy of strangers. Later and more fortunate travellers have solved the great problem, the honour of explaining which was denied to Park; and we now know that this great river, after flowing to a considerable distance eastward of Timbuctoo, makes a bend or elbow, like the Burampooter, and after pursuing a south-westerly course, falls into the Atlantic Ocean on the coast of Benin. The narrative of Mr. Park's return from the interior of Africa would be little else than a repetition of the various sufferings, adventures, and dangers he experienced on his way there, but only in a more aggravated form, in consequence both of his utterly destitute condition, and from the inundation of the level country, which compelled him to seek his way over chasms and precipices, without a guide, or any other means of shaping his course. He frequently waded for miles breast-deep in water. Once he was beset by banditti who stripped him of everything but two shirts, his hat, and a pair of trousers; and on arriving at Sibidooloo, he was attacked by fever, which stretched him on his back for many weeks. Here, however, he was fortunate enough to meet with a slave-merchant, named Karfa Taura, who treated him with great kindness and humanity—took him into his own house—nursed him until he was well—kept him as his guest for seven months without asking the smallest recompense—and finally conducted him in safety to Pisanía, with a cargo of his living merchandise. Our traveller immediately took his passage in an American vessel bound for the West Indies, whence he had no difficulty in getting to Britain, and landed at Falmouth on the 22d of December, 1797, after an absence of two years and seven months.

Mr. Park was received with distinguished honour by the African Association and almost all the other scientific bodies and eminent literary characters of the metropolis, and was for some time what is familiarly termed the *lion* of the town. Having made arrangements in London for the publication of his travels, he proceeded to Scotland in June, 1798, and spent the succeeding summer and autumn at his native place, Fowlshiels, among his relations and friends, his mother being the only parent then alive. His time, however, was far from being passed in idleness, or merely in social meetings with old friends and acquaintance, much as his company, as may readily be imagined, was sought after. He applied himself indefatigably to the compilation and composition of his travels, which he finished and carried back with him to London in the end of the year. In the following spring they were published, and it is needless to say how universally, or with what avidity, not to mention *incredulity* by many, they were read. For the latter contingency Mr. Park himself was prepared, and with a judicious caution, which few of his rivals in discovery, either before or since, have had the prudence or *self-denial*, as it may aptly be termed, to adopt, omitted the relation of many real incidents and adventures, which he feared might shake the probability of his narrative in the public estimation. This fact has been proved beyond doubt by the testimony of many of his intimate friends and relatives, to whom, although by no means of a communicative disposition, he freely mentioned many singular anecdotes and particulars which he scrupled to submit to the jealous eye of the

critical public. Amongst those friends to whom Mr. Park frequently communicated in a colloquial way many most interesting and remarkable circumstances which did not appear in his printed travels, was Sir Walter Scott, between whom and Mr. Park a strong intimacy was contracted subsequent to the return of the latter from Africa, and who tells us, that having once noticed to his friend the omissions in question (which appeared to one of his romantic temperament and ardent imagination to be unaccountable), and asked an explanation, Mr. Park replied, "that in all cases where he had information to communicate which he thought of importance to the public, he had stated the facts boldly, leaving it to his readers to give such credit to his statements as they might appear justly to deserve; but that he would not shock their credulity, or render his travels more marvellous, by introducing circumstances, which, however true, were of little or no moment, as they related solely to his own personal adventures and escapes." If this scrupulousness on the part of the traveller is to be regretted in one sense, as consigning to oblivion many curious and interesting facts, it certainly raises him as a man and an author incalculably in our estimation, and bespeaks the most implicit belief and confidence in what he has promulgated to the world.

After the publication of his travels he returned to Scotland, and in August the same year married Miss Anderson, the eldest daughter of his old master at Selkirk. For some time after his marriage, and before he set out on his second expedition, Mr. Park appears to have been quite undecided as to his prospects in life; and perhaps the comparative independence of his circumstances, from the profits of his publication and the remuneration he obtained from the African Association, rendered him somewhat indifferent to any immediate permanent situation. But it was likewise strongly suspected by his intimate friends, that he entertained hopes of being soon called upon to undertake another mission to the Niger, although he kept perfectly silent on the subject.

As time continued to elapse without any such proposition from the expected quarter being made, Mr. Park perceived the imprudence of remaining in idleness, and in 1801 removed to Peebles, where he commenced practice as a surgeon. But it would appear he was not very successful in this speculation; and this fact, together with the natural restlessness of his disposition, seems to have rendered his situation peculiarly irksome to him. In answer to a friend who suspected his design of again proceeding abroad, and earnestly remonstrated with him against it, he writes, "that a few inglorious winters of practice at Peebles was a risk as great, and would tend as effectually to shorten life, as the journey he was about to undertake." In the meantime his *ennui* or impatience was much relieved by the enjoyment of the best society in the neighbourhood, and by being honoured with the friendship of many of the most distinguished characters in Scotland at that time. Amongst these were the venerable Dr. Adam Ferguson, then resident at Hallyards, near Peebles; Colonel Murray of Cringletie; and Professor Dugald Stewart. As before mentioned, too, a strong intimacy sprung up between our traveller and Sir Walter Scott, then but little known in the literary world, and who resided with his family at Ashiestiel, on the banks of the Tweed. This friendship commenced in 1804, after Mr. Park had removed from Peebles to Fowlshiels and was preparing for his second expedition to Africa, of which he had then got intimation. It is pleasing to know the cordiality and affectionate familiarity which subsisted between

these celebrated men, and also that it arose from a marked congeniality in their tastes and habits.¹ Park was an enthusiastic lover of poetry, especially the minstrelsy with which his native district was rife; and although he made no pretensions to the laurel crown himself, he occasionally gave expression to his feelings and thoughts in verse, even from his earliest years. It was little wonder, then, that he should own a particular predilection for the society of one whose heart and memory were so richly stored with the ancient ballad lore of his country, although his reserve towards strangers in general, which was carried even to a repulsive degree, was notorious. In particular Sir Walter Scott has noticed the strong aversion of his friend to being questioned in a promiscuous company on the subject of his adventures, of which grievance, as may be imagined, he had frequent cause to complain.

The new mission to Africa, which was now sanctioned and promoted by government, had been projected so far back as 1801; but owing to changes in the ministry, and other causes of delay, the preparations for it were not completed till 1805. Mr. Park parted from his family, and proceeded to London with his brother-in-law, Mr. James Anderson, who, as well as Mr. Scott, an artist, had resolved to accompany him in his expedition. On this occasion Mr. Park received the brevet commission of captain in Africa, and a similar commission of lieutenant to his relative Mr. Anderson. Mr. Scott also was employed by government to accompany the expedition as draughtsman. Mr. Park was, at the same time, empowered to enlist soldiers from the garrison of the island of Goree, to the number of forty-five, to accompany him in his journey; and the sum of £5000 was placed at his disposal, together with directions as to his route, &c. The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the 30th January, 1806, and arrived at Pisanía on the 28th of April, where preparations were immediately made for the inland journey. The party consisted of forty men, two lieutenants, a draughtsman (Mr. Scott), and Park himself; they had horses for themselves, and asses for carrying the provisions and merchandise. Mr. Park wrote to several friends at home, previously to setting out, in the highest spirits, and seemingly perfectly confident of success. In his letter to Mr. Dickson, he says, "This day six weeks I expect to drink all your healths in the Niger;" and again, "I have little doubt but that I shall be able, with presents and fair words, to pass through the country to the Niger; and if once we are fairly afloat, *the day is won*." Alas! how sadly these sanguine expressions contrast with the melancholy issue of the expedition. Park's chance of reaching the Niger in safety depended mainly upon his doing so previously to the commencement of the rainy season, which is always most fatal to Europeans; but scarcely had they got half-way when the rain set in, and the effect on the health of the men was as speedy as disastrous. They were seized with vomiting, sickness, dysentery, and delirium; some died on the road, others were drowned in the rivers, and several were left in the precarious charge of the natives in the villages. Some, still more unfortunate, were lost in the woods, where they would inevitably be devoured by wild beasts; while the native banditti, who imagined the caravan to contain immense wealth, hung upon their march and plundered them at every opportunity. In crossing the Wondou, they nearly lost their guide Isacco by a large crocodile, which pulled him below

¹ It chanced that they were born within a month of each other.

the water several times, but from which he at last got free, much lacerated. At another time they were encountered by three large lions, but which took to flight at the sound of Mr. Park's musket. At last the miserable remnant of the party—only nine out of forty-four, and these nine all sick, and some in a state of mental derangement—reached Bambakoo, on the Niger. Here Mr. Scott was left behind on account of sickness, of which he shortly died; while the rest proceeded to Sego, the capital of Bambarra, which they reached on the 19th of September. Mansong was still king, and was so highly gratified with the presents brought to him, that he gave them permission to build a boat, and promised to protect them as far as lay in his power. Mr. Park forthwith opened a shop for the sale of his European goods, which immediately obtained such demand, that his shop was crowded with customers from morning till night, and one day he turned over no less than 25,756 cowries. Here, however, he lost his brother-in-law Mr. Anderson, a circumstance which afflicted him greatly, and made him feel, as he himself expressed it, "as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa." But not all the sufferings he had undergone—the loss of his companions, or the dismal condition of the remainder, and the perilousness of his situation—nothing could damp the native ardour of his mind. Having got a sort of schooner constructed and rigged out, he prepared for setting out on his formidable journey, previously to which, however, he took care to bring his journal up to the latest hour, and wrote several letters to his friends and relatives in Britain. These were intrusted to his faithful guide Isaaco, to carry back to the Gambia, whence they were transmitted to England. His letter to Mrs. Park, excepting that part of it which mentions the death of her brother and Mr. Scott, was written in a cheering and hopeful strain; speaks with confidence of his reaching the ocean in safety, and of the probability of his being in England before the letter itself! His companions were now reduced to four, viz. Lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, one of whom was deranged in his mind; and with this miserable remnant, and a guide named Amadi Fatouma, he set sail, as near as could be ascertained, on the 19th of November, 1806. The progress of the unfortunate travellers after this period, and their ultimate fate, so long a mystery, are now familiarly known, although there are many circumstances attending the unhappy closing scene which are yet shrouded in doubt and uncertainty.

Vague rumours of the death of Park and his companions were brought by some of the natives to the British settlements on the coast even so early as the end of 1806; but no information could be got for several years of a nature to be at all relied on, during which time the suspense of his friends and of the public at large, but more particularly of his afflicted family, was of the most painful nature. At length, in 1810, Colonel Maxwell, governor of Senegal, despatched Isaaco, Park's former guide, into the interior, in order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the reports which prevailed. After an absence of a year and eight months this individual returned, and the many facts of the narrative which he gave as the result of his labours, are not only but too probable in themselves, but seem to have been thoroughly confirmed by the investigations of subsequent travellers. Isaaco stated that he had fallen in with Mr. Park's guide, Amadi Fatouma, at Medina, near Sansanding, who, on seeing Isaaco, and hearing the name of Park, began to weep, saying, "They are all dead;" and was with great difficulty induced to detail

the melancholy circumstances of the catastrophe. The account which he gave is too long to be introduced entire here, but the substance of it was as follows:—After leaving Sansanding, Mr. Park navigated his way down the Niger, as far as Boussa, in the kingdom of Yaour, which was more than two-thirds of the distance between the ocean, or Gulf of Guinea, and where the river is termed by the natives *Quorra*. They had frequent skirmishes with the natives, particularly in passing Timbuctoo, where several of the natives were killed. On reaching Yaour Mr. Park sent Amadi Fatouma ashore with various presents, some of which were to the chief or governor of the place, but the most valuable portion for the king, to whom the chief was requested to send them. A short while after, the latter sent to inquire if Mr. Park intended to come back; and on being answered that he could return no more, the treacherous chief appropriated the presents intended for the king to his own use. This piece of knavery proved fatal to the unfortunate travellers. The king, indignant at the supposed slight cast on him, assembled a large army at the above-mentioned village of Boussa, where a large high rock stretches across the whole breadth of the river, the only passage for the river being through an opening in the rock in the form of a door. The army posted themselves on the top of the rock, and on Mr. Park's attempting to pass, assailed him with lances, pikes, arrows, stones, and missiles of every description. The beleaguered travellers defended themselves for a long time, till all were either killed or severely wounded; when, seeing the uselessness of further resistance, Mr. Park, Lieutenant Martyn, and one or two more, jumped out of the boat, and were drowned in attempting to get ashore. Only one slave was left alive. Such was the narrative of Amadi Fatoumi, who had left Mr. Park at Yaour, where his engagement with him terminated, and where he was for many months afterwards confined in irons on suspicion of having purloined the presents intended for the king, which had been made away with by the treacherous chief. Amadi had obtained the accounts of the fatal scene from those who had taken a part in it. The natives afterwards endeavoured to account for the disappearance of Park, to the inquiries of subsequent travellers, by saying that his vessel had foundered against the rock, and that he and his companions were drowned by accident. But there is now not the shadow of a doubt that the above narrative of Amadi is substantially true.

So perished Mungo Park, in the thirty-fifth year of his age—a man whose natural enthusiasm, scientific acquirements, undaunted intrepidity, patience of suffering, and inflexible perseverance—in short, every quality requisite for a traveller in the path he adopted—have never been surpassed, and who, had he survived, would no doubt have reaped those laurels which more fortunate successors in the same career have won. To these qualities in his public character, it is pleasing to be able to add those of amiable simplicity of manners, constancy of affection, and sterling integrity in private life.

Mr. Park's papers were, with the exception of a few scraps,¹ unfortunately all lost with him, and this is much to be regretted, as, notwithstanding the important discoveries of the Landers, who subsequently

¹ These were an old nautical publication (of which the title-page was missing, and its contents chiefly tables of logarithms), with a few loose memoranda of no importance between the leaves. One of these papers, however, was curious enough, from the situation and circumstances in which it was found. It was a card of invitation to dinner, and was in the following terms:—"Mr. and Mrs. Watson would be happy to have the plea-

traced the course of the Quorra or Niger from Boussa, where Park fell, down to the Gulf of Guinea, they were unable to explore a great part of that immense portion of it which flows between Boussa and Timbuctoo, and which Park must of necessity have navigated. Their united labours have, however, solved the grand problem which has engaged the attention of all civilized nations from the earliest ages to which history leads us back; and there seems little cause for doubt, that, in a short time, the still broken links in the great chain of communication with the centre of Africa will be united.

PARK, PATRIC. This talented sculptor, whose career was cut short by a premature death when his professional excellence had attained maturity and given promise of a career of distinction, was born in Glasgow in 1811. His father was Matthew Park, a distinguished builder in that city, who erected the new part of Hamilton Palace. Having shown in early life a decided taste for art, especially in relation to sculpture, he went to Rome, and studied as a pupil under Thorwaldsen; and on his return he settled in London, and was much employed in bust-sculpture, so that at different periods he had a studio in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and in the later period of his life at Manchester. Among the numerous busts which he executed of the most eminent characters of the day, was one of Napoleon III., whom, as a subject for an artist, he greatly admired, and of whom he produced a likeness in marble distinguished for its faithfulness of resemblance and beauty of execution. This bust is now in the South Kensington Museum. Of his other busts we may particularize those of Thomas Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope*; of Mr. Layard, M.P., General Sir Charles Napier, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Macaulay (now in possession of Lady Trevelyan), Lord Jeffrey, D. O. Hill, R.S.A., Sir Archibald Alison, and Professor Ayton; and of these, the last two have been engraved. Another bust not inferior to his choicest productions, entitled *A Scottish Lassie*, now belonging to the Royal Scottish Academy, and placed in the National Gallery of Scotland at Edinburgh, being a likeness of his wife idealized, is particularly worthy of notice and commendation.

Although the excellence of Patric Park as an artist was thus so generally recognized, and so largely employed, he was dissatisfied with the mere production of busts; his ambition aspired to complete large, open-air statues, a higher department of art, and better fitted for his genius; but in this longing he was disappointed, as no commission of the kind was offered to him. It may have been that the eccentricities of genius, of which he had no small share, would have made his idealizations not only too poetical for the common taste, but have overrun the established bounds of art; and that in public monumental effigy, with the prosaic multitude for judges, he would have only subjected himself to failure, and it may be also to ridicule. At all events, such was the result of the only attempt he made upon the public to vindicate his claims as a sculptor of history. The subject of his selection was an allegorical statue of Sir William Wallace; the place of its exhibition was Edinburgh; and in due time the eyes of Modern Athens were astonished with the display of a colossal

statue of the revered national champion in plaster of Paris with the Scottish lion by his side. Could this be Wallace? Nothing was to be seen but a huge, burly, naked athlete, ready for the field of glory, and the lion raising his tail in token that he was ready to second the onset. The puzzled spectators, unless they had been told that this king of men and king of beasts meant the Scottish hero and the Scottish nation, might have mistaken it for Samson and the lion which he tore in pieces, or Androclus and his shaggy friend of the forest taking an airing after the lamed foot of the latter had been cured; and they departed in dudgeon, as if a deception had been played upon them, instead of pausing to admire the artistic beauty of the model. Notwithstanding the adverse remarks of the general public, which were exclusively levelled at a mistaken mode of treatment, critics recognized in this colossal figure a work of high genius and of great merit.

In 1851 Mr. Park was elected an associate of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, and was subsequently chosen an Academician. His death was sudden and tragic. He had gone from Manchester, where he now resided, to Warrington, where he was employed upon the bust of a gentleman who had given him a sitting, and was returning to the railway station at Warrington, when he perceived a porter endeavouring to carry a trunk that was too heavy for him. Park hurried forward to assist him; but in attempting to raise the load he overtasked his strength, and burst a blood-vessel, by which his death was occasioned almost instantaneously. This melancholy event occurred on the 16th of August, 1855, and his worth and talents were thus recorded in the annual report of that year by the Royal Scottish Academy:—

“A vacancy has occurred in the list of academicians by the premature and lamented death of their highly talented brother academician Patric Park, Esq., sculptor, an event which occurred suddenly at Warrington on the 16th of August last. Mr. Park had at the time of his decease only attained the age of forty-four years; and being an enthusiastic student and lover of his profession, his works, especially his portrait-busts—long distinguished by some of the highest qualities of his noble art—seemed every succeeding year to gain in strength and refinement, so that had life been spared many works of still higher excellence might have been looked for from his prolific studio. The Academy exhibitions for a long series of years past, and none of them more strikingly than that of 1855, when his fine bust of the Emperor of the French occupied a place of honour, sufficiently attest the justice of this brief eulogium of the council, and justify their sorrow that, in the death of Patric Park, the Academy has lost one of its most talented members, and the department of sculpture in which he more peculiarly excelled one of its most eminent professors.”

Mr. Park, as already noticed, was married; his wife was daughter of Robert Carruthers, Esq., Inverness, by whom he had four sons and a daughter.

PATERSON, WILLIAM, the original projector of the Bank of England and of Scotland, and of the celebrated settlement of Darien, was born, it is supposed, in the year 1655, at Skipmyre, in the parish of Tinwald, Dumfriesshire. It is deeply to be regretted that no satisfactory memorials have been preserved of this remarkable man. Of his education nothing is known, but it is stated in one memoir that he was bred to the church. That Mr. Paterson was either a churchman or a buccaneer at any period of his life appears a gratuitous assumption, un-
sup-

sure of Mr. Park's company at dinner on Tuesday next, at half-past five o'clock. An answer is requested.

“Strand, 9th Nov. 1804.”

These were the only written documents belonging to Park which the Messrs. Landers, after the most anxious inquiries and investigations, were able to discover. They succeeded, however, in recovering his double-barrelled gun, and the tabor, or short cloak, which he wore when he was drowned.

ported by any direct evidence, and at variance with the known course of his after-life. It is certain that he was in the West Indies, but it is much more likely that his pursuits there were commercial than either clerical or piratical. In whatever capacity he may have acquired his commercial and geographical knowledge, he returned to Europe with a scheme of trade which he was desirous of establishing under the protection and patronage of some European power. Paterson, himself a merchant, formed an intimate connection with other merchants of London, and with them concerted the establishment of the Bank of England, which he originated and planned. He was admitted one of the original directors, but jealousies arose, and he voluntarily withdrew, by selling out his qualification of £2000 stock. Under these circumstances, having already, before the revolution of 1688, become acquainted in Holland with some of his countrymen, particularly with Fletcher of Saltoun, who had penetration enough to see and to appreciate the simple splendour of his project with regard to Darien, he accordingly came to Scotland along with Fletcher, who introduced him to the various members of the Scottish administration. The Earl of Stair, in particular, gave the project of Mr. Paterson the support of his powerful eloquence.

The result of all this was, that an act was passed by the Scottish parliament on the 26th of June, 1695, "constituting John Lord Belhaven, WILLIAM PATERSON, Esq., and others in Scotland and in London, a free incorporation, by the name of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, providing that of the fund or capital half should be allowed to Scotland." The company was invested with full powers to hold parliaments and make laws, and administer justice, &c., in any colonies they might plant in Asia, Africa, and America. This act was drawn up under the eye of Mr. Paterson, and was certainly highly favourable for his purposes. The Isthmus of Darien, where there was a large tract of land bordering on both seas, the Indian and the Atlantic, was the spot he had fixed upon for the scene of his operations, and the advantages of which he thus graphically pointed out: "The time and expense of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and the far greater part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactures will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus this door of the seas and key of the universe, with anything of a reasonable management, will of course enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood, of Alexander and Cæsar. In all our empires that have been anything universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet is such as can much more effectually bring empire home to the proprietors' doors. But from what hath been said, you may easily perceive that the nature of these discoveries are such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted without evident hazard and ruin, as we may see in the case of Spain and Portugal, who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as to go to or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated and ruined their countries therewith, so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain and Por-

tugal than they have conquered the Indies; for by their permitting all to go out and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to the remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable and good for nothing. Thus, not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countries, and not gotten the Indies. People and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation, and in respect to them all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunities of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world than ever they did or possibly could have done by the sword." Seeing clearly his way, Mr. Paterson seems not to have had the smallest suspicion but that others would see it also, and "he makes no doubt but that the affection we owe to our sister nation will incline the company to be zealous in using all becoming endeavours for bringing our fellow-subjects to be jointly concerned in this great, extensive, and advantageous undertaking. That a proposal of this kind from the company will be other than acceptable ought not to be supposed, since by this means the consumption and demand of English manufactures, and consequently the employment of their people, will soon be more than doubled. England will be hereby enabled to become the long-desired seaport, and yet its public revenues, instead of being diminished, will thereby be greatly increased. By this their nation will at once be eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions, which, instead of being encouragements, always have, and still continue to be, the greatest lets to its trade and happiness." These liberal views seem to have made a greater impression on the public mind than at that time could have been anticipated. In the month of October, 1695, Lord Belhaven, Mr. Robert Blackwood, and Mr. James Balfour went on a deputation to London, accompanied by Mr. Paterson, where the subscription-books were first opened, and in the course of nine days £300,000 were subscribed; one-fourth of all subscriptions being paid in cash. This promising state of things, however, was, by the jealousy of the English monopolists, suddenly reversed. The East India Company were the first to take the alarm, and they communicated their terrors to the House of Commons. The latter requested a conference with the lords on the alarming circumstance, and a committee was appointed to inquire by what methods such an act had been obtained, who were the promoters, and who had become subscribers to the company. This was followed by an address to the king from both houses of parliament, stating, "That by reason of the superior advantages granted to the Scottish East India Company, and the duties imposed upon the Indian trade in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation would be carried thither, by which means Scotland would be rendered a free port, and Europe from thence supplied with the products of the East much cheaper than through them, and thus a great article in the balance of foreign commerce would be lost to England, to the prejudice of the national navigation and the royal revenue." The address went on to state, "that when the Scots should have established themselves in plantations in America, the western branch of traffic would also be lost. The privileges granted their company would render their country the general storehouse for tobacco, sugar, cotton, hides, and timber; the low rates at which they would be enabled to carry on their manufactures would render it impossible for

the English to compete with them; while, in addition, his majesty stood engaged to protect, by the naval strength of England, a company whose success was incompatible with its existence." This address his majesty received graciously, observing "that he had been ill-served in Scotland, but he hoped some remedy might yet be found to prevent the inconvenience that might arise from the act." To satisfy his English parliament that he was in earnest, William dismissed his Scottish ministers, and among the rest the Earl of Stair.

The English parliament, with a spirit worthy of the darkest ages and the most barbarous nations, proceeded to declare Lord Belhaven, William Paterson, and twenty-two other members of the company, guilty of a high misdemeanour. Those of their own people who had become partners in the company were compelled to withdraw their subscriptions. Upwards of £200,000 sterling were afterwards subscribed to the scheme by the merchants of Holland and Hamburg, and the English resident at the latter city, Sir Paul Rycault, was instructed to present a remonstrance on the part of the king to the magistrates, complaining of the countenance they had given to the commissioners of the Darien Company. The answer of the city was worthy of itself in its best days. "They considered it strange that the King of England should dictate to them, a free people, how, or with whom, they were to engage in the arrangements of commerce, and still more so, that they should be blamed for offering to connect themselves in this way with a body of his own subjects incorporated under a special act of parliament." From this interference, however, the Hamburgers, aware that the company was to be thwarted in all its proceedings by the superior power of England, lost confidence in the scheme, and finally withdrew their subscriptions. The Dutch, too, equally jealous of commercial rivalry with the English, and influenced perhaps by the same motives with the Hamburgers, withdrew their subscriptions also, and the company was left to the unassisted resources of their own poor and depressed country. But nothing could exceed the eagerness with which all classes of the Scottish people hastened to enrol themselves in the magnificent copartnery now forming. Every burgh, every city, and almost every family of any consequence became shareholders. Four hundred thousand pounds were subscribed—an astonishing sum when it is known that at that time the circulating capital of the kingdom did not exceed £800,000 sterling. To this enthusiasm a variety of causes contributed. The scheme of Paterson was politically good. It was drawn up with great ability, and promised important results in a moral and religious as well as in a commercial point of view. Many of the subscribers, indeed, were influenced solely by religious motives, as they considered the setting up of a church regularly constituted on that continent the most likely means for spreading the gospel among the natives, and as affording facilities for that purpose which could not in any other way be obtained. But it must also be admitted that the scheme, having become a national mania, was not left to work its way by its own intrinsic merits. The scene of the intended operations became the subject of numberless pamphlets, wherein fancy was much more largely employed than fact. The soil was represented as rich, and teeming with the most luxuriant fertility; the rivers as full of fish, and their sands sparkling with gold; the woods smiling in perpetual verdure, at all times ringing with the melody of spring, and loading every breeze that swept over them with the most delightful odours.

Having completed their preparations, and the public authorities having assured them of protection and encouragement, the colony, in presence of the whole city of Edinburgh, which poured out its inhabitants to witness the scene, embarked at Leith, from the roads of which they sailed on the 26th of July, 1698. The fleet consisted of five ships purchased at Hamburg or Holland—for they were refused even the trifling accommodation of a ship of war which was laid up at Burntisland—and were named the *Caledonia*, *St. Andrew*, *Unicorn*, *Dolphin*, and *Endeavour*; the two last being yachts laden with provisions and military stores. The colony consisted of 1200 men, 300 of them being young men of the best Scottish families. Among them were also sixty officers, who had been thrown out of employment by the peace which had just been concluded, and who carried along with them the troops they had commanded; all of whom were men who had been raised on their own estates or on those of their relations. Many soldiers and sailors whose services had been refused—for many more than could be employed had offered themselves—were found hid in the ships, and when ordered ashore clung to the ropes, imploring to be allowed to go with their countrymen without fee or reward. The whole sailed amidst the praises, the prayers, and the tears of relations, friends, and countrymen; "and neighbouring nations," says Dalrymple, "saw with a mixture of surprise and respect the poorest nation of Europe sending forth the most gallant colony which had ever gone from the old to the new world." The parliament of Scotland met in the same week that the expedition for Darien sailed, and on the 5th of August they presented a unanimous address to the king, requesting that he would be pleased to support the company. The lord-president, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, and Sir James Stuart, lord-advocate, also drew out memorials to the king in behalf of the company, in which they proved their rights to be irrefragable, on the principles both of constitutional and public law. All this, however, did not prevent orders being sent out by the English ministry to all the English governors in America and the West Indies, to withhold all supplies from the Scottish colony at Darien, and to have no manner of communication with it, either in one shape or another. Meanwhile, the colony proceeded on its voyage without anything remarkable occurring; and on the 3d of November landed between Portobello and Carthage, at a place called Acta, where there was an excellent harbour, about four miles from Golden Island. Having obtained the sanction of the natives to settle among them, they proceeded to cut through a peninsula, by which they obtained what they conceived to be a favourable site for a city, and they accordingly began to build one, under the name of New Edinburgh. They also constructed a fort in a commanding situation, for the protection of the town and the harbour, which they named St. Andrew; and on the country itself they imposed the name of Caledonia. The first care of the council which had been appointed by the company, but of which Mr. Paterson was unfortunately not a member, was to establish a friendly correspondence with the native chiefs, which they found no difficulty in doing. To the Spanish authorities at Carthage and Panama they also sent friendly deputations, stating their desire to live with them upon terms of amity and reciprocal intercourse. On the 28th of December, 1698, the council issued a proclamation, dated at New Edinburgh, to the following effect:—"We do hereby publish and declare, That all manner of persons, of what nation or people soever, are and shall

from henceforward be equally free, and alike capable of the said properties, privileges, protections, immunities, and rights of government, granted unto us; and the merchants and merchant ships of all nations may freely come to and trade with us without being liable in their persons or goods to any manner of capture, confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of marque or reprisals, declaration of war with any foreign prince, potentate, or state, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever. And we do hereby not only grant, concede, and declare a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations who shall hereafter be of or concerned with us, but also a full and free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, so as the same be not understood to allow, connive at, or indulge the blaspheming of God's holy name, or any of his divine attributes, or of the unhallowing or profaning the Sabbath-day; and, finally, as the best and surest means to render any government successful, durable, and happy, it shall, by the help of Almighty God, be ever our constant and chiefest care, that all our further constitutions, laws, and ordinances be consonant and agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, right reason, and the examples of the wisest and justest nations; that from the righteousness thereof we may reasonably hope for and expect the blessings of prosperity and increase." So far all was well, but the want of a leading spirit, of one who could overawe the refractory, and of summary laws for their punishment, soon began to be felt; Mr. Paterson, before sailing, had been refused a position, and the event showed the grossness of that error. In the original articles of the company it had been agreed that he should be allowed two per cent. on the stock, and three per cent. on the profits, but he had given up both these claims long before leaving Scotland. "It was not," he said, "suspicion of the justice or gratitude of the company, nor a consciousness that his services could ever become useless to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common prudence in him to ask a retribution for six years of his time, and £10,000 spent in promoting the establishment of the company. But now," he continues, "that I see it standing upon the authority of parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all claim to that retribution; happy in the noble concession made to me, but happier in the return which I now make for it." The whole management was vested in a council of seven, under regulations, the fifth of which ran thus—"That after their landing and settlement as aforesaid, they, the council, shall class and divide the whole freemen inhabitants of the said colony into districts, each district to contain at least fifty and not exceeding sixty freemen inhabitants, who shall elect yearly any one freeman inhabitant whom they shall think fit to represent them in a parliament or council-general of the said colony, which parliament shall be called or adjourned by the said council as they see cause; and being so constitute, may, with consent of the said council, make and enact such rules, ordinances, and constitutions, and impose such taxes, as they think fit and needful for the good of the establishment, improvement, and support of the said colony; providing always, that they lay no further duties or impositions of trade than what is after stated." One of the councillors, writing at this time to the directors at home, says, "We found the inconvenience of calling a parliament, and of telling the inhabitants that they were freemen so soon. They had not the true notion

of liberty. The thoughts of it made them insolent, and ruined command. You know that it's expressly in the 'Encouragements,' that they are to serve for three years, and at the three years' end to have a division of land." It was the opinion of this director that no parliament should have been called till at least the three years of servitude had expired. Even then, from the characters of the settlers, who had not been selected with that care which an experiment of such vast consequence demanded, there might have existed causes for delaying the escape. Among the better class, there were too many young men of birth. These were inexperienced and wholly unfit for exercising authority, and equally ill adapted for submitting to it. Among the lower class were many who had been opposed to the Revolution, and who had resorted to the colony purely from dissatisfaction with the government at home. These, instead of submitting with patience to the privations and labour necessary in that state of society in which they were now placed, would gladly have laid aside the mattock and the axe, and have employed themselves in plundering incursions upon the Indians or the Spaniards. The subscribers to the scheme were so numerous, that the idle, the unprincipled, and profligate had found but too little difficulty in attaching themselves to the infant colony. Those who were nominated to the council, too, had been selected without judgment. "There was not," Paterson writes in a letter to Mr. Shields, "one of the old council fitted for government, and things were gone too far before the new took place."

The colony was first established at the beginning of winter, the best season for Europeans first encountering the climate of Darien; and the first letter from the council to the directors thus expresses the satisfaction of the colonists with their new destination:—"As to the country, we find it very healthful; for though we arrived here in the rainy season, from which we had little or no shelter for several weeks together, and many sick among us, yet we are so far recovered, and in so good a state of health, as could hardly anywhere be expected among such a number of men together. In fruitfulness this country seems not to give place to any in the world; for we have seen several of the fruits, as cocoa-nuts, barillas, sugar-canes, maize, oranges, &c. &c., all of them, in their kinds, the best anywhere to be found. Nay, there is hardly a foot of ground but may be cultivated; for even upon the very tops and sides of the hills there is commonly three or four feet deep of rich earth, without so much as a stone to be found therein. Here is good hunting and fowling, and excellent fishing in the bays and creeks of the coast; so that, could we improve the season of the year just now begun, we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves; but building and fortifying will lose us a whole year's planting." This was, however, no more than all of them must have foreseen; and they never doubted of obtaining more provisions than they could want from the West India islands or from the American colonies. Orders, however, as has already been noticed, were sent out after them to all the English governors, prohibiting all communication with them. These proclamations were rigidly adhered to, and the unfortunate Scottish colonists were denied those supplies which had seldom been withheld from lawless smugglers, buccaneers, and pirates. In addition to this, which was the principal source of all their misfortunes, those who superintended the equipment of the expedition had, through carelessness or design, furnished them with provisions, part of which were uneatable; the consequence of which was, that the colony had to be put

on short allowance when the sickly season was thinning their numbers, and bringing additional duty on those who were in health. In this emergency their Indian friends exerted themselves on their behalf, putting to shame their Christian brethren, who, from a mean jealousy, were attempting to starve them; and they might still have done better, had not insubordination broken out among themselves, and a conspiracy been formed, in which some of the council were implicated, to seize one of the vessels and to make their escape from the colony. After matters had come this length, Paterson and others became councillors—a measure which had the effect of checking the turbulence of the discontented. The new council also despatched one of their own number to Britain, with an address to the king, and a pressing request to send them out supplies of provisions, ammunition, and men. On receiving this despatch the directors lost no time in sending out the requisite supplies. They had already sent despatches and provisions by a brig, which sailed from the Clyde in the end of February, 1699, but which unhappily never reached her destination. On the arrival in Britain of another of their number Mr. Hamilton, who was accountant-general to the colony, and whose absence was highly detrimental to its interests, the *Olive Branch*, Captain Jamieson, and another vessel, with 300 recruits and store of provisions, arms, and ammunition, were despatched from Leith Roads on the 12th of May, 1699. Matters in the colony were in the meantime getting worse; and on the 22d of June they came to the resolution of abandoning the place within eight months of the time they had taken possession of it. The projector himself resisted this measure manfully. He, however, fell ill in mind and body, but recovered the full powers of his mind at New York, whence he returned to Scotland to make his report to the company, and give them his best advice regarding the further prosecution of their undertaking. Two of their captains, Samuel Veitch and Thomas Drummond, remained at New York. The *Olive Branch*, the vessel alluded to as having gone out to the colony with recruits and provisions, was followed by a fleet of four ships, the *Rising Sun*, *Hope*, *Duke Hamilton*, and *Hope of Borrowstonness*, with 1390 men. These ships all sailed from the Kyles of Bute, on the 24th of September, 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay on the 30th of November following. With this fleet went out William Veitch, son of the Rev. William Veitch of Dumfries, and brother to Samuel already mentioned. Individuals were also sent out by various conveyances, with bills of credit for the use of the colony. Everything now, however, went against them. The *Olive Branch* and her consort having arrived in the harbour of New Edinburgh, the recruits determined to land and repossess themselves of the place, the huts of which they found burned down and totally deserted. One of their ships, however, took fire and was burned in the harbour, on which the others set sail for Jamaica. When the fleet which followed arrived in November, and, instead of a colony ready to receive them, found the huts burned down, the fort dismantled, and the ground which had been cleared overgrown with shrubs and weeds, with all the tools and implements of husbandry taken away, they were at a loss what to do. A general cry was raised in the ships to be conducted home, which was encouraged by Mr. James Byers, one of the new councillors, who seems to have been himself deeply impressed with that dejection of spirit which, as a councillor, it was his duty to suppress. Veitch, however, assisted by Captain Thomas Drummond, who had come out in the *Olive Branch*, and had

taken up his residence among the natives till the fleet which he expected should arrive, succeeded in persuading the men to land. As the Spaniards had already shown their hostility, and having been defeated by a detachment of the colonists in the preceding February, were preparing for another attack—encouraged, no doubt, by the treatment which the colony had met with from the English government—Drummond proposed an immediate attack on Portobello, which they could easily have reduced, and where they might have been supplied with such things as they were most in want of. In this he was cordially seconded by Veitch, but was prevented by the timidity of his colleagues and the intrigues of Byers, who at length succeeded in ejecting him from the council. Two ministers, Messrs. James and Scott, went out with the first expedition, but the one died on the passage, and the other shortly after landing in New Caledonia. The council having written home to the directors regretting the death of their ministers, and begging that others might be sent to supply their place, the commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the particular desire of the board of directors, sent out the Rev. Messrs. Alexander Shields (the well-known author of the *Hind let Loose*, *Life of Renwick*, &c.), Borland, Stobo, and Dalgleish. These persons sailed in the last fleet. They were instructed on their arrival, with the advice and concurrence of the government, to set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving, to form themselves into a presbytery, to ordain elders and deacons, and to divide the colony into parishes, that thus each minister might have a particular charge. After which it was recommended to them, “so soon as they should find the colony in case for it, to assemble the whole Christian inhabitants, and keep a day together for solemn prayer and fasting, and with the greatest solemnity and seriousness to avouch the Lord to be their God, and dedicate themselves and the land to the Lord.” The Church of Scotland took so deep an interest in the colony of Darien, that the commission sent a particular admonition by the ministers, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:—“We shall, in the next place, particularly address ourselves to you that are in military charge, and have command over the soldiery, whether by land or sea. It is on you, honoured and worthy gentlemen, that a great share of the burden of the public safety lies. You are, in some respects, both the hands and the eyes of this infant colony. Many of you have lately been engaged in a just and glorious war, for retrieving and defending the Protestant religion, the liberties and rights of your country, under the conduct of a matchless prince. And now when, through the blessing of the Lord of hosts, his and your arms have procured an honourable peace at home, you, and others with you, have, with much bravery, embarked yourselves in a great, generous, and just undertaking, in the remote parts of the earth, for advancing the honour and interest of your native country. If in this you acquit yourselves like men and Christians, your fame will be renowned both abroad and at home.” The ministers found the colony in circumstances very different from what the address of the commission naturally supposed; and it was but few of their instructions they were able to carry into effect. Two of them, however, preached on land, and one on board the *Rising Sun*, every Sabbath-day. But in addition to the unfavourable aspect of their affairs, the irreligion and licentiousness of the colonists oppressed their spirits and paralyzed their efforts. With the view of forming an acquaintance with the natives, they undertook a

journey into the interior, accompanied by a Lieutenant Turnbull, who had some slight knowledge of the Indian language. They spent several nights in the cabins of the natives, by whom they were received with great kindness; and on their return brought back to the colonists the first notice of the approach of the Spaniards. When apprised of all the circumstances, the directors felt highly indignant at the conduct of those who, upon such slight grounds, had left the settlement desolate; and whose glory, they said, it ought to have been to have perished there, rather than to have abandoned it so shamefully. In their letters to their new councillors and officers they implored them to keep the example of their predecessors before their eyes as a beacon, and to avoid those ruinous dissensions and shameful vices on which they had wrecked so hopeful an enterprise. "It is a lasting disgrace," they add, "to the memories of those officers who went in the first expedition, that even the meanest planters were scandalized at the licentiousness of their lives, many of them living very intemperately and viciously for many months at the public charge, whilst the sober and industrious among them were vigilant in doing their duty. Nor can we, upon serious reflection, wonder if an enterprise of this nature has misgiven in the hands of such as, we have too much reason to believe, neither feared God nor regarded man." They also blamed the old council heavily for deserting the place *without ever calling a parliament* or general meeting of the colony, or in any way consulting their inclinations, but commanding them to a blind and implicit obedience, which is more than they ever can be answerable for. "Wherefore," they continue, "we desire you would constitute a parliament, whose advice you are to take in all important matters. And in the meantime you are to acquaint the officers and planters with the constitutions, and the few additional ones sent with Mr. Mackay, that all and every person in the colony may know their duty, advantages, and privileges." Alarmed by the accounts which they soon after received from Darien, the council-general of the company despatched a proclamation, declaring "that it shall be lawful to any person, of whatever degree, inhabiting the colony, not only to protest against, but to disobey and oppose, any resolution to desert the colony;" and, "that it shall be death, either publicly or privately, to move, deliberate, or reason upon any such desertion or surrender, without special order from the council-general for that effect. And they order and require the council of Caledonia to proclaim this solemnly, as they shall be answerable." Before this act was passed in Edinburgh, however, New Caledonia was once more evacuated. The men had set busily to the rebuilding the huts and repairing the fort; but strenuous efforts were still made in the council to discourage them, by those who wished to evacuate the settlement. Veitch was with difficulty allowed to protest against some of their resolutions; and for opposing them with warmth Captain Drummond was laid under arrest. Speaking of Drummond, Mr. Shields says, "Under God, it is owing to him and the prudence of Captain Veitch that we have stayed here so long, which was no small difficulty to accomplish." And again, "If we had not met with Drummond at our arrival, we had never settled in this place, Byers and Lindsay being averse from it, and designing to discourage it from the very first; Gibson being indifferent if he got his pipe and dram; only Veitch remained resolved to promote it, who was all along Drummond's friend, and concurred with his proposal to send men against the Spaniards at first, and took the patronizing as

long as he could conveniently, but with such caution and prudence, as to avoid and prevent animosity and faction, which he saw were unavoidable, threatening the speedier dissolution of this interest, if he should insist on the prosecution of that plea, and in opposition to that spate that was running against Drummond. But now Finab coming, who was Drummond's comrade and fellow-officer in Lorn's regiment in Flanders, he is set at liberty." This was the son of Colonel Campbell of Finab, who, with 300 of his own men, had come out and joined this last party about two months after their arrival. The Spanish troops meantime, from Panama and Santa Maria, conducted through the woods by negroes, were approaching them. They had advanced, to the number of 1600 men, as far as Tubucantee, in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony, when Finab marched against them with 200 men, and defeated them in a slight skirmish, in which he was wounded. The victory, which at one time would have been of signal service to the colony, was now unavailing; a fleet of eleven ships, under the command of the governor of Carthage, Don Juan Pimentia, having blocked up the harbour and landed a number of troops, who, advancing along with the party which had found their way through the woods, invested the fort. Cut off from water, reduced by sickness, and otherwise dispirited, the garrison was loud in its demands for a capitulation, and the council had no other alternative but to comply with it. Finab being laid up at the time with a fever, Veitch conducted the treaty, and was allowed honourable terms. The inhabitants of the colony having gone on shipboard with all that belonged to them, they weighed anchor on the 11th of April, 1700, and sailed for Jamaica, after having occupied New Caledonia somewhat more than four months. The *Hope*, on board of which was Captain Veitch and the greater part of the property, was wrecked on the rocks of Colorades, on the western coast of Cuba. Veitch, however, was dead before this accident happened. The *Rising Sun* was wrecked on the bar of Carolina, and the captain and crew, with the exception of sixteen persons who had previously landed, were lost. Of the few survivors, some remained in the English settlements, some died in Spanish prisons; and of the 3000 men that at different periods went out to the settlement, perhaps not above twenty ever regained their native land.

In this melancholy manner terminated the greatest attempt at colonization ever made by Scotland. The conception was splendid, the promise great and every way worthy of the experiment; and but for the jealousy of the English and the Dutch, more particularly the former, it must have succeeded. The settlers, indeed, were not all well selected; the measures actually pursued fatal to success; and above all, the council were men of feeble minds, utterly unqualified to act in a situation of such difficulty as that in which they came to be placed. Had the wants of the Scottish settlers been supplied by the English colonies, which they could very well have been even with advantage to the colonies, the first and most fatal disunion and abandonment of their station could not have happened; and had they been acknowledged by their sovereign, the attack made upon them by the Spaniards, which put an end to the colony, would never have been made. Time would have smoothed down the asperities among the settlers themselves; experience would have corrected their errors in legislation; and New Caledonia might have become the emporium of half the commerce of the world.

Mr. Paterson, not disheartened by the failure of

his Darien project, instead of repining, revived the scheme in a form to induce England, whose hostility had hitherto thwarted all his measures, to share in the undertaking, and he succeeded; when the sudden death of King William stopped the design, and Queen Anne's ministers, who approved of it, had no vigour to carry it out.

Mr. Paterson died at an advanced age, in poor circumstances. After the union, he claimed upon the Equivalent Money for the losses he had sustained at Darien, and in 1715 obtained his indemnity. Had Paterson's scheme succeeded—and it was no fault of his that it did not—his name had unquestionably been enrolled among the most illustrious benefactors of his species; and if we examine his character in the light of true philosophy, we shall find it greatly heightened by his failure. We never hear from him a single murmur. When disappointed or defeated, he did not give way to despair, but set himself coolly and calmly to another and still greater undertaking. When this failed, through the injustice of those who ought to have been his protectors and the imbecility of those whom he ought to have commanded, he only sought to improve his plan. There is one part of his character which, in a man of so much genius, ought not to pass unnoticed: "he was void of passion; and he was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drank wine."

PATRICK, SAINT, the celebrated apostle of Ireland, was born near the town of Dumbarton, in the west of Scotland, about the year 372 of the Christian era. His father, whose name was Calpurnius, was in a respectable station in life, being municipal magistrate in the town in which he lived. What town this was, however, is not certainly known, whether Kilpatrick, a small village on the Clyde five miles east of Dumbarton; Duntocher, another small village about a mile north of Kilpatrick; or Dumbarton itself. One of the three, however, it is presumed it must have been, as it is described as being situated in the north-west part of the Roman province; but though various biographers of the saint have assigned each of these towns by turns as his birthplace, conjecture has decided in favour of Kilpatrick. His father is supposed (for nearly all that is recorded of the holy man is conjectural, or at best but inferential) to have come to Scotland in a civil capacity with the Roman troops under Theodosius. His mother, whose name was Cenevessa, was sister or niece of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours; and from this circumstance it is presumed that his family were Christians.

The original name of St. Patrick was Succat or Succach, supposed to have some relation to Succoth, the name at this day of an estate not far distant from his birthplace, the property of the late Sir Ilay Campbell. The name of Patricius, or Patrick, was not assumed by the saint until he became invested with the clerical character.

In his sixteenth year, up to which time he had remained with his father, he was taken prisoner, along with his two sisters, on the occasion of an incursion of the Irish, and carried over a captive to Ireland. Here he was reduced to a state of slavery, in which he remained for six or seven years with Milcho, a petty king in the northern part of that country. The particular locality is said to be Skerry, in the county of Antrim. At the end of this period he effected his escape; on which occasion, it is recorded, he had warning that a ship was ready for him, although she lay at a distance of 200 miles, and in a part of the country where he never had been, and where he was unacquainted with any one. On making his escape

he proceeded with the vessel to France, and repaired to his uncle at Tours, who made him a canon regular of his church. St. Patrick had already entertained the idea of converting the Irish, a design which first occurred to him during his slavery, and he now seriously and assiduously prepared himself for this important duty. But so impressed was he with the difficulty and importance of the undertaking, and the extent of the qualifications necessary to fit him for its accomplishment, that he did not adventure on it until he had attained his sixtieth year, employing the whole of this long interval in travelling from place to place, in quest of religious instruction and information. During this period he studied also for some time under St. Germanus, Bishop of Gaul. By this ecclesiastic he was sent to Rome with recommendations to Pope Celestine, who conferred upon him ordination as a bishop, and furnished him with instructions and authority to proceed to Ireland to convert its natives. On this mission he set out in the year 432, about the time that a similar attempt by Palladius had been made, and abandoned as hopeless. St. Patrick was, on this occasion, accompanied by a train of upwards of twenty persons, among whom was Germanus. He sailed for Ireland from Wales, having come first to Britain from France, and attempted to land at Wicklow, but being here opposed by the natives, he proceeded along the coast till he came to Ulster, where, meeting with a more favourable reception, he and his followers disembarked. He soon afterwards obtained a gift of some land, and founded a monastery and a church at Downe or Downpatrick. From this establishment he gradually extended his ministry to other parts of Ireland, devoting an equal portion of time to its three provinces, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, in each of which he is said to have resided seven years, making altogether a period of one and twenty. During this time he paid frequent visits to the Western Isles, with the view of disseminating there the doctrines which he taught. Being now far advanced in years, he resigned his ecclesiastical duties in Ireland, and returned to his native country, where he died. The place, however, at which this event occurred, the year in which it occurred, the age which he attained, and the original place of his interment, have all been disputed, and differently stated by different authors. The most probable account is, that he died and was buried at Kilpatrick—this, indeed, appears all but certain from many circumstances, not the least remarkably corroborative of which is, the name of the place itself, which signifies, the word being a Gaelic compound, the burial-place of Patrick—that he died about the year 458; and that he was about eighty-six years of age when this event took place.

PENNECUIK, ALEXANDER, M.D., author of a *Description of the County of Tweeddale*, and of various poems, was born in 1652, being the eldest son of Alexander Pennecuik, of Newhall, county of Edinburgh, who had served as a surgeon, first to General Bannier in the Thirty Years' war, and afterwards in the army sent by the Scots into England in 1644, in terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. The latter individual sold, in 1647, the original property of his family to the ancestor of the Clerks, baronets, who have since possessed it, and purchased, instead, the smaller adjacent estate of Newhall, to which he afterwards added by marriage that of Romanno in Peeblesshire. The subject of the present memoir, after being educated to the medical profession, and travelling, as would appear, on the Continent, settled at no advanced period of life on these patri-

monial estates, where for some years he devoted himself with warm filial affection to the care of his aged parent. The elder gentleman died at an advanced age, after having seen five Kings of Scotland, and been contemporaneous with four revolutions in the state religion; which would seem to indicate that he survived the year 1692, the date of the last establishment of Presbytery. The subject of this memoir then succeeded to the possession of Newhall and Romanno, continuing, however, to practise as a physician, in which profession he seems to have enjoyed a high reputation. Dr. Pennecuik was one of a small knot of Scottish gentlemen who cultivated letters and science at a time of comparative darkness in this country—the latter end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. His literary efforts were chiefly confined to facetious poetry, for which he seems to have found models in Butler and Dryden, and in the homely strains of the native muse. His poems refer mostly to local characters and affairs, and are now only to be valued for the vestiges of contemporary manners which are to be traced in them, but which are not always remarkable for their good taste and purity. The presbytery meetings of a Moderate district, with their convivial accompaniments, occasionally provoked the satire of his pen. The following are almost the only verses deserving to be remembered:—

INSCRIPTION FOR MY CLOSET.

Are not the ravens fed, great God, by thee?
And wilt thou clothe the lilies and not me?
I'll ne'er distrust my God for clothes nor bread,
Whilst lilies flourish, and the raven's fed.

Dr. Pennecuik has less credit for his poetry than for his devotion to botanical pursuits, as science was then even more rare than literature. For this study he enjoyed some advantages in the peripatetic nature of his life as a country physician, and in a correspondence which he carried on with Mr. James Sutherland, the superintendent of the first botanic garden in Edinburgh. In 1715 he was induced to give the result of his literary and scientific labours to the world, in a small quarto volume, containing a description of Tweeddale and his miscellaneous poems; the botany of the county being a prominent department of the volume. About a century afterwards this production was reprinted by the late Mr. Constable. Dr. Pennecuik is not only meritorious as himself a cultivator of letters, but as an encourager of the same pursuits in others. He was one of the literary gentlemen to whom Ramsay so frequently expresses his obligations, and not improbably communicated the incidents upon which that poet founded his *Gentle Shepherd*, the scene of which pastoral is, almost beyond question, the estate of Newhall, which, however, through the extravagance of a son-in-law of Dr. Pennecuik, had then passed into a different family. The subject of this memoir died in 1722.

Another writer of Scottish verses named ALEXANDER PENNECUIK flourished in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. He was a burgher of Edinburgh; the author of *Streams from Helicon*, published in 1720, and *Flowers from Parnassus*, in 1726. He wrote also a historical account of the *Blue Blanket*, or *Craftsman's Banner*; and shortly before his death commenced a periodical under the title of *Entertainment for the Curious*. In his verses he imitated Allan Ramsay. Several of his poems display considerable talent for humour. His life was dissipated and his death miserable.

PERRY, JAMES, an eminent journalist, was born in Aberdeen, on the 30th of October, 1756. He

received the rudiments of his education at the school of Garioch, and was afterwards removed to the high-school of Aberdeen. Having gone through the usual course of learning at this seminary with much credit to himself and satisfaction to his teachers, he entered Marischal College in 1771, and was afterwards, on completing his curriculum at the university, placed under Dr. Arthur Dingwall Fordyce, to qualify him for the profession of the law, a profession to which he originally intended to devote himself. The misfortunes of his father, however, who was an eminent house-builder in Aberdeen, and who had about this period entered into some ruinous speculations, compelled him suddenly to abandon his legal studies, and to resign all idea of adopting the law as a profession. In these unfortunate circumstances young Perry went to Edinburgh, in 1774, with the humble hope of procuring employment as a clerk in some writer's chambers. Even this, however, he could not obtain; and after hanging about the city for many weeks, making daily but ineffectual efforts to get into a way of earning a subsistence, he came to the resolution of trying his fortune in England. With this view he proceeded to Manchester, where he succeeded in obtaining a situation in the counting-house of a Mr. Dinwiddie, a respectable manufacturer, in which he remained for two years. During his stay in Manchester, Mr. Perry, who was yet only in the nineteenth year of his age, attracted the notice, and procured the friendship and patronage, of several of the principal gentlemen in the town, by the singular talents he displayed in a debating society which they had established for the discussion of moral and philosophical subjects. This favourable opinion of the youthful orator's abilities was still further increased by his producing several literary essays of great merit.

Encouraged by this success Mr. Perry determined to seek a wider field for the exercise of his talents; and with this view set out for London in the beginning of the year 1777, carrying with him a number of letters of introduction and recommendations from his friends in Manchester to influential individuals in the metropolis. For some time, however, these were unavailing. He could find no employment; and he seemed as hopelessly situated now in the English as he had been in the Scottish capital two years before. But the occurrence of a circumstance, not uninteresting in the memoirs of a literary man who fought his way to fame and fortune by the mere force of his talents, at length procured him at once the employment which he sought, and placed him on the path to that eminence which he afterwards attained. While waiting in London for some situation presenting itself, Mr. Perry amused himself by writing fugitive verses and short essays for a journal called the *General Advertiser*. These he dropped into the letter-box of that paper, as the casual contributions of an anonymous correspondent, and they were of such merit as to procure immediate insertion. It happened that one of the parties to whom he had a letter of recommendation, namely, Messrs. Richardson & Urquhart, had a share in the proprietorship of the *Advertiser*, and on these gentlemen Mr. Perry was in the habit of calling daily to inquire whether any situation had yet offered for him. On entering their shop one day to make the usual inquiry, Mr. Perry found Mr. Urquhart earnestly engaged in reading an article in the *Advertiser*, and evidently with great satisfaction. When he had finished, the former put the now almost hopeless question, Whether any situation had yet presented itself? and it was answered in the usual negative; "but," added Mr. Urquhart, "if you could write

such articles as this," pointing to that which he had just been reading, "you would find immediate employment." Mr. Perry glanced at the article which had so strongly attracted the attention of his friend, and discovered that it was one of his own. He instantly communicated the information to Mr. Urquhart; and at the same time pulled from his pocket another article in manuscript, which he had intended to put into the box, as usual, before returning home. Pleased with the discovery Mr. Urquhart immediately said that he would propose him as a stipendiary writer for the paper, at a meeting of the proprietors which was to take place that very evening. The result was that on the next day he was employed at the rate of a guinea a week, with an additional half-guinea for assistance to the *London Evening Post*, printed by the same person.

On receiving these appointments Mr. Perry devoted himself with great assiduity to the discharge of their duties, and made efforts before unknown in the newspaper establishments of London. On the memorable trials of Admirals Keppel and Palliser, he, by his own individual exertions, transmitted daily from Portsmouth eight columns of a report of proceedings taken in court, an achievement which had the effect of adding several thousands to the daily impression of the paper. Even while thus laboriously engaged Mr. Perry wrote and published several political pamphlets and poems on the leading topics of the day, all possessed of much merit, though of only transient interest.

In 1782 Mr. Perry commenced a periodical publication, entitled the *European Magazine*. This work, which was on a plan then new, comprising a miscellany on popular subjects and reviews of new books, appeared monthly, and from the ability with which it was conducted added greatly to the reputation and popularity of its editor. Having conducted this journal for twelve months, Mr. Perry was, at the end of that period, chosen by the proprietors of the *Gazetteer* to be editor of that paper, in which shares were held by some of the principal booksellers in London, at a salary of four guineas per week; but under an express condition, made by himself, that he should be in no way constrained in his political opinions and sentiments, which were those of Mr. Fox, of whom he was a devoted admirer. While acting as editor of the *Gazetteer* Mr. Perry effected a great improvement in the reporting department, by employing a series of reporters who should relieve each other by turns, and thus supply a constant and uninterrupted succession of matter. By this means he was enabled to give in the morning all the debates which had taken place on the preceding night, a point on which his predecessor in the editorship of the *Gazetteer* had frequently been in arrears for months, and in every case for several weeks.

One of Mr. Perry's favourite recreations was that of attending and taking part in the discussions of debating societies. In these humble but not inefficient schools of oratory, he always took a warm and active interest, and himself acquired a habit of speaking with singular fluency and force; a talent which procured him the notice of Pitt, who, then a very young man, was in the practice of frequenting a society in which Mr. Perry was a very frequent speaker, and who is said to have been so impressed with his abilities as an orator, as to have caused an offer of a seat in parliament to be conveyed to him, after he had himself attained the dignity of chancellor of the exchequer. A similar offer was afterwards made to Mr. Perry by Lord Shelburne, but his political principles prevented his accepting either of these flattering proposals.

Mr. Perry edited for several years Debrett's *Parliamentary Debates*, and afterwards, in conjunction with a Mr. Gray, bought the *Morning Chronicle* from Mr. Woodfall, a paper which he continued to conduct with great ability and independence of spirit and principle till his death, which took place at Brighton, after a painful and protracted illness, on the 6th December, 1821, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

PHILLIP, JOHN, R.A. This admired painter, who achieved so high a reputation in modern art, was of very humble origin, his father, Peter Phillip, being nothing more than a working shoemaker, who had previously served as a soldier. John, the eldest of a family of five boys, only one of whom survived him, was born at Skene Square, in the city of Aberdeen, on the 19th April, 1817. From the poverty of his father's household it was necessary that he should contribute something towards the family maintenance; and accordingly, instead of continuing to enjoy the easy life of a school-boy at the Lancastrian school, which he had attended until he was eleven years old, he was employed as an errand-boy to a tinsmith in Hutcheson Street. Even in this occupation, however, and at so early an age, he gave indications of his favourite bent; and he was wont, when he became an admired artist, to speak of his boyish apprenticeship to art in the tinsmith's shop. A part of his master's occupation was to paint with a thick coating the pails and watering-cans which he fabricated. With the coarse pigments used for such a purpose, John Phillip began not only to draw but to paint pictures, such as fancy or the surrounding objects might suggest. After having in this way attempted the rudiments of form and colour, and when he had reached his thirteenth year, better help was provided for him by William Mercer, a prolific, if not a distinguished, portrait-painter at Mounthooly, with whom he accidentally became acquainted. Mercer supplied him with a few instructions and some better colours, and these Phillip used to such purpose that the teacher began to fear that his pupil would soon eclipse him. By this time Phillip had become known to a small circle in Aberdeen by his emblematic paintings on aprons and other insignia used in trades' processions. The procession at Aberdeen in consequence of the passing of the reform bill—perhaps the most gorgeous spectacle young Phillip had ever witnessed—seems to have called forth his ambition in this direction. His success in this department encouraged him to attempt a portrait of his grandmother, of whom he is said to have produced a striking likeness.

The first rise of the embryo artist from this lowly commencement was to the shop of Mr. Spark, a house-painter and glazier at Wallace Nuiik, Nether-kirk-gate, where his chief duties consisted in preparing the materials for his master's trade, and making himself "generally useful." Here he had better opportunities for pursuing his beloved occupation, his workshop being a dim cellar lighted by a little square window with a hinged shutter; and in this humble locality, situated at the top of the brae, next Wallace Tower, young Phillip dreamed glorious dreams of beauty, and endeavoured to embody his conceptions in painting, the pleasure of the occupation being enhanced by that which usually accompanies a draught of "stolen waters." For Mr. Spark was not an exacting master; and if he saw that work was going on under his eye, he concluded that it was equally brisk in his absence. Of this confidence young Phillip availed himself with the mischievous glee and cunning of boyhood. While Spark was

present, he diligently occupied himself in kneading putty, or some such process of the trade; but no sooner had the master gone out than the concealed sketch or unfinished painting was withdrawn from its hiding-place under the work-bench, and diligently continued until the sound of advancing footsteps warned him that Spark was returning. Back then went the picture to its hiding-place, and the artist to his grinding of putty. Many years afterwards he pointed to the little square window of this otherwise dark studio, by the light of which he had sketched and painted amidst all the excitement of a game of hide-and-seek that was going on outside. In this manner he remained in the employ of the house-painter and glazier until his growing progress made such a restricted scene and occupation uncongenial, when he was freed from it by an accidental hurt received while cleaning the windows—one of the drudgeries of the establishment which had been thrust upon him. On his recovery he refused to go back to his cellar, and being fortunately not indentured, he passed into the service of Mr. Anderson, a house-painter in Queen Street; but here his stay was very short, as the same ambition made him averse to the thought of an apprenticeship to the trade of house-painting. He now felt that he was fit for something better than colouring walls and ceilings. About this time one of his paintings had been publicly exhibited, but it was in the form of a sign-board. It blazed proudly over the shop-door of a basket-maker in Queen Street, and was the picture of a wicker-basket, with all its minute intricacy depicted with exactness. In like manner one of the earliest paintings of Wilkie, executed in boyhood, was that of a boy leading a horse to water, which served as the sign-board of a common inn at Cupar-Fife, until it was rescued from such ignominy, and is still preserved as a relic. Another painting by Phillip at this period was a portrait of Alexander Brechin, his maternal grandfather.

A happy change was now at hand, by which the genius of the young artist was to be aided, animated, and directed into its right course. Mr. James Forbes, portrait-painter, had set up his studio in Aberdeen, and to this he had added a gallery of pictures copied by himself from the originals in the Stafford collection. Such a golden opportunity of a regular education in art was not to be disregarded by John Phillip. Nor was he long in applying for it in the right way. One day, when Forbes was working in his studio, a boy called upon him, and inquired if he wanted a young lad to grind his colours, and was told that no one was needed for that purpose. Caught, however, by the stripling's intelligent eyes and eager countenance, the artist questioned him further, and the boy told him how, and with whom, he was employed. "And why," said Forbes, "if you are already with a painter, do you want to leave him?" "Because," said the other, who was Phillip himself, "I want to be a painter of pictures." Struck with his answer and the applicant's trembling eagerness, the kind artist's heart relented, and after obtaining the concurrence of the boy's father took him into his employ. To Phillip it was an entrance into Elysium: he had now the means and appliances of art at command; he was surrounded with the copies of the paintings in the Stafford gallery; and from these he was permitted to draw under the teaching of his employer, who was charmed with his attempts and the rapidity of his progress. Already, too, his power as a colourist, by which his paintings were afterwards so distinguished, was clearly indicated. Phillip had already commenced his profession by painting portraits at the price of a guinea for a pair, when husband

and wifewere included; and in one of these—a female face—the flesh tints were so well laid on, that Forbes declared he would never be able to equal it, though he should "paint his eyes out."

The first visit of Phillip to the metropolis was the most important event of his early life; and for the following account of it we are indebted to one of his friends:—"At seventeen he had an ardent desire to see the pictures in the famous metropolitan exhibition at the Royal Academy, then located at Somerset House, and had confided his wish to the friendly skipper of a coasting vessel, who, probably more in jest than in earnest, promised its fulfilment. Wearied, however, by two or three disappointments, the young enthusiast secreted himself on board, and only discovered himself after the smack had left port. The skipper enraged at finding he had been so unexpectedly taken at his word, threatened chastisement, but, soon pacified, set the extra hand to paint the figure-head. Arrived at London, the poor lad was detained two days to work out the ballast from the hold. At five o'clock in the morning of the third day he started from the docks, and reached Somerset House long before the doors were opened. Purchasing a biscuit for the day's consumption, he at length gained admission, and remained in the rooms gloating over the pictorial marvels till, using the painter's own words, he was 'swept out with the sawdust in the evening.' He saw no other 'London sight.' The same night, to redeem his promise, he went back to the smack, and in her returned to Aberdeen."

This was the exhibition of 1834. On a subsequent visit to London the paintings of Sir David Wilkie, which he had hitherto known only by engravings, greatly arrested his attention. He could understand their Scottish character and appreciate their genius, the effect of which was, that on his return to Aberdeen, he attempted a subject in the same style. It was the interior of a cobbler's kitchen, the house of his own father, with the stall, its adjuncts, and several figures, and in these he imitated not a little the style and treatment of Wilkie. This picture, after being exhibited in a shop-window in Aberdeen, was purchased by the late Mr. Farquharson of Haughton. Another painting of the same character, the "Packman's Visit," succeeded. The pedler has arrived at a farm-house; and the peasantry are assembled to witness the unpacking of his goods, and be tempted to a purchase.

This last production had an important influence on the career of the aspiring artist. Major Pryse Gordon, a connoisseur in painting and also an author on the subject, on visiting the studio of Mr. Forbes was struck with the merits of the "Packman's Visit," especially its power of colour, and at once recognized the qualities of an artist that only needed cultivation to attain eminence. He constituted himself the guardian of this youth, by receiving him into his house, and procuring a tutor to instruct him. All this was well; but unfortunately the patron and his client could not well understand each other, or be at one on the means by which excellence was to be reached; and while Major Gordon thought that regular industry was everything, and that Phillip, to become eminent, should keep painting from morning till night, the other thought that inspiration as well as industry was necessary, and that due intervals ought to be allowed in order to make its visits effectual. "Does he think," exclaimed the young artist indignantly, "that I can paint at no more expense of mind than what it took to put the red and green on the pails and roozers" [watering-cans]?—alluding to the occupation of his boyhood in the tinsmith's

shop. The bondage was so irksome, that twice he attempted to escape from it by going to sea, but was as often won back by a friend whose counsels he regarded. It must be acknowledged, however, that in other respects Gordon proved a kind and affectionate friend, and was always ready to advance the interests of his *protégé*. When he had got Phillip settled in his house, he not only engaged a tutor to instruct him, but proposed among his friends a subscription for his education in art. "Nay," said the late Lord Panmure, when the proposal was suggested, "if you have found such a gem to polish, as you say, we'll do it ourselves." These were not mere words; and it was the considerate kindness and munificence of his lordship which helped to smooth the young artist's career, and lead him to fame and comfortable independence. During the two years that Phillip resided with Major Gordon, he obtained so many commissions in portrait-painting, that he was soon in possession of £300 or £400. Among the kind exertions of Major Pryse Gordon was an arrangement which he had made with Mr. T. M. Joy, an artist in London, that Phillip should live with him and study under his direction; and in 1836 the latter repaired to the metropolis for the purpose. But their connection was short, as their tastes were different; for while Phillip was mainly attracted by colour, Mr. Joy was severely devoted to form. A parting between such ill-paired votaries of art was the consequence, and each went onward in his own way. Phillip, however, had not far to seek for other instructors; he was early admitted into the school of the Royal Academy, and soon took rank among the foremost pupils. The copies of pictures which he made there were greatly admired, and obtained a ready sale; and so highly did he think of them himself in after-years, that he was ready to repurchase them when occasion offered.

A sketch-portrait of himself painted in 1837, when he had reached his twentieth year, drew forth high commendations from competent judges for its excellent qualities, and for some years thereafter he maintained himself mainly by painting portraits. In 1838 and 1839 he sent some of his portrait productions to the exhibitions of the Royal Academy, where they were of such recognized merit as to find places on the wall. In 1840 Phillip returned to his native Aberdeen, and continued to reside there the next seven years, supporting himself by portrait-painting, but also carrying onward his professional studies into the regions of ideal art, and producing various fancy compositions.

The subjects of his earlier paintings of this kind were chiefly Scottish, and among the first of these in point of time was "The Eve of Bannockburn," painted for his generous patron the late Lord Panmure, which is now, with others of his works, in the Mechanics' Institution at Brechin.

In 1840 he first ventured to exhibit one of his imaginative productions at the Royal Academy: the subject being "Tasso in Disguise relating the History of his Persecutions to his Sister;" but this picture failed to arrest attention or excite remark, being hung in the architectural room. In the same year, at the exhibition of the Society of British Artists, were his "Roland Grème's first Interview with Catherine Seyton," "Maiden Meditation," and a portrait of J. James, Esq. Also at the British Institution, "A Falconer" and "Don Quixote." In 1841 he sent to the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibition four works:—"A Reaper," "Old Age—a Study," "A Pony with Terrier," and the picture of Tasso and his Sister already referred to; and in 1843, to the Society of British Artists, "Seeking whom she had displeased." These were followed in 1844 by

"She gave me a blink of her bonnie black e'e," and "Sancho Panza solving a Problem;" and in 1845 by "And the Child grew and waxed strong." In 1847 Phillip returned to London, and during this year he sent to the Royal Academy his picture of "Presbyterian Catechising," which showed a very marked improvement on his previous productions. This indeed was the first work which brought him into particular notice in London, and from this time he sent his contributions regularly to the Academy, although sometimes he had cause to complain that his pictures were placed in inferior positions. But however he might feel chagrined on such occasions, he continued to persevere, feeling satisfied that success would be achieved by determined industry. In 1848 he sent to the Royal Academy "A Scotch Fair," a large composition abounding in figures, displaying a great variety of life, character, and action. In 1849 he sent "Drawing for the Militia;" in 1850, "Baptism in Scotland;" and in 1851, "A Scotch Washing," "A Sunbeam," and "The Spæwife."

After twelve years of ardent occupation, and while his artistic reputation had been steadily advancing, a change occurred that formed an important epoch in his professional career. His health failed him, and he was advised to try the influence of a milder climate. In the autumn of 1851 Phillip went to Seville, and spent seven or eight months in that city, with much benefit to his health, and in a way that enabled him to make great advance in his art. With renewed strength and vigour he threw off any imitative tendency that appeared in his earlier works, and developed a style of his own, founded on no especial master, though partaking of some of the best qualities of the chiefs of the Spanish schools, whom he loved and admired, especially Velasquez.

On returning from Spain, where, during his brief sojourn, Phillip had produced an immense number of studies and sketches, he visited Sir Edwin Landseer, who was so much struck with their admirable qualities that he recommended their author to her majesty Queen Victoria. By royal order the Spanish sketches were transmitted to Windsor Castle, where they remained a week for inspection, and from that time her majesty became one of Phillip's most cordial as well as influential patrons. He was sent for to paint portraits of the two daughters of King Leopold of Belgium; and the queen and her royal consort selected several of the Spanish sketches, from which Phillip was commissioned to make pictures for the royal collection. Of these productions in her majesty's possession it is enough to mention the picture termed "El Paseo," "The Letter-writer of Seville," and the "Spanish Contrabandistas."

"In 1853 Phillip exhibited at the Royal Academy the first of his Spanish pictures, 'Life among the Gipsies at Seville,' and 'La Perla de Triana.' Their colour and masterly execution astonished every one;—in them technical qualities of the highest kind, combined with great variety of character and powerful expression and feeling, were brought out in a manner far higher than in the former much-prized works of the artist, who seemed at once to have imparted to his original style such depth of tone and richness of colour, that his works in these qualities now challenged comparison with those of the best masters, ancient or modern. The succeeding exhibitions of the Royal Academy were enriched by numerous works, mostly Spanish subjects, with occasionally portraits or incidents in Scottish life. In the catalogue of the exhibition of 1854, for instance, will be found the 'Lady Cosmo Russell;' and in 1855 that of 'Collecting the Offering at a Scotch Kirk'—a

picture full of character, and very powerful in colour and effect. In 1857 Phillip was elected an associate of the Royal Academy; and the pictures he exhibited that year were 'The Prison Window, Sevilla,' and 'Charity, Sevilla, 1857.' His much-admired picture in the exhibition of 1859, 'A Huff'—remarkable for its embodiment of female beauty, variety of character, brilliant colouring, and dexterous execution—secured his election as an academician in the unusually short period of two years after he was made an associate. The picture painted for her majesty of 'The Marriage of the Princess Royal with Prince Frederic William of Prussia,' exhibited in 1860, was a striking proof of the artist's power of overcoming the difficulty of representing a state ceremony, with all its regulated details, in such a way as to make it an admirable work of art; the perhaps even more difficult subject, representing the speaker and a number of the most distinguished members of the House of Commons engaged in their deliberations, was mastered with equal success; and, being one of the best portrait compositions executed in the British school, may be ranked as an historical picture of the highest interest and value. Numerous admirable productions every successive year showed the fertility of his imagination, his rapidity of execution, and constant advancement in his art. 'La Gloria' (1864), 'The Early Career of Murillo' (1865), and 'A Chat round the Braserio' (1866), are noteworthy examples. Phillip's second visit to Spain was in 1856-57; his third and last in 1860-61. In the spring of 1866 he went to Italy, and remained there about three months, the most of the time being spent in Rome.¹

The pictures which Phillip exhibited at the Royal Academy were fifty-one in number, and comprise his chief works. Of these the following is a list, with the years in which they were severally produced, and some notices of their subjects.

1840—Tasso in Disguise relating the History of his Persecutions to his Sister.

1847—Presbyterian Catechising.

A large picture. The scene is in the kitchen of a substantial farmer, which is thronged by an assembly of all ages, called together by the occasion. The chief figure is that of the minister, who is catechising a youth and a maiden standing before him.

1848—A Couple of Rustic Lovers.

They are consulting the Fates by blowing the down from the head of a seeded dandelion.

A Scotch Fair.

A large picture, showing every variety of character found in such a scene. Even episodes of love are seen in the midst of the buying and selling.

1849—Drawing for the Militia.

A large picture. The scene is a town-hall or court-house, wherein the authorities are assembled on the left, while the right is thronged by a great variety of characters. The principal incident is the operation of measuring the men, and the most important personage in the group in this quarter is a burly recruiting sergeant in the military fashion of the early part of the present century.

1850—Baptism in Scotland.

A picture remarkable for the amount and quality of the light which pervades it. The scene is the interior of a humble cottage; the figures are numerous; the principal impersonations being placed near the window. These are the father and mother with their infant, and on the other side the officiating minister; from this focus the composition opens upon each side into complimentary groups, embracing a great variety of character, and from this centre also the light is distributed and graduated.

1851—Scotch Washing.

A burnside, with groups of women and girls busied in washing clothes. Engraved on a large scale

in mixed style by S. Bellin. The print is titled "Heather Belles."

A Sunbeam.

A child on its mother's knee trying to catch a ray of light that streams through the cottage window.

The Spaewife of the Clachan.

1853—La Perla de Triana.

A characteristic study of a Spanish rustic coquette. Life among the Gipsies at Seville.

A large picture. The scene is apparently the yard of a *posada*, where two young Englishmen are surveying the lower strata of Spanish life, themselves as much observed by others as observers. The work comprises numerous figures, and presents great variety of character and grouping. Some of the gipsies as well as the townspeople are arrayed in their bright holiday attire. There is no leading incident, but plenty of action, and the interest is sustained throughout.

1854—The Lady Cosmo Russell.

A cabinet portrait. The lady is dressed in the Spanish style.

A Letter-writer—Seville.

At a street corner, an elderly man is writing a love-letter to the dictation of a lady. A woman of the lower orders with two children is standing by with a letter which she wishes to have read to her. Now in the royal collection at Osborne. Engraved by L. Stocks, A.R.A., in the *Art Journal*, vol. for 1858.

1855—El Paseo.

Two Spanish ladies on the promenade in national costume. The figures are half-length. Now in the royal collection at Osborne. Engraved by Devachez in the *Art Journal* vol. for 1859.

Collecting the Offering in a Scotch Kirk.

A tall elder presents a long-handled box ("ladle") to the tenants of a pew, some of whom contribute, others decline. A little girl has got a penny to pass into the box, but she holds it tightly, and would evidently rather retain it.

Portrait of Sir John Bent, late mayor of Liverpool.

Sunshine in the Cottage.

1856—Agua Fresca—on one of the Bridle Roads of Spain.

A muleteer has halted at a roadside well, where a woman is drawing water, one of whose earthen vessels he raises above his head and suffers the stream to flow into his mouth.

And the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick.

The interior of a church in Spain during public worship. A woman, with an infant in her arms, has brought her sick boy to the church in the faith of a cure; behind her stands a tall aged man of the labouring class; on her right two damsels, one with a missal, the other with a fan—a procession is passing by.

Dona Pepita.

A Spanish lady seated as if at the theatre, shading her face with her fan.

A Gipsy Water-carrier of Seville.

A woman with water-jars. A life-sized study.

1857—The Prison Window—Sevilla, 1857.

A prisoner is at the window, to which his wife on the outside holds up their child that he may kiss his father; the mother looks down weeping. Engraved large by T. O. Barlow.

Charity—Sevilla, 1857.

A Spanish beggar-woman carrying a child asks alms of a priest, who, with a red umbrella under his arm, and his hands folded before him, passes by without taking any notice of her. Bread is seen exposed for sale on a stall near by.

1858—H. R. H. the Prince Consort.

Painted for the city of Aberdeen. A whole-length portrait in the Highland dress.

Al Duena.

The duena is in attendance on a lady young and pretty. Half-length figures.

El Cortejo.

Two Spanish figures, a man and a woman, in the costume of humble life.

Portrait of John Thomas, Esq.

Spanish Contrabandistas.

A large picture. It shows an interior in which some Spanish smugglers have taken refuge; one of their number mortally wounded, is anxiously tended by a woman who may be his wife. Another stands at a window preparing to fire on their pursuers. A mule, still in its trappings, stands near the dying man.

Youth in Seville.

A youth and a maiden in festal costume.

¹ Biographic notice in the *Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland*.

Daughters of the Alhambra.

Two girls at a window of Moorish design.

1859—A Huff.

A large composition, presenting a group of Spanish holiday-makers, of whom the principal and centre figure is a girl who stands pouting and angry, while her companion wishes her to turn round and speak to a man on horseback (her husband or lover), with whom she appears to have quarrelled.

Portrait of Augustus L. Egg, A.R.A.

A small picture. The subject is seated with a terrier on his knee.

1860—The Marriage of the Princess Royal with the Prince Frederick William of Prussia, January 25, 1858.

On the left is the Archbishop, and before him kneel the Prince and Princess. Immediately behind the latter the bridesmaids are kneeling, and towards the right stand the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and other members of the royal family, with a numerous attendance. On the left are the members of the Prussian court, and in the back-ground a number of figures more or less in shade. This picture has been engraved on a large size in the line manner by Blanchard.

Prayer.

A Spanish woman—a fruit-seller—sits in a church in fervent prayer; near her is a girl who is flirting her fan and showing little trace of penitence. The artist's diploma work, deposited in the Royal Academy on his election as academician.

1861—Spanish Gossips at a Well.

Some men—one of them a muleteer—have met two buxom girls at a fountain, and are bantering and jesting with them. One of the girls stands in pretended dignity, while the head of the other is half-hidden behind her; and the muleteer has withdrawn his cigar from his mouth to give utterance to some jest.

1862—A Spanish Volunteer.

The volunteer before setting out is embracing his wife, who clings closely to him, while his mother holds his gun.

Doubtful Fortune!

A Spanish lady is consulting a gipsy fortune-teller, and drawing a card from a pack held by her.

Water Drinkers.

Two ladies stop in the street to drink water poured for them from a jar by a sturdy fellow, who, cigarette in mouth, raises the vessel on his knee. The figures are half-length.

Dolores.

1863—Agua Bendita.

A scene at the porch of a church in Spain. Before the holy-water vessel fixed near the entrance, two parties have met—a young lady with her infant and her husband, and a gipsy woman, who kneels and receives the holy water from the child's fingers.

The House of Commons, 1860.

The most prominent figure is that of the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, who stands in the act of addressing the House; in various parts are grouped the other important members of the House. All are portraits, and the difficulties incident to the pictorial rendering of such a scene are very successfully overcome. Painted for the late Speaker. Engraved on a large size in mixed style by T. O. Barlow.

1864—La Gloria—a Spanish Wake.

At one side of the picture an open door gives a glimpse into a partly darkened room, where on a couch lies the dead body of a child, crowned with flowers. Near the door crouches the young mother, whose face and action strikingly express her sense of bereavement. Two women address her with soothing words, and entreat her to join a noisy throng of friends and neighbours who dance and sing in the street,—their mode of showing their belief that the child is now in glory.

Portrait of the Earl of Dalhousie.

1865—The Early Career of Murillo, 1634.

A market-place in the great square of a town. Murillo, who is little more than a boy, has come among others to dispose of his wares—little pictures of saints, male and female. Two friars have halted to look at his work, and one of them has taken a picture into his hand to examine it. A Spanish peasant woman with a child in her arms is staring eagerly at the picture which is under judgment. On the left

of the woman is a fellow seated sideways on a mule, who munches his dinner as he swings along.

A Prima Donna in the Character of Rosina.

Fan in hand and peeping sideways at a letter.

1866—The Right Hon. Duncan M'Neill, of Colonsay, Lord President of the Court of Session; to be placed in the Parliament House, Edinburgh.

A Chat round the Brascero.

A Spanish priest is telling stories to a number of women as they sit together round a brazier in the middle of a room. He has paused to light his cigarette, and also to enjoy the laughter his story has caused. An old woman is shaking with laughter; a dark brown damsel covers her mouth, while another young woman rolls backward in her chair, giving full vent to her merriment.

Portrait of Mrs. Cooper.

1867—"O Nannie, wilt thou gang wi' me?"

A lad and lass in confidential converse.

A Highland Lassie reading.

Antonia. A half-length figure.

Besides these, two paintings, said to be the last from the easel of this great artist, ought still to be mentioned. They are illustrative of the national lottery in Spain, the one being the "Purchase of the Tickets," the other "The Results of the Drawing." In the first all are rushing helter-skelter to the purchase, while the face of every buyer is lighted with hope; in the second, there are the few happy countenances of the winners, while the looks of the many are distorted with every shade from disappointment to despair. The subjects are treated not only with the humour but much of the moral power of Hogarth. These paintings were exhibited, not at the Royal Academy, but by the Messrs. Agnew in the summer of 1867.

While in his earlier years Phillip industriously painted portraits for a living, in his after-years, when he had gained both fame and emolument, he painted portraits for enjoyment, when he found a subject worthy of his powers, or one that personally interested him.

He was fond "of presenting to his friends sketches or portraits of themselves or of relatives dear to them; and the houses of many who had the honour and pleasure of his acquaintance are thus enriched by productions of his ready and industrious pencil, which could be readily sold at high prices did not their owners prefer to cherish them as memorials of the painter's friendship. Indeed, his devotion to his art for its own sake was so great as to induce in him an almost blamable disregard of fit remuneration—and certainly in the course of his work he never considered the rate of payment, but bent his best powers to everything he undertook. At the same time, for fifteen or sixteen years all that he did secured high prices. He was overwhelmed with orders, and it had long been easier to get from him a specimen of his work for love than for money. At the time of his death he had work before him for many years—having on hand, it is understood, commissions to the amount of £20,000. He left a number of noble works in progress, many of them of Spanish subjects, but some of the very latest are Scotch. Among the former of these may be mentioned "Spanish Boys Playing at Bull-fighting." In this large painting, the spirit of the boys, while engaged in an imitation of the great national pastime, is admirably delineated; all are animated by chivalrous ardour mixed with boyish glee; and while a beautiful woman is withdrawing hastily from the uproar, a veteran bull-fighter seems to be warming into "a boy again" at the spectacle. This painting, executed in his best style, Phillip brought from Spain. He received a commission from the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts to finish it, with a view to its being placed in the National Gallery of his native

country; but death made the purpose unavailing. Such, however, even in its unfinished state, are the remarkable qualities of the picture, that the Royal Association accepted it at the price for which they had stipulated when finished, and it now adorns the National Gallery in Edinburgh. In the same collection is a reduced copy by Phillip of the celebrated picture by Velasquez of the "Surrender of Breda," in the museum at Madrid, generally called "Las Lanzas," from the spears or pikes of the soldiers in line, in the middle distance.

To this general sketch only a few particulars need to be added. Besides being a member of the Royal Academy, Phillip was an honorary member of the Royal Scottish Academy, an institution in which he took a warm interest, and during the last twelve years he annually enriched its exhibitions by several important works of his own which were among the chief attractions of the collection. These pictures had previously been exhibited in London, and were obtained in loan from their owners.

Although half a Spaniard in the choice of his line of art, and half a Londoner by long residence in the British capital, his heart never ceased to beat affectionately towards Scotland; he was well-known in Edinburgh, where his almost unbroken annual visits created a stir of satisfaction; and one of the chief objects of his ambition was to obtain a habitation and resting-place upon his native soil, in which he succeeded a few years before he died by the purchase of a cottage or shooting-box in Glen Urquhart. It was at Divach, a picturesque spot at the head of the glen; and in this Highland abode, he hoped not only to enjoy a healthful summer residence, but a permanent at last, when his toils were exchanged for the enjoyment of a tranquil old age. In the meantime he prosecuted his art so diligently that his works continued steadily to improve in excellence; and being still in little more than the meridian of life—for he had not yet completed his fiftieth year—his admirers reasonably anticipated such success from his matured powers as would exceed his past performances, distinguished though they had been. An attack of low fever however, from which he recovered, was succeeded on Tuesday the 19th of February, 1867, while conversing with a brother artist, by a stroke of paralysis, from the effects of which he died on the 27th of the same month. The unexpectedness of such an event deepened the sorrow of his friends and the public at large, who hoped that he would be continued to them many years longer, and that he would yet attain still higher excellence. Thus passed away our modern Velasquez—an artist who had won for himself the reputation of being perhaps the first colourist not only in Britain, but in Europe. The chief technical characteristics of his style may be said to be great breadth of treatment and powerful colour. "He threw his whole soul into his subject, seizing with the instinct of genius its main points and effects, and he worked with a zeal and enthusiasm which often overtasked his physical powers. The result of his Spanish experience, however, was only a splendid development, or gorgeous blossoming, of his genius. He was the same painter, as he was the same man throughout, only growing greater in his art, and dearer to his friends, year by year. His vigorous and characteristic delineations of the manners and customs of the Andalusians—in number almost numberless, and infinite in variety; some simply descriptive, some humorous, some full of passion or of pathos—excited universal admiration in the world of art—admiration warmly shared by his brother artists, who acknowledged him with one voice as at

the very head of his profession in his own style. And on art he has undoubtedly left his mark more distinctly and emphatically than any of his contemporaries can hope to do."

His personal character is thus given by one who knew him intimately and enjoyed his friendship:—"Manliness, honesty, perseverance, fortitude, and geniality were the chief traits of Phillip's character as a man. He was alike beloved and respected by all who knew him, and throughout a life chastened by severe trial and affliction, conducted himself at all times so as to enhance the love and esteem of those who knew him best. The suffering and depression he occasionally endured never disabled him from rejoicing with those that rejoiced: in his many trials he always found solace in the society of his friends, or in devotion to his much-loved art. Artists endowed with faculties such as John Phillip possessed are of rare occurrence, and are never repeated. We have had greater artists, and we hope to have greater still. His genius was only exceeded by his industry; his art was only exceeded by his lovable qualities as a man, and his complete sinking of self and selfishness in all that he said or did."

When he died, the artist left behind him a widow and two children, the elder a daughter approaching maturity, and the younger a son about ten years of age.

PICKEN, ANDREW. This amiable and agreeable writer in miscellaneous literature was born at Paisley, in 1788. His father, who was a wealthy and thriving manufacturer of the town of Paisley, intended that his son Andrew should follow the mercantile profession, and to that effect the youth was educated. While still very young, he repaired to the West Indies, but finding, on close trial, that the office he held offered few of those advantages it had promised, he returned home, and obtained a confidential situation in the Bank of Ireland. Here he might have enjoyed years of tranquil comfort, and retired at last with a competence, if he could have contented himself with the monotonous routine of a banking establishment; but having either too much genius, or too little firmness and self-denial, for such a life, he threw up his charge, to the great regret of his friends in Ireland; returned to Scotland, and commenced business in Glasgow on his own account. But, unluckily for his interests, the same restless and aspiring spirit continued to haunt him; and finding the occupations of the counting-house insufficient, he combined them with the more attractive and congenial pursuits of authorship. We can easily guess how such a merchant would be regarded in those days by his brethren of the Tontine, and what faith they would attach to bills subscribed by the same hand that wrote stories and novels. In the meantime, his first work came out, under the title of *Tales and Sketches of the West of Scotland*; and, independently of the novelty of such a *rara avis* as a Glasgow *littérateur*, the intrinsic merits of the work itself secured for it a large share of local popularity. Among these tales, that of "Mary Ogilvie" is an admirable specimen of his dramatic power in investing ordinary events with high interest, and giving them unwonted influence over our best feelings. As an offset, however, to this, one of the sketches produced a very opposite effect; it was "On the Changes of the West of Scotland during the Last Half-century;" and every one aware of these changes can easily divine how hard his notices must have occasionally borne upon some of the most influential and worshipful of the rising city of Glasgow. These notices Mr. Picken did not withhold; on the contrary, he revelled among them

with such satirical glee, that the strongest part of the community was in arms against him. This, and other additional causes, soon made the metropolis of the west too hot for him, and accordingly he removed to Liverpool. The change of place was accompanied by change of occupation, for in the town of his new residence he commenced the trade of bookseller.

From the foregoing statement it will easily be judged, that whether merchant, banker, or bookseller, Mr. Picken was not likely to be prosperous. He had no love of traffic, either for its own sake or for its profits; and, besides this, he was too sanguine and too credulous either to win money or to keep it. This was especially the case in 1826, when mercantile speculation was so rampant. Induced by the persuasions of friends, he embarked his all among the hazardous ventures of the day, and that all was lost. Even then, however, when his books as a bankrupt were inspected, his integrity was so manifest, that his creditors, after sympathizing with him in his losses, were ready to aid him in commencing business anew; but of this he seemed to think he had got enough. He now resolved to surrender himself wholly to literature as a profession, and for that purpose he removed to London, with a novel in his pocket, the composition of which had been his solace in the season of distress. This work, entitled the *Sectarian*, was published by Colburn, and on its first appearance excited considerable attention, on account of its vivid sketches, chiefly of morbid feelings and their effects; but however such anatomy may interest for the moment, a reaction of pain, or even of absolute disgust, is certain to follow, and the work is thrown aside, never to be reopened. This, however, was not the chief cause that made the *Sectarian* a failure. It contained such a sketch of religious melancholy, terminating in madness, as gave offence to the sober-minded, drawn though it was from a living reality. Although this literary production was so unfortunate in itself that it never became popular, and soon passed away, its evidently powerful writing was the means of introducing its author to the editors of our chief periodicals, who were glad to avail themselves of his services, on which account he was a frequent contributor to the reviews and magazines of the day.

Mr Picken had now fully embarked in authorship as a trade, and with such an amount of talent and perseverance as might have won his way to fortune in any other department. In 1830 he published the *Dominie's Legacy*, a work whose success made ample amends for the failure of the *Sectarian*, as it raised him at once to a high rank among the delineators of Scottish humble life. In this, too, he succeeded all the more, that instead of converting facts into mere pegs for theories and opinions of his own, he tells right onward what he saw and what he felt, and makes truth and reality everything—a process in which he was sure to carry along with him at least nine-tenths of his readers. His next work was the *Lives of Eminent Missionaries*, which he undertook for Colburn's *Juvenile Library*; but as this serial publication was brought to a close before his *Lives* were ready for the press, they were subsequently published in a separate volume by Kidd, and passed through two large impressions. Picken's next work was the *Club Book*, a collection of papers, some of which were contributed by distinguished living writers; but even among these his own tales were not of inferior interest or power. In proof of this may be mentioned the *Three Kearneys*, a sketch of Irish life, and the *Deer-stalkers*. Soon after the *Club Book* he published a work on the Canadas, but chiefly a compilation, in which he received important

aid from his friend Mr. Galt. This was followed by *Walham*, a tale, which appeared in Leitch Ritchie's *Library of Romance*.

This rapid succession of works within so brief a period only seemed to animate Picken to further efforts, and in 1832 he published *Traditionary Stories of Old Families*, in two volumes. He thus ascended to what might be termed the fountain-head and source of the romance of biography. As this was designed merely as the first part of a series that should comprise the legendary history of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the work excited considerable interest among the aristocracy, many of whom offered him free access to their family archives for the successful continuation of his task. But before he could avail himself of this courteous permission, his career was suddenly terminated. On the 10th of November, 1833, while conversing with his son, he was struck down in a moment with apoplexy, but afterwards rallied so effectually, that hopes of his full recovery were entertained by his family and friends. These hopes proved fallacious, for after an evening of cheerful conversation with his wife and children, he expired early next morning (the 23d of November), but so tranquilly, that he seemed only to have turned himself again to sleep.

Besides the works we have already enumerated, Picken, a short time before he died, had completed the *Black Watch*, a tale containing the origin of the 42d regiment and its exploits during the period of Fontenoy, and those stirring campaigns which, as yet, historical novel-writing had left untouched. This work, which he regarded as his best, was the only legacy which he could bequeath to his wife and six children, who were left otherwise unprovided by his death.

PINKERTON, JOHN, a voluminous historian and critic, was born at Edinburgh on the 17th February, 1758.¹ He was the youngest of three sons of James Pinkerton, who had, in Somersetshire, acquired an independence as a dealer in hair, and returned to his native country, Scotland, where he married a widow whose maiden name was Heron. The opening of young Pinkerton's intellect fell to the charge of an old woman acting as schoolmistress of a village near Edinburgh, and he was afterwards removed to the grammar-school of Lanark. At school he is said to have shown, in apathy and abstinence from the usual boyish gratifications, the acidity of disposition for which he was afterwards more particularly distinguished. Hypochondria, inherited from his father, is believed to have been the primary cause of the characteristic. He is said to have publicly distinguished himself at school by his early classical acquirements, having, as an exercise, translated a portion of Livy, which his preceptor, on a comparison, decided to be superior to the same passage as translated in Hooker's *Roman History*. After having remained at school for six years he returned to Edinburgh. The dislike of his father to a university education seems to have for some time after this period subjected him to a sort of half literary imprisonment, in which, by alternate fits, he devoted his whole time to French, the classics, and mathematics. Intended for the legal profession he was apprenticed to Mr. Aytoun, an eminent writer to the signet, under whose direction he remained for the usual period of five years. Apparently during his apprenticeship, in 1776, he published an *Ode to Craigmillar Castle*, dedicated to Dr. Beattie. The professor seems to have given the young poet

¹ Nichol's *Lit. Illustrations*, v. 666.

as little encouragement as a dedicatee could in politeness return. "There are many good lines," he says, "in your poem; but when you have kept it by you a week or two, I fancy you will not think it correct enough as yet to appear in public."¹ But Pinkerton had a mind too roughly cast for poetry, and it was only when his imitations were mistaken for the rudeness of antiquity that his verses were at all admired.

After 1780, when his father died, he visited London, and having previously contracted a slight bibliomania, the extent and variety of the booksellers' catalogues are said to have proved a motive for his taking up his residence in the metropolis as a literary man, and eschewing Scotch law. In 1781 he published in octavo some trifles, which it pleased him in his independence of orthography to term *Rimes*. This work contained a second part to *Hardyknute*, which he represented as "now first published complete." If Pinkerton thought that his imposition was to get currency by being added to a ballad really ancient, the circumstance would show the extreme ignorance of the period as to the literature of our ancestors; for it is now needless to remark how unlike this composition is to the genuine productions of the elder muse. The imposition in this case was not entirely successful. "I read over again," says Mr. Porden the architect, "the second part of *Hardyknute*; and I must inform you that I have made up my mind with respect to the author of it. I know not whether you will value a compliment paid to your genius at the expense of your imitative art, but certainly that genius sheds a splendour on some passages which betrays you."² In 1782 appeared a second edition of the *Rimes*, and at the same time he published two separate volumes of poetry, which have dropped into oblivion. In the ensuing year he published, in two volumes, his *Select Scottish Ballads*, a work rather more esteemed. At this period he turned the current of his laborious intellect to numismatics. Early in life a latent passion for the collection of antiquities had been accidentally (as is generally the case with antiquaries) called into action. He drew up a manual and table of coins for his own use, which afterwards expanded itself into the celebrated *Essay on Medals*, published in two volumes 8vo, in 1784; and published a third time in 1808. These volumes form a manual which is continually in the hands of numismatists. In 1785 he published, under the assumed name of Robert Heron, a work termed *Letters of Literature*: the singularity of this work suggests that its author was guilty of affecting strangeness for the purpose of attracting notice. Among the most prominent subjects was a new system of orthography, or, more properly, of grammar, which, by various transmutations, such as classical terminations (e.g. the use of *s* instead of *z* in forming plurals), was to reduce the harshness of the English language. Such an attempt on the public sense was not in all respects effective, but the odium occasioned very naturally fell on poor Robert Heron, who was just then struggling into being as a literary man. The work, however, procured for Pinkerton an introduction to Horace Walpole, who made him acquainted with Gibbon. The proud spirit of that great historian seems to have found something congenial in the restless and acrid Pinkerton. He recommended him to the booksellers as a person fit to translate the *English Monkish Historians*. In an address which Gibbon had intended to prefix to the work, his protégé was almost extravagantly lauded: but the plan as then designed

was never put in practice. The friendship of Walpole continued till his death; and, light and versatile in his own acquirements, he seems to have looked on the dogged perseverance and continually accumulating knowledge of Pinkerton with some respect. After Walpole's death Pinkerton sold a collection of his *Ana* to the proprietors of the *Monthly Magazine*, and they were afterwards published under the title *Walpoliana*.

In 1786 Pinkerton published "*Ancient Scottish Poems*, never before in Print, but now Published from the Manuscript Collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight, Lord Privy-seal of Scotland; comprising Pieces written from about 1420 till 1586: with Large Notes and a Glossary." Pinkerton maintained that he had found the manuscript in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, and in his correspondence he sometimes alludes to the deceit with very admirable coolness. The forgery was one of the most audacious recorded in the annals of transcribing. Time, place, and circumstances were all minutely stated—there was no mystery. Among Pinkerton's opinions as to character, that of literary impostor was of the most degraded order. The whole force of his nature and power over the language were employed to describe his loathing and contempt. On Macpherson, who executed the task with more genius but certainly much less historical knowledge than himself, he poured the choice of his denunciations. In 1787 he published "*The Treasury of Wit*;" being a Methodical Selection of about Twelve Hundred of the best Apophthegms and Jests, from Books in several Languages." This work is not one of those which may be presumed to have been consonant with Pinkerton's pursuits, and it probably owed its existence to a favourable engagement with a bookseller; but even in a book of anecdotes this author could not withstand the desire of being distinct from other men, and took the opportunity of making four divisions of wit and humour, viz. "serious wit, comic wit; serious humour, and comic humour." During the same year he produced a "*Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths*," being an Introduction to the Ancient and Modern History of Europe." In the compilation of this small treatise he boasts of having employed himself eight hours per day for one year in the examination of classical authors: the period occupied in consulting those of the Gothic period, which he found to be "a mass of superfluity and error," he does not venture to limit. This production was suggested by his reading for his celebrated account of the early history of Scotland, and was devised for the laudable purpose of proving that the Celtic race was more degraded than the Gothic, as a preparatory position to the arguments maintained in that work. He accordingly shows the Greeks to have been a Gothic race, in as far as they were descended from the Pelasgi, who were Scythians or Goths—a theory which, by the way, in the secondary application, has received the sanction of late etymologists and ethnologists of eminence—and, by a similar progress, he showed the Gothic origin of the Romans. Distinct from the general account of the progress of the Goths, which is certainly full of information and acuteness, he had a particular object to gain in fixing on an island formed by the influx of the Danube in the Euxine Sea, fortunately termed by the ancient geographers "*Peuke*," and inhabited by Peukini. From this little island, of the importance of which he produces many highly respectable certificates, he brings the Peukini along the Danube, whence, passing to the Baltic, they afterwards appear in Scotland as the Picts or Pechts.

¹ Pinkerton's *Correspondence*, i. 2.

² *Ibid.* i. 25.

At this period Pinkerton appears to have been an unsuccessful candidate for a situation in the British Museum. Horace Walpole says to him in a letter of the 11th February, 1788, "I wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, soliciting his interest for you, should there be a vacancy at the museum. He answers (and I will show you his answer when I see you), that he is positively engaged to Mr. Thorkelin, should Mr. Planta resign; but that, the chancellor having refused to sign the permission for the latter, who will not go abroad without that indulgence, no vacancy is likely to happen from that event."¹ In 1789 he edited from early works, printed and manuscript, *Vite Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotorum*. This work, of which only one hundred copies were printed, is now scarce and expensive; but at its appearance it seems to have met little encouragement from the author's countrymen. "Mr. Cardonnel," says Pinkerton, in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, "some months since informed me that, upon calling at Creech's shop, he learned there were about a dozen subscribers to the *Vite Sanctorum Scoticæ*. Upon desiring my factor, Mr. Buchan, since to call on Mr. Creech, and learn the names, Creech informed him 'there were about two or three; and the subscription paper was lost, so he could not tell the names.'"² During the same year Pinkerton published his edition of Barbour's *Bruce*. Although the most correct edition up to the period of Dr. Jamieson's publication, it was far from accurate, and gave the editor ample opportunity of vituperating those friends who incautiously undertook to point out its mistakes. In 1790 appeared the *Medallie History of England to the Revolution*, in 4to, with forty plates; and at the same time, the *Inquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III.*, or 1056, including the *Authentic History of that Period*. This work contained a sort of concentration of all his peculiarities. It may be said to have been the first work which thoroughly sifted the great "Pictish question"—the question whether the Picts were Goths or Celts. In pursuance of his line of argument in the progress of the Goths, he takes up the former position; and in the minds of those who have no opinions of their own, and have consulted no other authorities, by means of his confidence and his hard terms he may be said to have taken the point by storm. But he went farther in his proofs. It was an undoubted fact that the Scots were Celts, and all old authorities bore that the Scots had subdued the Picts. This was something which Pinkerton could not patiently contemplate; but he found no readier means of overcoming it than by proving that the Picts conquered the Scots—a doctrine founded chiefly on the natural falsehood of the Celtic race, which prompted a man of sense, whenever he heard anything asserted by a Celt, to believe that the converse was the truth. He amused himself with picking out terms of reproach for the Macphersons: of the doctor, he said, "His etymological nonsense he assists with gross falsehoods, and pretends to skill in the Celtic without quoting a single MS.; in short, he deals wholly in assertion and opinion; and it is clear that he had not even an idea what learning and science are:"³ of the translator he not less politely observes, "He seems resolved to set every law of common science and common understanding at defiance."⁴

His numberless observations on the Celts are thus pithily brought to a focus: "Being mere savages, but one degree above brutes, they remain still in

much the same state of society as in the days of Julius Cæsar; and he who travels among the Scottish Highlanders, the old Welsh, or wild Irish, may see at once the ancient and modern state of women among the Celts when he beholds these savages stretched in their huts, and their poor women toiling like beasts of burden for their unmanly husbands."⁵ And he thus draws up a comparison betwixt these unfortunates and his favourite Goths. "The Lowlanders are acute, industrious, sensible, erect, free: the Highlanders, indolent, slavish, strangers to industry. The former, in short, have every attribute of a civilized people: the latter are absolute savages; and, like Indians and negroes, will ever continue to . . . All we can do is to plant colonies among them, and by this, and encouraging their emigration, try to get rid of the breed."⁶ Pinkerton proved indeed a sore visitation to the Celts. Moderate men had no objections to a conflict which might at least bring amusement, and might serve to humble the arrogance by displaying the ignorance of a people who seemed to take an unfortunate pride in the continuance of barbarism. Few took their side; and Pinkerton had many triumphs over their native champions in the recurrence of that ignorance of their own history which he maintained to be their characteristic. His knowledge of history effectually foiled any claim put in for Celtic merit. He would call on the company to name a Celt of eminence. "If one mentioned Burke," observes a late writer: "What," said he, "a descendant of De Bourq? Class that high Norman chivalry with the rif-raff of O's and Mac's? Show me a great O', and I am done." He delighted to prove that the Scottish Highlanders had never had but a few great captains, such as Montrose, Dundee, the first Duke of Argyll; and these were all Goths—the two first Lowlanders, the last a Norman, a *De Campo Bello*.⁷

In 1792 Pinkerton edited *Scottish Poems, reprinted from Scarce Editions*, in three volumes octavo. In 1796 appeared his *History of Scotland during the Reign of the Stuarts*, in two volumes quarto, one of the most unexceptionable of his historical works, and still the most laboured and accurate complete history of the period. In 1798 he married Miss Burgess of Odiham, Hants, sister to Thomas, Bishop of Salisbury. The union was unhappy, and the parties separated. In 1795 and 1797 he bestowed some pains in preparing lives of Scotsmen for the *Iconographia Scotica*, two volumes octavo; but the information in the work is very meagre, and the plates are wretchedly engraved. In 1802 he published, in two volumes quarto, *Modern Geography, digested on a New Plan*—a work somewhat hastily got up, and deficient in some of its parts, but still one of the most compendious and useful geographical works of the period. A second edition was published in 1806, in three volumes; and an abridgement in one octavo, is well known. At the commencement of the century he visited Paris; and in 1806 published *Recollections of Paris in the years 1802-5*, two volumes octavo. For some years after this period he found employment in editing *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, extending to nineteen volumes quarto, and a *New Modern Atlas*, in parts. For a short period he also edited the *Critical Review*. His last work was on a subject foreign to his previous studies, but which appears from his correspondence to have occupied much of his attention during his old age: it was entitled *Petralogy, or a Treatise on Rocks*, two volumes octavo, 1811. In

¹ *Correspondence*, i. 180.

² *Ibid.* 177.

³ *Inquiry*, Introd. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.* 64.

⁵ *Inquiry*, i. 268.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 340.

⁷ *Nichol's Illustrations*, v. 669.

his latter years he resided in Paris, where he died, in indigent circumstances, on the 10th March, 1825, at the age of sixty-seven. He is described to have been "a very little and very thin old man, with a very small, sharp, yellow face, thickly pitted by the small-pox, and decked with a pair of green spectacles."¹

PITCAIRNE, DR. ARCHIBALD, an eminent physician of the seventeenth century, was born at Edinburgh on the 25th December, 1652. His father, who was descended of an ancient family in Fife, was an eminent merchant, and one of the magistrates of the city. His mother, whose name was Sydsenf, was a member of a highly respectable family in East Lothian. Dr. Pitcairne received the earlier part of his education at Dalkeith. He was afterwards removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he made great progress in classical learning, and completed a regular course of philosophy. His subsequent education ranged over the extensive field of the three professions pre-eminently styled learned. At the request of his friends, who were desirous that he should devote himself to the church, he first entered on the study of theology, but finding neither this study nor the profession to which it led at all suitable to his temper, disposition, or habits, he abandoned it, and turned his attention to law.

To this pursuit, which he found more congenial than the other, and in which he became fired with an ambition to excel, he devoted himself with an ardour and intensity of application that induced symptoms of approaching consumption. To arrest the progress of this malady, he was advised by his physicians to repair to the south of France for the benefit of the milder climate of that country. By the time, however, that Mr. Pitcairne reached Paris he found himself so much better, that he determined on remaining in that city, and resuming his legal studies there; but having formed an acquaintance, while in the French capital, with some agreeable young men from Scotland, who were engaged in the study of medicine, he was prevailed upon by them to abandon the law and to join in their pursuits. To these he applied accordingly for several months, when he was recalled to Edinburgh by his father. This was now the third profession which he had begun, and the indecision of his conduct with regard to a permanent choice naturally gave much uneasiness to his friends; but this was allayed by his finally declaring for physic, and applying himself with extraordinary diligence to the study of botany, pharmacy, and materia medica. He afterwards went a second time to Paris to complete his studies, and on that occasion acquired an entire and profound knowledge of medicine. Thus prepared, he returned to his native city, where he practised with singular success till the year 1692, when his great reputation, which was now diffused throughout Europe, and which had been not a little increased by his able treatise regarding Hervey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, entitled *Solutio Problematis de Inventoribus*, procured him an invitation from Leyden to the professorship of physic in the celebrated university of that city; and so sensible were the patrons of the merits of Dr. Pitcairne, and the value of his services, that the invitation was accompanied by the offer of a much larger salary than had been usually attached to the office. Dr. Pitcairne accepted the invitation, but remained in Leyden only twelve months. At the end of that period he came over to Edinburgh to marry a daughter of Sir Archibald Stevenson, an

eminent physician in the latter city, to whom he had been betrothed before leaving Scotland, and whom it was his intention to carry along with him to Leyden; but the lady's friends objected to her going abroad, and Dr. Pitcairne so far yielded to these objections as to resign his professorship, and reconcile himself to the resumption of his practice as a physician in his native city. Nor had he any reason to regret the change thus in a manner forced upon him, for he soon found himself in possession of a most extensive and lucrative business. During the short time he was at Leyden Dr. Pitcairne chose the texts of his medical lectures from the writings of Bellini, who, in return for this flattering compliment, dedicated to the doctor his *Opuscula*.

Dr. Pitcairne's reputation for skill in his profession now daily increased. He was consulted by patients in distant parts of Scotland, and frequently from England and Wales, and was altogether looked upon as the most eminent physician of his time. Nor was his fame as a scholar behind that which he enjoyed as a medical practitioner. His *Solutio Problematis*, &c., published soon after he had first commenced business in Edinburgh, had gained him much reputation as a learned man as well as a skilful physician, and he still more strongly established his claims to the former character by a quarto work, entitled *Archibaldi Pitcairni Dissertationes Medice*, which was published at Rotterdam in 1701, and dedicated to his friend Bellini. Dr. Pitcairne also wrote Latin poetry with very considerable elegance and taste, although Wodrow, in his *Analecta*, speaks of him in this capacity as only "a sort of a poet." But he was something more than this, and had not the subjects of his muse unfortunately been all of but transitory interest, and therefore now nearly wholly unintelligible, his fame as a Latin poet would have been very far from contemptible. Some of these poems were published in 1727 by Ruddiman, in order to meet a charge which had been made upon Scotland that it was deficient in this department of literature.

Dr. Pitcairne's chief work was published in 1718, under the title of *Elementa Medicinæ Physico-Mathematicæ*, consisting of his lectures at Leyden. He was considered to be the first physician of his time. His library is said to have been one of the best private collections of that period; and it was purchased, after his death, by the Czar of Russia. In addition to his Latin verses, he was the author of a comedy called *The Assembly*, which is a sarcastic and profane production: also *Babell; or the Assembly, a Poem*, 1692, both being intended to turn the proceedings of the General Assembly into ridicule. Dr. Pitcairne was a Jacobite and an Episcopalian; and his talent for satire was often directed against the Presbyterians, who accused him of being an atheist and a scoffer and reviler of religion. Wodrow even goes the length of retaliating upon him by a serious charge as to his temperance. An atheistical pamphlet published in 1688, entitled *Epistola Archimedis ad Regem Gelonem Albiæ Græciæ reperta anno æræ Christianæ*, was ascribed to Pitcairne; and when the Rev. Thomas Halyburton entered upon the office of professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews in 1710, his inaugural discourse was a refutation of the arguments of this performance, and was published in 1714 under the title of *Natural Religion insufficient, and Revealed necessary to Man's Happiness*. His verses written on Christmas-day have been referred to as a proof of Dr. Pitcairne's orthodoxy, on which he had himself thrown a doubt by his profane jesting and his habitual scoffing at religious men; and it is added, on the authority of Dr. Drummond, that,

¹ Nichol's *Illustrations*, v. 671.

during his last illness, he evinced just apprehensions of God and religion, and experienced the tranquillity of mind which can arise from no other source. As a man of science, he was far in advance of the age in which he lived; and the zeal with which he propagated Hervey's beautiful discovery of the circulation of the blood, is a proof of liberality of feeling which was by no means common at that period among medical men, by whom the doctrine of the circulation was long treated as a heresy in science, and its discoverer nearly persecuted out of the profession. That his disposition was generous and friendly in a remarkable degree is beyond doubt, and the reader may find a striking instance of it in the life of Ruddiman.

Dr. Pitcairne died in Edinburgh on the 20th of October, 1713, in the sixty-first year of his age, and was interred in the Grayfriars' Churchyard.

PITSLIGO, LORD. *See* FORBES (ALEXANDER).

PLAYFAIR, JOHN, an eminent natural philosopher and mathematician, was the eldest son of James Playfair, minister of Benzie, in Forfarshire, where he was born on the 10th of March, 1748. He was educated at home until he reached the age of fourteen, when he was sent to the university of St. Andrews, where it was intended that he should study for the Scottish church. The precocity of talent exhibited by great men, frequently so ill authenticated, has been strikingly vouched by two remarkable circumstances in the early history of Playfair. While a student at St. Andrews, Professor Wilkie, the author of the *Epigonial*, when in bad health selected him to deliver lectures on natural philosophy to the class; and in the year 1766, when only eighteen years of age, he felt himself qualified to compete as a candidate for the chair of mathematics in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. In this his confidence in his powers was justified by the event. Of six candidates, two only excelled him—Dr. Trail, who was appointed to the chair, and Dr. Hamilton, who afterwards succeeded to it.¹

In 1769, having finished his courses at the university, Mr. Playfair lived for some time in Edinburgh, in the enjoyment of the very select literary society of the period. "It would appear," says his biographer,² "from letters published in the *Life of the Late Principal Hill*, that, during this time, Mr. Playfair had twice hopes of obtaining a permanent situation. The nature of the first, which offered itself in 1769, is not there specified, and is not known to any of his own family; the second was the professorship of natural philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of his friend Dr. Wilkie, which took place in 1772. In this, which he earnestly desired, and for which he was eminently qualified, he was disappointed." During the same year his father died, and the care of his mother, and of the education of his father's young family, rendered the acquisition of some permanent means of livelihood more anxiously desirable. He was immediately nominated by Lord Gray to his father's livings of Liff and Benzie; but the right of presentation being disputed, he was unable to enter on possession until August, 1773. From that period his time was occupied in attending to the duties of his charge, superintending the education of his brothers, and prosecuting his philosophical studies. In 1774 he made an excursion to Perthshire, to witness the experiments of Dr. Maskelyne, the astronomer royal, to

illustrate the principles of gravitation from the effect of mountains in disturbing the plumb-line. A permanent friendship was at that time formed between the two philosophers. "I met," says Playfair, in his journal of a visit to London in 1782, "with a very cordial reception from him (Dr. Maskelyne), and found that an acquaintance contracted among wilds and mountains is much more likely to be durable than one made up in the bustle of a great city: nor would I, by living in London for many years, have become so well acquainted with this astronomer, as I did by partaking of his hardships and labours on Schehallien for a few days."

In 1779 Playfair's first scientific effort was given to the public in an *Essay on the Arithmetic of Impossible Quantities*, published in the sixty-eighth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*. In 1782 an advantageous offer prompted him to give up his living, and become tutor to Mr. Ferguson of Raith, and his brother Sir Ronald Ferguson. It was at this period that he paid the visit to London in which he met Dr. Maskelyne. By that gentleman he was introduced to some literary men, and to institutions of literary or philosophical interest. Some of these roused the calm enthusiasm for philosophical greatness which was one of the principal features of his character. "This," he says, "was the first time that I had seen the observatory of Greenwich, and I entered with profound reverence into that temple of science, where Flamstead, and Halley, and Bradley devoted their days and their nights to the contemplation of the heavens. The shades of these ancient sages seemed still to hover round their former mansions, inspiring their worthy successor with the love of wisdom, and pointing out the road to immortality."

From his thirst after knowledge being untainted by political or local prejudices, Playfair had early turned himself to the important discoveries of the continental algebraists, and was the first man of eminence to introduce them to British notice. He perceived the prejudices entertained on the subject in England, and probably the discovery sharpened his appetite for a subject which he found was almost untouched. Speaking of Dr. Maskelyne, he says, "He is much attached to the study of geometry, and I am not sure that he is very deeply versed in the late discoveries of the foreign algebraists. Indeed, this seems to be somewhat the case with all the English mathematicians: they despise their brethren on the Continent, and think that everything great in science must be for ever confined to the country that produced Sir Isaac Newton." In the works of an eminent natural philosopher one may search long before he will find anything which shows in explicit terms the exact discipline of mind or system of reasoning by which he has made it to happen that all he has said has so much the appearance of being truth; but a petty remark, disconnected with the ordinary pursuits of the philosopher, may often strikingly illustrate the operation of his mind, and the means by which he has disciplined himself to approach as near as possible to truth; and such a passage occurring in this short diary, we beg to insert it. "An anecdote of some Indians was told, that struck me very much as holding up but too exact a picture of many of our theories and reasonings from analogy. Some American savages having experienced the effects of gunpowder, and having also accidentally become masters of a small quantity of it, set themselves to examine it, with a design of finding out what was its nature and how it was to be procured. The oldest and wisest of the tribe, after considering it attentively, pronounced it to be a seed. A piece of ground was accordingly prepared

¹ See life of ROBERT HAMILTON in this Collection.

² His nephew, by whom a *Life of Mr. Playfair* was prefixed to an edition of his works, published in 1822.

for it, and it was sown, in the fullest confidence that a great crop of it was to be produced. We smile at the mistake of these Indians, and we do not consider that, for the extent of their experience, they reasoned well, and drew as logical a conclusion as many of the philosophers of Europe. Whenever we reason only from analogy and resemblance, and whenever we attempt to measure the nature of things by our conceptions, we are precisely in the situation of these poor Americans." In this Playfair exemplified the propensity to reason from certain qualities perceived to be identical, when it is not known but that other qualities not perceived may be at variance. The wise American saw colour and form like those of a seed, and from these he drew his conclusion. Had he been a botanist he would have discovered that the grain consisted of saltpetre and charcoal, instead of kernel; and whatever else he could have made of it, he would have quickly perceived that it was not a seed. In connection with this it is to be held in mind that Playfair was essentially a reasoner, and that he was more celebrated for separating the true from the false in the writings of others, or for establishing and applying truths accidentally stumbled upon by others, than for extensive discoveries of his own.

In 1785 Dr. Adam Ferguson exchanged the moral chair in the university for that of mathematics, taught by professor Dugald Stewart, and, being in bad health, chose Playfair as his assistant. He continued, however, to attend his two pupils until 1787, when he took up his residence with his mother, who had for some time lived in Edinburgh. He now commenced a series of papers which appeared in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The first of these was the "Life of Dr. Matthew Stewart," the late professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh; a paper written in his usual flowing, simple, and expressive style. A second was a paper on the "Causes which affect the Accuracy of Barometrical Measurements." A third was "Remarks on the Astronomy of the Brahmins." The early Eastern astronomy was a subject to which he was very partial, and to which some conceive he has paid more attention than its importance warranted. He fought to a certain extent at disadvantage, from ignorance of the language, and consequently of external evidence as to the authenticity of the remarkable records containing the wisdom of the Brahmins; but he calculated their authenticity from the circumstance, that none but a European acquainted with the refinements of modern science could have made the calculations on which they might have been forged. The death of his brother James, in 1793, interrupted his philosophical pursuits, by forcing on his management some complicated business, along with the education of his brother's son. In 1795 he published an edition of Euclid's *Elements* for the use of his class. In this work he adopted the plan of using algebraic signs instead of words, to render the proportions more compact and apparent. The plan has been repeatedly practised since that period, and Playfair's *Euclid* is a book well known to the boys in most mathematical schools, by whom, however, it is not always so much admired as it is known. In 1797 he suffered a severe attack of rheumatism, during which he sketched an essay on the accidental discoveries which have been made by men of science whilst in pursuit of something else, or when they had no determinate object in view; and wrote the observations on the trigonometrical tables of the Brahmins, and the theorems relating to the figure of the earth, which were afterwards published in the *Transactions*

of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. About the same time his friend Dr. Hutton died, and Playfair, who affectionately intended to have written his memoir, found in the study of his works a vast field in which he afterwards distinguished himself, by the preparation of the *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth*. Few observers of nature have possessed the power of describing what they have seen, so as to make their facts and deductions perceivable to ordinary thinkers. Playfair possessed the quality, however, to a rare extent; and it was probably its deficiency in the works of his friend Hutton which prompted him to prepare the elegant and logical *Analysis of the Volcanic Theory of the Earth*, which has been so much admired for its own literary merits, and has been the means of rendering popular an important theory which otherwise might have remained in obscurity. It has been said, that the illustration of a theory of the earth was but a profitless employment for so accurately thinking a philosopher, and that the task might have been left to more imaginative minds, whose speculations would have afforded equal pleasure to those who delight in forming fabrics of theory on insufficient foundations. It is true, that even the lucid commentary of Playfair does not establish the Huttonian as a general and undeviating theory, in an undoubted and indisputable situation; he seems not to have aimed so high; and from the present state of science, no one can predicate that the elementary formation of the earth, or even of its crust, will ever be shown with chemical exactness. All that can be said is, that in as far as the respective experiments and deductions of the theorists have proceeded, the Huttonian theory is not directly met by any fact produced on the part of the Neptunians, and the phenomena produced in its favour strongly show—indeed show to absolute certainty in some cases—the present formation of a great part of the crust of the earth to have been the effect of fire, how operating in respect to the whole substance of the globe it is impossible to determine.

The defence of a theory of the earth had for some time been unpopular among many philosophers, from the production of such majestic fabrics of theory as those of Whiston and Burnet, which, without a sufficient number of ascertained facts for the analysis of the component parts of any portion of the earth's surfaces, showed in detail the method of its abstraction from the rest of the universe, and the minutiae of its formation. But Playfair never went beyond rational deduction on the facts which were known to him, limiting the extent of his theories to reasonings on what he knew; and it shows the accuracy of his logic, that, while the experiments of Sir James Hall and others (which were in progress but not complete while he wrote), have tended to support his explication, especially in justifying his opinion that the reason of calcination in bodies subjected to heat was the necessity of the escape of the gases contained in them, we are aware of none which have contradicted him.

The period between 1797 and 1802 was occupied by Mr. Playfair in preparing his *Illustrations*, and in 1803 his biographical sketch of Hutton was published in the Society's *Transactions*. In 1805 he quitted the mathematical chair, and succeeded Professor John Robison in that of natural philosophy; during the same year his mother died at the age of eighty-five, and he retired, along with a younger brother, his youngest sister, and two nephews, to Burntisland, that he might devote the summer to uninterrupted preparation for the duties of his new class. In the controversy with the clergymen of Edinburgh regarding his successor to the chair of

mathematics, he took an active part. A letter which he addressed to the provost of Edinburgh, in favour of the election of a *scientific* man, as opposed to a clergyman, was answered by Dr. Inglis, and from the nature of the remarks directed against himself, he considered it necessary to reply. The pamphlet produced under these circumstances, showed that his calm temper might be made dangerous by interference: it is written in considerable asperity of spirit, but without vulgar raillery or much personality, and the serious reproof, mixed with occasional sarcasm, which it contains, shows great power to wield the weapons of literary warfare. He next occupied himself in preparing papers on the solids of greatest attraction, and on the progress of heat in spherical bodies, which appeared in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He also presented to the London Royal Society, of which he was admitted a member in 1807, an *Account of the Survey of Schehallien*. In 1814 he published for the use of his students his well-known *Outlines of Natural Philosophy*, in two volumes octavo. The first volume of this work treats of dynamics, mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, aerostatics, and pneumatics. The second is devoted to astronomy. A third volume was intended to have embraced optics, electricity, and magnetism; but the work was never completed. In the following year he presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh a life of his predecessor, Professor Robison. His labours for this institution will be perceived to have been very extensive, and they show him not to have been a mercenary man. He was long its chief support, arranging and publishing the *Transactions*, and gratuitously acting as secretary. In 1816 he published, in the *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*, a "Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science since the Revival of Letters in Europe," a work of great erudition and research. This work interrupted a new and much altered edition of his *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory*, which he had previously designed, but which unfortunately he was never enabled to complete. "It was intended," says his biographer, "to commence with a description of all the well-authenticated facts in geology collected during his extensive reading and personal observation, without any mixture of hypothesis whatever. To this followed the general inferences which may be deduced from the facts, an examination of the various geological systems hitherto offered to the world, and the exclusion of those which involved any contradiction of the principles previously ascertained; while the conclusion would have presented the development of the system adopted by the author, and the application of it to explain the phenomena of geology." Previously to 1815 Mr. Playfair had confined his geological observations to Britain and Ireland; nor was he able, from causes public or private, previously to that period, to extend them to the Continent. His nephew accompanied him on a tour which he designed to extend as far as he could through Italy, Switzerland, and France. He spent a short time in the philosophical circle of Paris, to which his name could not fail to be an introduction. He then passed to Switzerland, and commenced the most important of his geological notices at Mount Jura, where he found blocks of granite, gneiss, and mica-slate lying loosely on the surface of mountains whose solid substance was entirely calcareous. At Lucerne and Chamouni he was prevented by adverse weather from making his intended searches among the interior valleys. Towards winter he was about to return, when he received a letter from the provost of Edinburgh, inti-

imating that the patrons of the university permitted his absence during the ensuing session—a circumstance which enabled him to prolong his tour a whole year. After remaining for a month at Geneva, he entered Italy by the Simplon. In the *Accademia del Cimento* at Florence, his enthusiasm for philosophical history was gratified by an inspection of the instruments made by Galileo, among which was the original telescope, made of two pieces of wood, coarsely hollowed out, and tied together with thread. On the 12th of November he set out for Rome, which he reached on the 18th. There he remained during the winter, occupying himself with researches in the Vatican library, such geological observations as the neighbourhood afforded, and the select English society always to be found in the imperial city, among whom he found many of the friends he had met in England. After the termination of the winter he went to Naples, where a wider field for geological observation lay before him. The observations which he made on this part of his route, not so much connected with the action of the volcano as with the state of the surrounding country, are embodied in some interesting notes, an abstract of which may be found in the memoir above referred to; but it is to be regretted that the amount of so much accurate observation was not brought to bear on his *Analysis of the Theory of the Earth*. Mr. Playfair returned to Rome, whence, after a second visit to Florence, he proceeded, by such gradations as enabled him accurately to observe the mineralogy of the country, to Geneva. While travelling through Switzerland, he visited and prepared a short but curious account of the Slide of Alpnach, by which trees are conveyed from the sides of Pilatus into the Lake of Lucerne, whence they proceed through the Aar to the Rhine. On his return he passed through Venice, Lyons, and Paris. In the ensuing summer he retired to Burnt-island, where he prepared a memoir on *Naval Tactics*, in illustration of the discoveries of Clerk of Eldin, which was published after his death. He had intended to publish in detached papers his observations on the remarkable objects of his tour, and to have prepared his *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth*, but he lived scarcely long enough to commence these labours. For some years he had been afflicted with a strangury, which alarmingly increased in the month of June, 1819, and he died on the ensuing 19th of July. He was buried on the 26th, when the members of the Royal Medical Society, and a numerous body of public and private friends, followed him to the grave.

The literary and domestic character of this great and excellent man have been drawn by Francis Jeffrey, with whom, as the writer of many papers in the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr. Playfair must have been on an intimate footing. The former part of the subject is open for the appreciation of the world, but as the latter can only be told by one acquainted with it, we beg to extract a portion. "The same admirable taste which is conspicuous in his writings, or rather the higher principles from which that taste was but an emanation, spread a similar charm over his whole life and conversation, and gave to the most learned philosopher of his day the manners and deportment of the most perfect gentleman. Nor was this in him the result merely of good sense and good temper assisted by an early familiarity with good company, and a consequent knowledge of his own place and that of all around him. His good-breeding was of a higher descent; and his powers of pleasing rested on something better than mere companionable qualities. With the greatest kindness and generosity of nature he united the most manly firmness and the

highest principles of honour; and the most cheerful and social dispositions with the gentlest and steadiest affections. Towards women he had always the most chivalrous feelings of regard and attention, and was, beyond almost all men, acceptable and agreeable in their society, though without the least levity or pretension unbecoming his age or condition. And such, indeed, was the fascination of the perfect simplicity and mildness of his manners, that the same tone and deportment seemed equally appropriate in all societies, and enabled him to delight the young and the gay with the same sort of conversation which instructed the learned and the grave. There never, indeed, was a man of learning and talent who appeared in society so perfectly free from all sorts of pretension or notion of his own importance, or so little solicitous to distinguish himself, or so sincerely willing to give place to every one else. Even upon subjects which he had thoroughly studied, he was never in the least impatient to speak, and spoke at all times without any tone of authority; while so far from wishing to set off what he had to say by any brilliancy or emphasis of expression, it seemed generally as if he had studied to disguise the weight and originality of his thoughts under the plainest form of speech, and the most quiet and indifferent manner; so that the profoundest remarks and subtlest observations were often dropped, not only without any solicitude that their value should be observed, but without any apparent consciousness that they possessed any."

PLAYFAIR, WILLIAM, an ingenious mechanic and miscellaneous writer, brother to the preceding, was born in the year 1759. The personal history of this man when compared with that of his brother, shows in striking colours the necessity, not only of industry, but of steadiness and consistency of plan, as adjuncts of genius in raising its possessor to eminence. Being very young when his father died, his education was superintended by his brother. His early taste for mechanics prompted his friends to place him as apprentice to a mill-wright of the name of Mickle. He afterwards went to England, and in 1780 was engaged as draughtsman in the service of Mr. James Watt. How long he remained in this situation we do not know, but the vast mass of pamphlets which he was unceasingly producing must have speedily interfered with his professional regularity, and he seems to have spent the remainder of his days in alternately making mechanical discoveries of importance, and penning literary or political pamphlets. Among the most useful of his mechanical efforts was the unrequited discovery of the French telegraph, gathered from a few partial hints, and afterwards adapted by an alphabet of his own invention to British use. At the period when he was most busy as a writer, he received no less than five patents for new inventions; one of these was for the manufacture of sashes, constructed of a mixture of copper, zinc, and iron. These he termed Eldorado sashes. Another was for a machine for completing the ornamental part of fretwork on small implements of silver and other metal; such as sugar-tongs, buckles, &c., which had previously been executed by the hand. For some time he occupied a silversmith's shop in London, but, tiring of the business, or finding it unprofitable, he proceeded to Paris, where, among other mechanical speculations, he procured an exclusive privilege for the manufacture of a rolling-mill on a new plan. While living in Paris, he was the means of forming the colony of Scioto in America. Having formed an acquaintance with Mr. Joel Barlow, who had been sent to Paris

to negotiate the disposal by lots of 3,000,000 of acres which had been purchased by a company at New York, on the banks of the Scioto, he undertook to procure for him the necessary introductions, and to conduct the disposal. The breaking out of the French revolution favoured the scheme. It was proposed that the lands should be disposed of at 5s. per acre, one half to be paid at signing the act of sale, the other to remain on mortgage to the United States, to be paid within two years after taking possession. In less than two months 50,000 acres were sold, and two vessels sailed from Havre de Grace, with the nucleus of the colony. Soon after accomplishing this project, he made a narrow escape from being arrested by the revolutionary government, a fate which his strongly expressed objections to the French revolution rendered a very likely event. On his return to London he projected a bank termed the Security Bank; its object was the division of large securities so as to facilitate small loans;—this bank unfortunately belied its name, and became insolvent, too little attention having been paid to the securities taken. On the restoration of the Bourbons he returned to France, and became editor of *Galvani's Messenger*, but he was driven back to England by a libel prosecution, and continued to gain his subsistence by essay-writing and translating. His works being in general connected with the passing politics of the day, need not be all named and characterized. In books and pamphlets his distinct works are said to amount to about a hundred. Several were politico-economical in their subject, discussing the sinking-fund, the resources of France, the Asiatic establishments of Britain, the prospects of the manufacturing interest, &c. His political remarks were generally for the purpose of supporting and vindicating the conduct of Britain towards France, and received the designation "patriotic." Among his principal publications were a *History of Jacobinism*, published in 1795; an edition of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, with notes, in 1806; and *British Family Antiquities*, in 9 vols. 4to, published in 1809-11. This last work forms a peerage and baronetage of Britain and Ireland. It contains a great mass of matter, and is splendidly illustrated, but it is not looked on by genealogists as a work of much authority. He spent the last days of his laborious but irregular life without the competence which well-directed talent generally acquires, and his death was hurried on by anxiety of mind. He died in Covent Garden on the 11th February, 1823, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. "In private life," says a biographer, "Mr. Playfair was inoffensive and amiable; not prepossessing in his appearance and address, but with a strong and decided physiognomy, like that of his late brother. With a thoughtlessness which is too frequently allied to genius, he neglected to secure that provision for his family which from his talents they were justified to expect; and although he laboured ardently and abundantly for his country, yet he found it ungrateful, and was left in age and infirmity to regret that he had neglected his own interests to promote those of the public."¹

POLLOK, ROBERT, author of the *Course of Time*, a poem, was born in 1799, of respectable parents, at Muirhouse, in the parish of Eaglesham, Renfrewshire. After acquiring the rudiments of a classical education in the country, he passed through a regular course of literary and philosophical study at the university of Glasgow. Having sustained the ordinary previous presbyterial examinations, he was admitted

¹ *Annual Obituary*, 1824, 460.

to the divinity hall under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Dick of Glasgow, who at that time was sole professor of theology in the United Secession Church. On finishing his course of five years' study under this accomplished tutor, he was, by the United Associate presbytery of Edinburgh, licensed to preach the gospel in the spring of 1827. The only time he ever preached was in the chapel of Dr. John Brown in Rose Street, Edinburgh.

A short time before receiving license to preach he had prepared his poem, the *Course of Time*, which extends to ten books in blank verse, and describes the mortal and immortal destiny of man, in language the nearest perhaps to that of Milton which has ever been employed by a later bard. It has rarely happened that one so young has completed any work so extensive as this, much less one so successful; and we may be allowed to surmise that the man who could form and execute such a design at such a period of life, must have possessed not only an intellect of the first order of power, but a character of the first order of strength. On the recommendation of the late celebrated John Wilson, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the *Course of Time* was published by Mr. Blackwood early in 1827. Of the earlier attempts of Mr. Pollok in prose and verse little is known. He wrote three tales relative to the sufferings of the persecuted Presbyterians of the reign of Charles II., which were published anonymously in his lifetime, and have since been reprinted with his name. They are manifestly juvenile and hasty productions; but they are the juvenile and hasty productions of a man of genius. The labour of preparing his poem for publication and carrying it through the press appears to have fatally impaired a constitution originally vigorous. Soon after his license symptoms of pulmonary disease having become distinctly apparent, he spent the greater part of the summer of that year with the Rev. Dr. Belfrage of Slateford, under whose hospitable roof he enjoyed every advantage which medical skill, called forth into active exertion by cordial friendship, could furnish.

As the disease seemed obviously gaining ground, it was suggested by Dr. Abercromby and other eminent physicians that a removal to a more genial climate, during the approaching winter, was the only probable means of protracting a life so full of promise. It was therefore resolved on that he should, with as little delay as possible, set out for Italy; and the means for prosecuting such a journey were readily supplied by the admirers of his genius.

In the commencement of autumn he left Edinburgh, accompanied by a sister, and travelled by a steam-vessel to London. During the short time he remained in that city, he resided at Camberwell with the late John Pirie, Esq., afterwards lord-mayor of London, to whom he had been introduced by a common friend, and who with characteristic generosity made every exertion to contribute to his comfort, and ceased not to take a deep interest in his happiness till he was called on to commit his remains to the grave.

After arrangements had been made for his voyage to Italy, his medical advisers in London, fearing that he would never reach that country, recommended his immediate removal to the south-west of England, and the neighbourhood of Southampton was fixed on as a suitable situation. Having arrived there he took up his residence on Shirley-Common. His disease continued to make progress, and in the course of a few weeks he fell a victim to its power, on the 15th of September, 1827. "He died," says his biographer, "in the faith of the gospel and in the hope of eternal life."

He is buried in the churchyard of Millbrook, the parish in which Shirley-Common lies. Those admirers of his genius who would fain have prolonged his life, have perpetuated their regard for him, by erecting an obelisk of Peterhead granite over his grave, bearing, with the dates of his birth and death, the following simple inscription:—

THE GRAVE

OF

ROBERT POLLOK, A.M.
AUTHOR OF "THE COURSE OF TIME,"
HIS IMMORTAL POEM IS HIS
MONUMENT.

Such is a "faithful chronicle" of the principal external events in the short life of Robert Pollok. Of the most important inward revolution of which man's little world is susceptible, that change without which a man "cannot enter the kingdom of God," he has given the following most impressive account in the *Course of Time*. It is one of the most interesting fragments of autobiography we have ever met with, and compensates, in some measure, for the meagreness of the present sketch; which, imperfect as it is, seems all that circumstances will permit to be gathered together respecting Pollok. The extract, though perhaps rather too long for such a purpose, will also serve as a specimen of the poetry produced by the subject of our memoir. It will remind many readers of some passages of a similar kind, of exquisite beauty, in Cowper.

"One of this mood I do remember well,
We name him not, what now are earthly names?
In humble dwelling born, retired, remote;
In rural quietude, 'mong hills, and streams,
And melancholy deserts, where the sun
Saw, as he passed, a shepherd only, here
And there, watching his little flock, or heard
The ploughman talking to his steers; his hopes,
His morning hopes, awoke before him, smiling,
Among the dews and holy mountain airs;
And fancy coloured them with every hue
Of heavenly loveliness. But soon his dreams
Of childhood fled away, those rainbow dreams
So innocent and fair, that withered Age,
Even at the grave, cleared up his dusty eye,
And passing all between, looked fondly back
To see them once again, ere he departed:
These fled away, and anxious thought, that wished
To go, yet whither knew not well to go,
Possessed his soul, and held it still awhile.
He listened, and heard from far the voice of fame,
Heard and was charmed: and deep and sudden vow
Of resolution made to be renowned;
And deeper vowed again to keep his vow.
His parents saw, his parents whom God made
Of kindest heart, saw, and indulged his hope.
The ancient page he turned, read much, thought much
And with old bards of honourable name
Measured his soul severely; and looked up
To fame, ambitious of no second place.
Hope grew from inward faith, and promised fair.
And out before him opened many a path
Ascending, where the laurel highest waved
Her branch of endless green. He stood admiring;
But stood, admired, not long. The harp he seized,
The harp he loved, loved better than his life,
The harp which uttered deepest notes, and held
The ear of thought a captive to its song.
He searched and meditated much, and whiles,
With rapturous hand, in secret, touched the lyre,
Aiming at glorious strains; and searched again
For theme deserving of immortal verse;
Chose now, and now refused, unsatisfied;
Pleased, then displeased, and hesitating still.

"Thus stood his mind, when round him came a cloud,
Slowly and heavily it came, a cloud
Of ills we mention not: enough to say
'Twas cold, and dead, impenetrable gloom.
He saw its dark approach, and saw his hopes,
One after one, put out, as nearer still
It drew his soul; but fainted not at first,
Fainted not soon. He knew the lot of man
Was trouble, and prepared to bear the worst;
Endure what'er should come, without a sigh;
Endure, and drink, even to the very dregs,
The bitterest cup that time could measure out:
And having done, look up, and ask for more.

"He called philosophy, and with his heart Reasoned. He called religion too, but called Reluctantly, and therefore was not heard. Ashamed to be o'ermatched by earthly woes, He sought, and sought with eye that dimmed apace, To find some avenue to light, some place On which to rest a hope; but sought in vain. Darker and darker still the darkness grew. At length he sunk, and Disappointment stood His only comforter, and mournfully Told all was past. His interest in life, In being, ceased: and now he seemed to feel, And shuddered as he felt, his powers of mind Decaying in the spring-time of his day. The vigorous, weak became; the clear, obscure; Memory gave up her charge; Decision reeled: And from her flight, Fancy returned; returned Because she found no nourishment abroad. The blue heavens withered; and the moon, and sun, And all the stars, and the green earth, and morn And evening, withered; and the eyes, and smiles, And faces of all men and women, withered, Withered to him; and all the universe, Like something which had been, appeared, but now Was dead and mouldering fast away. He tried No more to hope; wished to forget his vow, Wished to forget his harp; then ceased to wish. That was his last; enjoyment now was done. He had no hope; no wish, and scarce a fear Of being sensible, and sensible Of loss, he as some atom seemed, which God Had made superfluously, and needed not To build creation with; but back again To nothing threw, and left it in the void, With everlasting sense that once it was.

"Oh! who can tell what days, what nights he spent, Of tideless, waveless, sailless, shoreless woe? And who can tell how many, glorious once, To others and themselves of promise full, Conducted to this pass of human thought, This wilderness of intellectual death, Wasted and pined, and vanished from the earth, Leaving no vestige of memorial there.

"It was not so with him. When thus he lay, Forlorn of heart; withered and desolate As leaf of Autumn, which the wolfish winds, Selecting from its falling sisters, chase, Far from its native grove, to lifeless wastes, And leave it there alone, to be forgotten Eternally, God passed in mercy by— His praise be ever new!—and on him breathed, And bade him live, and put into his hands A holy harp, into his lips a song, That rolled its numbers down the tide of Time, Ambitious now but little to be praised Of men alone; ambitious most to be Approved of God, the Judge of all: and have His name recorded in the book of life."

The *Course of Time* was only beginning to attract attention at the time when its author's ear was about to be closed, alike to the voice of censure and praise. Almost immediately after his death, it became extensively read throughout the British empire, especially among the numerous and respectable classes of dissenters. It has, accordingly, passed through a considerable number of editions, and now appears likely to keep its place among the standard poems in our language. A portrait of the author was obtained by the Rev. Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, before his departure for London, and has been engraved. It conveys the impression of deep and grave intelligence, such as might have been expected from the author of the *Course of Time*.¹

PONT, ROBERT, a churchman, judge of the Court of Session, and political and scientific writer of some eminence, was born at Culross, cir. 1524-30, of honourable if not noble parentage.² After receiv-

¹ This article is copied (by permission), with a few slight additions, from the preface to "*Tales of the Covenanters*," by Robert Pollok, A.M., Edinburgh: W. Oliphant, 1832.

² Mr. Crichton (*Life of Mr. F. Blackader*, p. 15, note) says that his father, John du Pont, or da Ponte, was a noble Venetian; that he was banished his country for professing the Reformed religion, and came over to Scotland in the train of Mary of Guise, queen of James V. This statement seems

ing his elementary education at the school of his native place, he was in 1543 incorporated a student of St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews, where he prosecuted the study of philosophy and divinity with great success. From the period of his leaving the university no notice of him has been discovered till 1559, when he is mentioned as an elder in the kirk-session record of St. Andrews. His intimate knowledge of law renders the supposition probable, that the interval was employed in that branch of study at some of the Continental universities. He seems to have early allied himself to the Protestant party. He was an elder of St. Andrews from a very early period, and attended, as one of the commissioners from that place, the first General Assembly, by which he was declared qualified for ministering and teaching. In the year 1563 he competed for the office of superintendent of the diocese of Galloway. He appears to have failed in the attempt, but was shortly after appointed commissioner of the diocese of Moray. In 1566 he published, with the sanction and command of the General Assembly, a *Translation and Interpretation of the Helvetic Confession*. In January, 1571, he was, through the same influence, appointed to the provosty of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and afterwards to the vicarage of St. Cuthbert's Church. At the same period he followed the directions of his party by excommunicating the Bishop of Orkney, who had performed the marriage ceremony to Mary and Bothwell. Policy at this time dictated that the judicial dignities which had been conferred on the Roman Catholic churchmen should be extended to the new church, of which the members, while their general principles were rather averse to the system, possessed some share of personal ambition, and in 1571 the regent proposed that Pont should be appointed a senator of the College of Justice. The zealous churchman declined acceptance without the sanction of the assembly, and on the 12th January, 1572, that body gave license "to the said Mr. Robert to accept and use the said place of a senator in the said College of Justice, what tyme he shall be required thereto, providing allwayes, that he leave not the office of the ministrie, but that he exercise the same as he should be appointed to the kirke, and this their license to the said Mr. Robert to be no preparative to no other minister to procure sic promotione, unless the kirke's advyse be had of before, and license obtained thereunto." The natural consequence of such an appointment seems to have taken place, and in the following year he was charged with neglect of duty in non-residence, and not sufficiently visiting the churches in Moray, an accusation to which he very naturally pleaded want of leisure from the pressure of his new duties.

In 1574 Mr. Pont was appointed colleague to William Harlaw, minister of St. Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh. He was now employed in all the more important business of the church: he was appointed, in 1574, to revise all books that were printed and published; about the same period he drew up the calendar, and rules for understanding it, for Arbutnot and Bassandyn's edition of the Bible; and he was engaged in the preparation of the Second Book of Discipline. In 1582 he was invited to become minister of St. Andrews, and seems to have accepted the appointment, but he was soon obliged to abandon it; for at the General Assembly, held in April, 1583, he declared that, "with losse of his

irreconcilable with his son having been born at Culross at the time above mentioned. (Buchanan de Illust. Scot. Scriptori. MS. Adv. Lib.) It must also be remarked, that the name was common in Scotland long before this time.

heritage and warldlie commoditie, he had proponit to sit down in St. Andrews, and had served at his awin charges ane hailt yair, and culd not haif any equall condition of leving, na not the least provision." He accordingly returned to his charge at the West Church. In 1584, when James struck a blow at the church, by rendering it criminal to decline the jurisdiction of the privy-council, and to hold assemblies without the royal permission, Pont added his name to the list of the gallant defenders of the church, by solemnly protesting against the acts as they were published at the cross of Edinburgh, on the ground that they had been passed without the knowledge or consent of the church. Two days before (23d May, 1584) he had been deprived of his seat in the College of Justice, by an act prohibiting ecclesiastics to hold civil appointments, and he now, with many of the clergy who were alarmed at so bold an inroad, fled to England. He returned to Scotland with the Earl of Angus and his party a few months afterwards, and resumed his ministerial duties. In 1587 he was nominated to the bishopric of Caithness; but the assembly refused to ratify the appointment. In 1591 the assembly appointed him to write against sacrilege; his three sermons on that subject were approved of, and ordered to be printed by the presbytery of Edinburgh, November 12, 1594 (see *Records*), but from some unknown cause were not published till 1599. In 1594 he published *A New Treatise on the Right Reckoning of Years and Ages of the World*, for the purpose of showing that the year 1600 was not, as his countrymen supposed, the proper year of the jubilee. In 1601 he was appointed by the General Assembly to revise the Psalms. In 1596 and 1602 he was chosen commissioner of Orkney, and his name was first in the list of those who were intended for the qualified prelates. In 1604 he published a tract on the union of the kingdoms, "De Unione Britannice, seu de Regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ omniumque adjacentium Insularum in unam Monarchiam consolidandæ, deque multiplici ejus Unionis utilitate, Dialogus." Mr. Fraser Tytler, who appears to have perused it, says,¹ "This political treatise, which is written in Latin in the form of a dialogue between three fictitious speakers, Irenæus, Polyhistor, and Hospes, is chiefly valuable from its furnishing us with some curious pictures of the political state of the country, and the rude manners of the times. . . . The picture he presents of the intolerable tyranny of the nobles in their strong and remote fortresses, of the impotency of the arm of the law, and the personal terrors of the judges, who trembled before these petty princes, very completely proves that there was no poetical exaggeration in the verses of Sir Richard Maitland." Pont died on the 8th May, 1606, and was interred, it is said, in the church of St. Cuthbert, where a monument was erected to his memory, with an epitaph, partly in English, partly in very questionable Latin. He had prepared a more ample edition of his work on the Jubilee Year, which was published in quarto, in 1619.² Besides these works Pont wrote *Chronologia de Sabbatis*, published at London in 1626. His *Aureum Seculum*, his *Translation of Pindar's Olympic Odes*, his *Dissertation on the Greek Lyric Metres*, his *Lexicon of Three Languages*, and *Collection of*

Homilies, all of which David Buchanan says he saw in MS., are now nowhere to be found.

PONT, TIMOTHY, the celebrated geographer who prepared the "Theatrum Scotiæ," in Bleau's *Atlas*, was the eldest son of the preceding, apparently by his first wife, Catharine Masterton, daughter of Masterton of Grange. Scarcely anything of his personal history appears to be known. He seems to have become a minister of the Scottish church, and is mentioned in the Book of Assignations, 1601-8, as "minister of Dwnet."³ Sir Robert Sibbald (*De Histor. Scot.* MS. Ad. Lib. p. 2) mentions a pedestrian expedition undertaken by him, in 1608, to explore the more barbarous parts of the country. "He was," says Bishop Nicholson, "by nature and education a complete mathematician, and the first projector of a Scotch atlas. To that great purpose he personally surveyed all the several counties and isles of the kingdom; took draughts of 'em upon the spot, and added such cursory observations on the monuments of antiquity and other curiosities as were proper for the furnishing out of future descriptions. He was unhappily surpris'd by death, to the inestimable loss of his countrey, when he had well nigh finish'd his papers, most of which were fortunately retrieved by Sir John Scott, and disposed of in such a manner as has been already reported. There are some other remains of this learned and good man, on the 'History of Agricola's Vallum, or Graham's Dike,' as are well worth the preserving."⁴ The originals of the maps so drawn up are preserved in good order in the Advocates' Library. They are minutely and elegantly penned, and have the air of such laborious correctness, as the science of the period enabled the geographer to attain. Pont appears to have penetrated to those wild and remote portions of the island, the surfaces of which have scarcely yet been accurately delineated. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions (*De Histor. Scot.* ut supra), that after Pont's death his maps were so carelessly kept by his heirs, that they were in great danger of destruction from moths and vermin. King James ordered that they should be purchased and given to the world; but amidst the cares of government they were again consigned for a season to oblivion. At length Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, to whose enlightened patronage we owe much of what is preserved of the literature of his times, prevailed with Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch to revise and correct them for the press. The task was continued by Sir Robert's son, Mr. James Gordon, parson of Rothemay, and with his amendments they appeared in Bleau's celebrated *Atlas*.

PRINGLE, SIR JOHN, a distinguished physician and cultivator of science, was born at Stichel House, in Roxburghshire, April 10, 1707. He was the youngest son of Sir John Pringle of Stichel, Bart., by Magdalen Elliot, sister of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs. His education was commenced at home under a private tutor, and advanced at the university of St. Andrews, where he had the advantage of living with his relation, Mr. Francis Pringle, professor of Greek. Having determined on physic as a profession, he spent the winter of 1727-8 at the medical classes in Edinburgh, and afterwards proceeded to Leyden, where in 1730 he received his diploma, which was signed by the distinguished names of Boerhaave, Albinus, and Gravesande, under whom he had studied. He then settled as a physician in

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Craig*, 218.

² *Sibbaldi Bibliotheca Scotica* (MS. Adv. Lib.), 224, 225. In the second part of this work there is put down to the name of Robertus Pontanus, "Parvus Catechismus quo examinari possunt qui ad sacram cœnam admittuntur." Andread. 1573. For a more full account of Pont, see *History of the Church and Parish of St. Cuthbert*, Edinburgh, 1829, pp. 20-41, and *Wodrow's Biog. Coll.* vol. i.

³ M'Crie's *Melville*, 2d edition, ii. 428.

⁴ *Scottish Historical Library*, 24.

Edinburgh, and in a few years had so much distinguished himself as to be, in 1734, appointed assistant and successor to the professor of pneumatics and moral philosophy in the university. He continued in this situation till 1742, when, chiefly by the influence of Dr. Stevenson (an eminent Whig physician and the patron of Dr. Blacklock), he was appointed physician to the Earl of Stair, then in command of the British army in Flanders. By the interest of this nobleman he was, in the same year, constituted physician to the military hospital in Flanders. An extensive field of observation was thus opened to Dr. Pringle; and that he cultivated it with advantage is sufficiently shown by his *Treatise on the Diseases of the Army*, subsequently published. At the battle of Dettingen he was in a coach with the minister, Lord Carteret, and at one particular crisis of the action was involved in considerable danger. On the resignation of the Earl of Stair he also proposed resigning, but was prevented by his lordship, whom he accompanied, however, forty miles on his way to England, as a mark of his respect. Having gained equal favour with the Duke of Cumberland, Dr. Pringle was, in March, 1745, appointed physician-general to the forces in the Low Countries, and physician to the royal hospitals in the same countries. He now resigned his Edinburgh professorship, the duties of which had been performed by deputy in his absence. In the latter part of the year 1745 he returned to Britain, in attendance upon the forces which were brought over to suppress the rebellion. In passing through London in October, he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. Early in the ensuing year he accompanied the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland, and remained with the army, after the battle of Culloden, till its return to England, in the middle of August. In 1747 and 1748 he again attended the army abroad.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the latter year, he settled as a physician in London, under the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland, who, in April, 1749, appointed him his physician in ordinary. In 1750 Dr. Pringle published his first work, a pamphlet on the *Ful and Hospital Fever*, hastily prepared to meet the exigency of the breaking out of that distemper in London. It was afterwards revised, and included in the work on the diseases of the army.

About this time, Dr. Pringle commenced his scientific career, by reading a series of papers to the Royal Society on septic and antiseptic substances, and their use in the theory of medicine; which procured for their author the honour of Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal, and not only gave him reputation as an experimental philosopher, but helped to stimulate the spirit of physical inquiry, then rising into force in Britain. A great variety of other papers by Dr. Pringle are found in the *Transactions* of the society during the four ensuing years. In 1752 he married Charlotte, the second daughter of Dr. Oliver, an eminent physician in Bath; who died a few years after, leaving him no children. In the same year he published his great work on the diseases of the army, which instantly placed the author in the first rank of medical writers. In 1761 he was appointed physician to the household of the young Queen Charlotte, an honour which was followed, in rapid succession, by the appointments of physician extraordinary and physician in ordinary to her majesty. He now became an intimate and confidential person in the family of the king, who in 1766 raised him to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain. In 1768 he was appointed physician in ordinary to the king's mother, the Princess of Wales, with a salary of £100 a year.

After having for many years acted as a member of the council in the Royal Society, he was, in November, 1772, elected president of that distinguished body; by far the highest mark of honour he ever received. It has always, on the other hand, been acknowledged that the zeal and assiduity displayed by Sir John in this situation, communicated an impulse to the exertions of the society, of which the most sensible proofs are to be found in its *Transactions* published during the years of his presidency. The last medical honour conferred on Sir John Pringle was his appointment, in 1774, as physician extraordinary to the king.

It would be tedious to repeat the list of honours showered upon him by foreign learned bodies; we shall only allude to his succeeding Linnæus, in 1778, as one of the eight foreign members of the French Academy.

Long ere this period Sir John had acquired a considerable fortune by his practice and from other sources, and lived in a style of dignified hospitality, suitable to his rank and high character. He was in the habit of holding conversations on the Sunday evenings, which were attended by men of literature and science from all countries. After passing his seventieth year, feeling his health declining, he resigned the presidency of the Royal Society, in which he was succeeded (1778) by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Banks, and formed the resolution of retiring to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. Having passed the summer of 1780 very pleasantly in Scotland, he purchased a house in Edinburgh, sold off that in which he had long resided in London, and in the spring of 1781 made a decided remove to the Scottish capital. It seems to have been the hope of the declining veteran, that he might more agreeably sink to rest amidst the friends and the scenes of his youth, than amongst strangers; and he also contemplated much pleasure in the regular evening conversations for which he intended to throw open his house. It is painful to relate that he was disappointed in his views. The friends of his youth had almost all passed away; the scenes were changed to such a degree, that they failed to suggest the associations he expected. The society of Edinburgh he found to be of too limited a nature to keep up a system of weekly conversations with the necessary degree of novelty and spirit. He also suffered considerably from the keen winds to which Edinburgh is so remarkably exposed. These evils were exaggerated by his increasing infirmities, and perhaps by that restlessness of mind, which, in the midst of bodily complaints, is still hoping to derive some benefit from a change of place. He determined, therefore, to return to London, where he arrived in the beginning of September.

Sir John Pringle did not long survive this change of residence. On the evening of the 14th of January, 1782, while attending a stated meeting of scientific friends in the house of a Mr. Watson, a grocer in the Strand, he was seized with a fit, from which he never recovered. He expired on the 18th, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and was interred in St. James' Church. Sir John left the bulk of his fortune to his nephew, Sir James Pringle of Stichel, who also inherited from him the British baronetcy, in addition to that of Nova Scotia, which the family had previously possessed. As a physician and a philosophical inquirer, his character was of the first order; nor were his private virtues less eminent. He never grudged his professional assistance to those who could not afford to remunerate him; and he was a sincere, though liberal and rational, professor of the truths of religion. His conduct in every relation of

life was upright and honourable. He informed Mr. Boswell—and few gentlemen of that period could make such a boast—that he had never in his life been intoxicated with liquor. There is a monument to Sir John, by Nollekins, in Westminster Abbey.

PRINGLE, THOMAS. This excellent poet and miscellaneous writer was born at Blaiklaw, in Teviotdale, on the 5th of January, 1789, and was the son of a respectable farmer. In infancy he was so unfortunate as to have his hip-joint dislocated by an accident, and this evil, which might have been cured, was culpably concealed by his nurse until it was past remedy, so that he became a cripple for life, and was obliged to use crutches.

Having completed the usual course of preliminary education, Thomas Pringle was sent to the grammar-school of Kelso, and after continuing there three years he went to Edinburgh, to finish his literary training at the university. Up till this time, owing to his lameness, his life had been one chiefly of reading and contemplation, while his favourite sports were those of a stationary character—fishing, gardening, and mechanical experiments. While a student at the college, he, like most persons of an imaginative temperament, exclusively devoted himself to poetry and *belles-lettres*, to which every other acquirement was made auxiliary. At this period also his impatience of tyranny and oppression, and stout love of independence, were curiously manifested. On hearing that Joanna Baillie's play of the *Family Legend*, which was about to be produced in the Edinburgh theatre, had been previously doomed to ruin by a literary clique, and was to be strangled upon the stage, Pringle gallantly shouldered his crutch, and resolved to be the lady's champion. At the head of a body of forty or fifty young men, armed with cudgels, he took possession of the centre of the pit as soon as the doors were opened; and when the play went on, their applauding shouts, seconded by the terrific drumming of their staves, put every token of dissatisfaction to flight, and secured the success of the tragedy. It was the French mob in the gallery keeping the Convention below to rights—a remedy every whit as mischievous and unjust as the evil which it sought to cure.

As during his stay at college Pringle had been unable to settle his choice upon any of the learned professions, he betook himself on quitting it to the pursuit of literature; and as some permanent situation was necessary as a mainstay, he became a clerk in the Register Office, where his duty consisted in copying out old records, by which his mind was left unincumbered for the literary occupation of his leisure hours. The fruit of this was a poem called the *Institute*, which he published, in conjunction with a poetical friend, in 1811. It seems to have been of a satirical nature, and was abundantly lauded; but as his salary from the Register Office was a small one, he soon found that something more than mere commendation was needed. In 1816 he was a contributor to Albyn's *Anthology*, and to the *Poetic Mirror*, in the last of which he published a poem in imitation of the style of Sir Walter Scott, and of which Sir Walter declared that he wished "the original notes had always been as fine as their echo." But who can forget that benevolence and self-negation which made Scott so ready to perceive, and even to over-estimate, the excellence of others, and prefer it to his own? This poem, which appeared in the form of *An Epistle to R. S.*, brought the great poet and his successful imitator into close acquaintanceship. As Pringle's salary was still inadequate, he now set himself in earnest to literature, and resolved to start

a new periodical that should supersede the *Scots Magazine*, already worn out. His proposals were so well received that he was encouraged to relinquish his clerkship in the Register Office, with the liberty of resuming it should his plan be unsuccessful; and in 1817 the first number of his projected work appeared, under the title of the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*. In this work at the commencement he had for his coadjutors those who were afterwards to obtain high distinction in literature—Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Neil, Mr. Cleghorn, Dr. Brewster, James Hogg, and the Rev. T. Wright. Mr. Pringle's own contribution was an article on the "Gipsies," the materials of which were supplied to him without solicitation by Sir Walter Scott. This spontaneous kindness on the part of the mighty minstrel and Great Unknown was the more generous, as he had intended to use these materials for an article of his own, which was to appear in the *Quarterly Review*. About the same time Pringle became editor of the *Star* newspaper, in which, besides the selection and arrangement of materials, he had to write the leading article twice a week. This, though more than enough, was not all, for in a short time the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* changed proprietors, and passed into the well-known title of *Blackwood's Magazine*, while Constable's was started at the same time, of which Pringle was editor also. He was thus not only the conductor of two monthly periodicals of high literary aims and expectations, but also of a half-weekly newspaper, and with such a thrice-honoured position it might have been expected that his fortunes would have thriven in some measure commensurate with his labours. But the two rival magazines could neither continue on peaceful terms, nor remain under a single editorship; and after a furious affray between their supporters, in which Pringle was handled with most unmerited roughness, he withdrew from *Blackwood's Magazine*, and attached himself to that of Constable. But the latter periodical was so unproductive, that he was fain to quit it also; and, finally, the *Star* newspaper, which had proved equally unprofitable. To add to his difficulties, he had ventured, when his prospects were most flattering, and before the battle of the magazines had commenced, to enter into marriage with Margaret Brown, daughter of a respectable East Lothian farmer. He had thus given hostages to fortune just before he was deprived of the power to redeem them, so that when the hour of payment came he was poorer than ever. His first step for extrication from his difficulties was to publish the "*Autumnal Excursion*, and other Poems;" but the poetical field at that season was so preoccupied with "Moss-troopers," "Giaours," and "Corsairs," and so hostile to "Excursions" of all kinds, from Wordsworth downwards, that Pringle's volume, though appreciated by the judicious few, brought him little or no profit. He then resumed, at the beginning of 1819, his laborious and scantily-paid drudgery at the Register Office, while his late literary compeers were rapidly advancing to fame and fortune.

Pringle's condition was now as disastrous as it well could be. He was no longer a buoyant stripling, who could be content with bread and cheese and a garret, as the mere starting-point of a race before him. The race, as it seemed, was already over, and the sun was going down while the course was but half finished. He thus found himself under a stern necessity of quitting the land of his fathers, that he might find the means of living elsewhere—a necessity as irksome to a literary Scot as it is to the literary man of any country whatever. The direction of his pilgrimage alone was in question, and that was

quickly settled. His father and four brothers, who had followed the occupation of agriculture, had been as unfortunate as himself, and were equally ready to embark with him in the bold enterprise of commencing life anew, while South Africa was at present the favourite quarter of Scottish emigration. A grant of land was soon obtained from government, at this time desirous of colonizing the unoccupied districts of the Cape of Good Hope; and Thomas Pringle, accompanied by his father, two brothers, and several friends—comprising in all twelve men, six women, and six children, embarked for the Cape in February, 1820.

Of all possible governments, that of Sancho Panza's island of Barataria not excepted, the most difficult of management, and the most prolific of political discontent and quarrel, is that of a British colony. We well know that it is neither the most contented nor the most moral of our population who leave their native land for the purpose of becoming colonists. On the contrary, every one who has made his country too hot for him—every one who hates the powers that be, and wishes to escape their restrictions—every one who dreams some impossible theory of liberty, which he hopes to realize at the greatest possible distance from the home-government—hoists sail for the new land, as if everything were to be reversed for the better the nearer he approaches the antipodes. With such a population, what system of rule short of martial law can be available? A soldier-governor is therefore commonly imposed upon our colonies; one who, having been accustomed to implicit military obedience, will have no toleration either for mutiny or murmur. In such a case the result will be misunderstanding and discontent between the ruler and the ruled. The former, while he cries, "Eyes right!" is only looked at the more askew; and while he thinks of the summary processes of the black hole or the triangles, his mutinous brigades are talking about the rights of man, the liberty of the subject, Brutus and Hampden, and Magna Charta. Such is the origin of nine-tenths of our colonial quarrels; and in most cases they may be traced to misunderstanding rather than misrule. These explanations it would perhaps be well to keep in mind, when we read of the injuries sustained by Thomas Pringle at the hands of our Cape government.

The emigrant party landed at Algoa Bay on the 5th of June, 1820, and proceeded to their location, a wild and lonely district, to which they gave the name of Glen-Lynden. It comprised 20,000 acres of land—a magnificent idea when applied to the rich fields of England, or even of Scotland, but very different in South Africa, where everything was to be grown, and where, in perhaps half the territory at least, nothing could be made to grow. Here Thomas Pringle, whose lameness precluded him from more active employment, officiated as mechanic, gardener, physician, teacher, and occasionally as chaplain, to the emigrants and their neighbours. After having remained with them till 1822, when they were comfortably settled, Pringle travelled by land for the purpose of residing at Cape Town; and during this journey his observant eye saw much of what was strange and interesting, a full account of which he afterwards published in his *Narrative*. The situation of librarian to the government library at Cape Town had been already awarded him, and though the salary was only £75 per annum, this small modicum was regarded as the foretaste of better things to come. All promised this, indeed, in a colony which had lately passed into our hands, and where a British population and character were to be superinduced,

as speedily as possible, upon the original Dutch colonization. Slavery was to be extinguished, churches and schools to be erected, the English language to be established, and all things changed for the better. This was the commencement of a colonial millennium, into which Pringle threw himself with ardour. Eager to be at the head of the literary and educational departments of this happy change, he received pupils for private instruction; wrote to his talented friend Mr. Fairbairn, in Scotland, to come out to his aid, for the land lay before them to enter and possess it; and planned, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Faure, a Dutch minister in Cape Town, the publication of a new periodical for the wider dissemination of knowledge, that should be written both in Dutch and English. This last project would have been admirable in London or Edinburgh; but in a colony where discontent was so rife—above all, in a conquered colony, where the two European races were still at daggers-drawing—what individual man, however good or talented, could be intrusted with the unlimited power of publishing what he pleased? Besides, was there not already the *Government Gazette*, which contained everything in the shape of political intelligence, at least, that the colonists needed to know? It was no wonder that Pringle's application for permission to start his journal was refused. He received a verbal answer from the governor, through his secretary, intimating that "the application had not been seen in a favourable light." Nothing of course remained for him but submission; but as the arrival of British commissioners was expected, who were to examine into the state of the colony, he hoped they would sanction his proposal. The commissioners arrived, and thought well of it; but all that they could do was to report of it to the home government. Thus thrown back for an indefinite period, if not for ever, he resumed his educational labours with greater zeal than before; and Mr. Fairbairn having arrived from Scotland, the two were soon at the head of a large flourishing boarding establishment of pupils at Cape Town. And now it was that a whole sunny shower of good fortune had commenced, and was to fall upon him as it had done in Edinburgh; for while he was thus prospering, the home government had received his proposals of a new journal, and sent out full permission for its commencement. Thus the *South African Journal* started into life upon the original plan, one edition being in Dutch and the other in English. Soon after, Mr. Greig, a printer, encouraged by this beginning, commenced the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper, of which Pringle also undertook the editorship. He was again a twofold editor, as well as government librarian, and at the head of an educational establishment which was daily becoming more prosperous. But how long was this good fortune to last?—scarcely even so long as it had done in Edinburgh, while the downfall that followed was to be more sudden and complete.

The commencement of the evil was of a kind always dangerous to free, high-spirited, colonial journalism—it was a government trial. A person named Edwards had libelled the governor, and was tried for the offence, while a report of the proceedings was expected in Pringle's newspaper. This expectation was fulfilled; but as it was a ticklish duty, the editor had done his best to expunge from it whatever he thought might be offensive to the ruling powers. Still the feeling on the other side was that he had not expunged enough, and a stringent remedy was forthwith applied to prevent all such shortcomings in future. The fiscal was ordered to proceed to the

printing-office and assume the censorship of the press. This interference, however, deemed necessary on the one side, was not to be tolerated on the other; and Pringle and his colleague, who had no other remedy, abandoned their editorships of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, while Greig, its printer, for announcing his purpose to appeal to the home government, was ordered to leave the colony within a month. The *South African Journal* was the next point of attack on the part of the zealous fiscal, as in the second number, which had just been published, certain obnoxious paragraphs had appeared; and although Pringle declared that had he seen them in time he would have expunged them, or suppressed the number, the plea of inadvertence, so available to journalists at home, was not judged sufficient in South Africa. The dragon's teeth of Cadmus, which, if sown at the foot of Hymettus, would not have produced a dragonet, or even a lizard, were enough, in the mischievous soil of Bœotia, to bring forth a whole harvest of pugnacious homicides. The fiscal performed his duty to his employer, and Pringle his to literature and the liberty of the press, so that the magazine was discontinued, and the fact announced in the *Gazette*. And now entered a third and more formidable element of discord to deepen the confusion. The public at large were determined not to be bereaved of their periodical, and a petition to that effect, and numerously signed, was presented to the colonial council. In this trying dilemma the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, had recourse to what he would no doubt have called negotiation, but which Pringle termed "bullying;" and sending for the latter, subjected him to a very stormy course of questioning, which he answered with equal spirit, and perhaps with almost equal asperity. The result was, that Pringle sent in his resignation of librarian, and thus shook himself loose of every government tie. But this was no expiation; on the contrary, it was regarded as a defiance of government, and as such it was treated. Every mode of disparagement was therefore brought against him by the government officials and their adherents, which soon told upon the prosperity of his seminary; for who could venture to send his children thither, when its proprietor was under the ban of the colonial aristocracy? The school was soon closed; and thus bereft of every resource, Pringle, with his wife and sister-in-law, left the colony, and arrived in London on the 7th of July, 1826. He had still two sources of consolation in his affliction, of which his enemies could not deprive him. He had given such a literary and educational impulse to the colony, that the good work was certain to go on and prosper, even though it was deprived of his presence. And as for the community which he had been the means of planting at Glen-Lynden, their numbers at his departure had been doubled, while their industry had so effectually enriched the wilderness, that every year promised to bring them additional comfort and abundance.

On returning home Pringle applied at headquarters for a compensation of his losses, which he estimated at £1000; but the claim was disallowed, as his statement of wrongs sustained from the colonial government was contradicted by the chief-justice

of the Cape. To add to his difficulties, that sum which was refused him he must now refund, for he was £1000 in debt, in consequence of the abrupt manner in which his prospects in the colony had been crushed. He must once more place his sole reliance in his pen—a fatal necessity which he had always deprecated. He edited an annual entitled *Friendship's Offering*, and seemed to be irrecoverably doomed to such humble and precarious authorship, when, fortunately, an article which he had written upon the subject of slavery in South Africa before he left the colony, and transmitted to the *New Monthly Magazine*, arrested the attention of Messrs. Z. Macaulay and Buxton, by whose influence he was appointed secretary to the Anti-slavery Society. No situation could have been more accordant with his predilections. He had hitherto been the advocate of the enslaved Hottentot and injured Caffre, while the recollection of his own wrongs gave a double edge to his remonstrances, and fresh fire to his eloquence; but now there was full scope for his pen upon the subject, and that, too, not in behalf of one or two tribes, but of humanity at large. He not only threw himself heartily into the work, but inspired others with congenial enthusiasm; while the directors of the society could not sufficiently admire the greatness of his zeal and value of his services. At length, as all the world well knows, the persevering labours of the slavery abolitionists were crowned with success, and on the 27th of June, 1834, the document of the society announcing the act of abolition, and inviting all interested in the cause to set apart the approaching 1st of August as a day of religious gratitude and thanksgiving, was signed "Thomas Pringle." In this way he had unconsciously been removed from Africa, the interests of whose oppressed children he had so deeply at heart, to a situation where he could the most effectually promote the great work to which his philanthropic energies were devoted. What, compared with this, would his solitary appeals have been in behalf of Hottentots, Bosjesmen, and Bechuanas?

And now his appointed work was done. He had lived, and toiled, and succeeded—and what further can man expect upon earth? Only the day after the document was given forth that proclaimed the triumph of Africa and humanity, Pringle was attacked by his last illness, and from the most trivial of causes—a crumb of bread that had passed down the wind-pipe, and occasioned a severe fit of coughing, by which some small blood-vessel was lacerated. Consumption followed; but, unaware of the fact, his chief wish was to return to the Cape, and settle, with a few hundred pounds, upon a farm on the frontier of Caffraria. As a voyage was judged necessary for the recovery of his health, he resolved to combine this with his wish to become a settler, and had engaged a passage to the Cape, with his wife and sister-in-law; but his disease assumed such an aspect that he was unable to embark. The result may be easily guessed: he sunk under the cureless malady, and expired Dec. 5, 1834, in his forty-sixth year. His remains were interred in Bunhill Fields, and a stone, with an elegant inscription by William Kennedy, marks the place where they lie.

R.

RAEBURN, SIR HENRY, a celebrated portrait-painter, was the younger son of Mr. William Raeburn, a respectable manufacturer at Stockbridge, near Edinburgh, where he was born, 4th March, 1756. While very young he had the misfortune to lose both his parents; but this want was supplied to him as much as it could be by his elder brother William, who succeeded to the business, and acted always to him the part of a father. It has been represented by some of Sir Henry's biographers (perhaps with a view of making the after acquirements of the subject of the biography more remarkable), that he received his education at Heriot's Hospital, a well-known and benevolent institution in Edinburgh; but this is not the fact, his brother William having with heartfelt satisfaction given him the scanty but usual education of that period. In the usual routine of education he was not remarked to display any superiority to his class-fellows, except when they were drawing figures on their slates or copy-books, in which case those of Raeburn surpassed all the rest; but this did not lead any further. In other respects he was distinguished by the affection of his companions, and formed at that early period intimacies with some of those distinguished friends whose regard accompanied him through life. The circumstances of young Raeburn rendering it necessary that he should, as early as possible, be enabled to provide for his own support, he was at the age of fifteen apprenticed to a goldsmith, who kept his shop in a dark alley leading between the Parliament Square and the front of the Old Tolbooth. Here, without receiving any lessons, he began to amuse himself by sketching figures, and ultimately by painting miniatures.¹ His master, at first incensed at his apparent inattention to business, was afterwards astonished by the merit of his performances, and, with a liberality hardly to have been expected, conducted him to a place where he might gather the means of improvement in his self-assumed art, namely, the studio of Mr. David Martin, the principal portrait-painter in Edinburgh. He was delighted with the works there presented to his eye; and Martin, on the other hand, spoke encouragingly to the young artist. His miniatures soon became so famous that

commissions came rapidly in, and he generally painted two in the week. As this employment, of course, withdrew his time almost entirely from trade, he made an arrangement with his master, by which the latter was compensated for the loss he incurred on that account. While still an apprentice he began to paint in oil, and on a large scale. To aid him in this task he obtained from Martin the loan of several pictures to copy; but that painter did not contribute advice or assistance in any other shape; and having once unjustly accused the young student of selling one of the copies, Raeburn indignantly refused any farther accommodation of this nature. Having begun, however, to paint large oil pictures, he soon adopted them in preference to miniatures, a style which he gradually gave up; nor did his manner in later life retain any trace of that mode of painting; all was broad, massy, and vigorous.

He had thus become a painter almost by intuition; for there is no ascertaining that he ever received any direct instructions in the mysteries, or even in the manual operations, of his art. It was in his twenty-second year, and when practising regularly as a rival of his old friend Martin, that he became acquainted, under extraordinary circumstances, with the lady who became his wife. "One day," says his most animated biographer,² "a young lady presented herself at his studio, and desired to sit for her portrait. He instantly remembered having seen her in some of his excursions, when, with his sketch-book in his hand, he was noting down some fine snatches of scenery; and as the appearance of anything living and lovely gives an additional charm to a landscape, the painter, like Gainsborough in similar circumstances, had readily admitted her into his drawing. This circumstance, he said, had had its influence. On further acquaintance he found that, besides personal charms, she had sensibility and wit. His respect for her did not affect his skill of hand, but rather inspired it, and he succeeded in making a fine portrait. The lady, Ann Edgar, the daughter of Peter Edgar, Esq., of Bridglands, was much pleased with the skill and likewise with the manners of the artist; and about a month or so after the adventure of the studio, she gave him her hand in marriage, bestowing at once an affectionate wife and a handsome fortune."

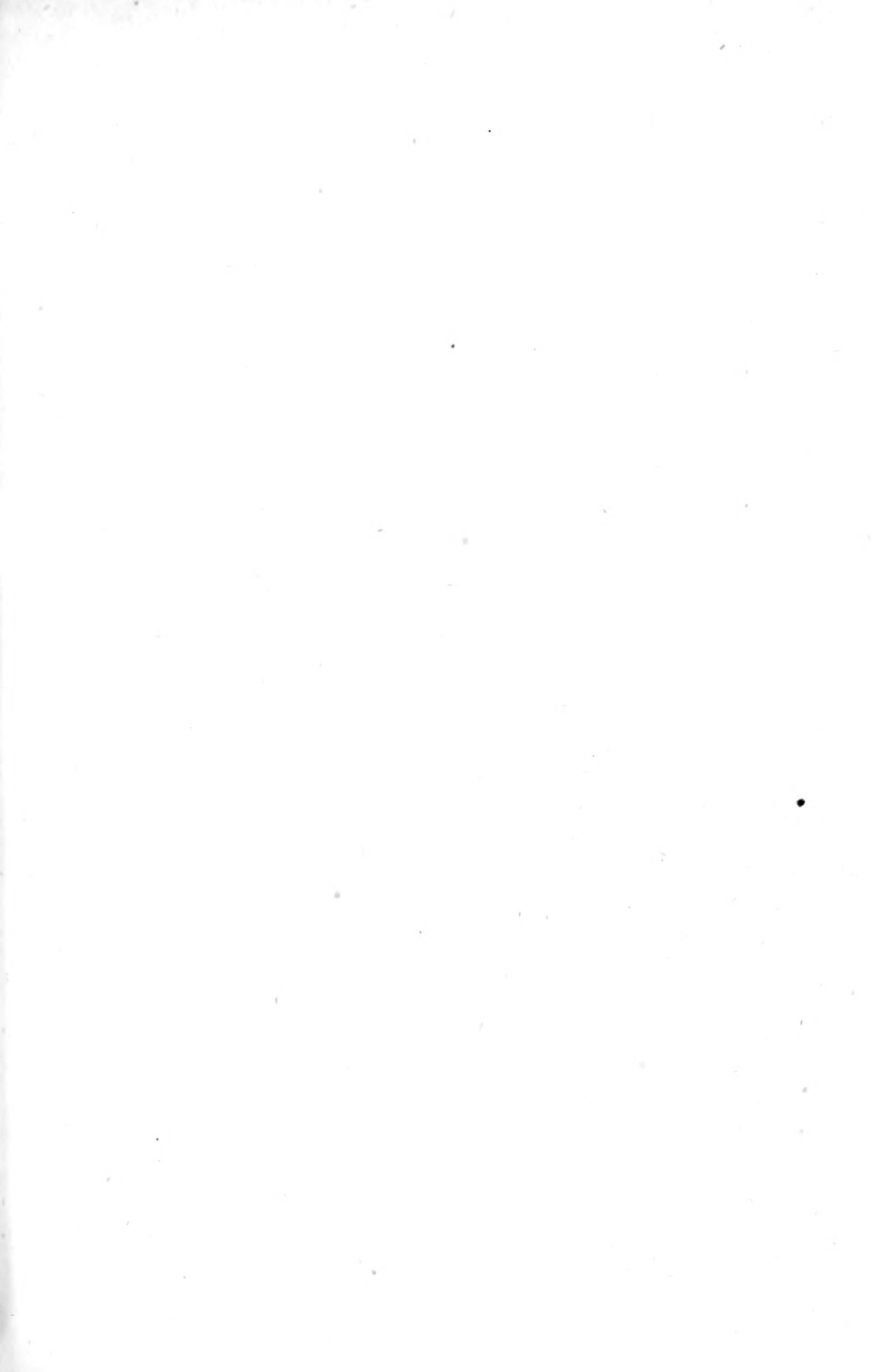
Having now the means of improving in his art, he set out for London, and was introduced to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who treated him with distinguished liberality and kindness, even to the extent of offering him money to prosecute his studies in Rome, which he was not aware that Raeburn did not need. Furnished with introductions by this eminent person, he set out for the capital of the arts, accompanied by his wife. At Rome he was considerably indebted for advice to Mr. Gavin Hamilton, and likewise to Mr. Byers, who gave him the excellent counsel never to copy any object from memory; but, from the principal figure to the minutest accessory, to have it placed before him. To the observance of this rule Raeburn imputed in a great measure the improvement which was observed in his subsequent pictures.

His powers now fully matured, he returned in 1787 to his native city, and set up his easel in a fashionable house in George Street. The works of Martin

¹ "It was in this situation," says Dr. A. Duncan, senr., "that my first acquaintance with him commenced, and that, too, on a melancholy occasion. Mr. Charles Darwin, son of the justly celebrated Dr. Erasmus Darwin, author of that much esteemed poem the *Botanic Garden*, and of other works demonstrating great genius, died during the course of his medical studies at Edinburgh. At that time I had the honour, though a very young medical lecturer, of ranking Darwin among the number of my pupils. And I need hardly add, that he was a favourite pupil: for, during his studies, he exhibited such uncommon proofs of genius and industry as could not fail to gain the esteem and affection of every discerning teacher.

"On the death of young Darwin I was anxious to retain some slight token in remembrance of my highly esteemed young friend; and, for that purpose, I obtained a small portion of his hair. I applied to Mr. Gilliland, at that time an eminent jeweller in Edinburgh, to have it preserved in a mourning ring. He told me that one of his present apprentices was a young man of great genius, and could prepare for me in hair a memorial that would demonstrate both taste and art. Young Raeburn was immediately called, and proposed to execute, on a small trinket which might be hung at a watch, a muse weeping over an urn, marked with the initials of Charles Darwin. This trinket was finished by Raeburn in a manner which, to me, afforded manifest proof of very superior genius, and I still preserve it, as a memorial of the singular and early merit both of Darwin and of Raeburn."

² Mr. Allan Cunningham, in his *Lives of British Painters*.







—though certainly better than the biographers of Raeburn delight to represent them—were so much eclipsed by the junior artist, that the whole tide of employment left the one painter for the other. In vain did the veteran prophesy that this fever of approbation could not last, and that “*the lad in George Street*” painted better before he went to Rome. The nation persisted in being of another opinion, and Martin was at last obliged to retire from the field in despair. Raeburn at once assumed that pre-eminent rank in his profession, which, notwithstanding the multitude of rivals who afterwards rose around him, he bore to the day of his death.

The subsequent history of this artist is chiefly that of his pictures. For thirty-six years he was constantly employed in his professional duties, and painted the most of the eminent persons who lived in Scotland during that time. Unfortunately no record has been preserved of his various works; but they are to be found in almost every distinguished mansion in the country.¹ Having stored his mind with ideas drawn from the purest school of modern art, he was indebted for his subsequent improvement solely to his own reflections and the study of nature. He was never in the habit of repairing to London; and, indeed, he did not visit that metropolis above three times, nor did he reside in it altogether more than four months. He was thus neither in the habit of seeing the works of his contemporaries, nor the English collections of old pictures. Whatever disadvantage might attend this, it never stopped the career of his improvement. Probably, indeed, it had the effect of preserving that originality which formed always the decided character of his productions, and kept him free from being trammelled by the style of any class of artists. Perhaps, also, the elevation and dignity of style which he always maintained might be greatly owing to his exclusive acquaintance with the works of the Italian masters. In English collections the Dutch specimens are necessarily so prominent, both as to number and choice, that a familiar acquaintance with them must be apt to beget a taste for that homely truth and minute finishing in which their merit consists.

The first excellence of a portrait, and for the ab-

sence of which nothing can atone, must evidently be its resemblance. In this respect Sir Henry's eminence was universally acknowledged. In the hands of the best artists there must, in this part of their task, be something precarious; but in a vast majority of instances his resemblances were most striking. They were also happily distinguished by being always the most favourable that could be taken of the individual, and were usually expressive as well of the character as of the features. This desirable object was effected not by the introduction of any ideal touches, or any departure from the strictest truth, but by selecting and drawing out those aspects under which the features appeared most dignified and pleasing. He made it his peculiar study to bring out the mind of his subjects. His penetration quickly empowered him to discover their favourite pursuits and topics of conversation. Sir Henry's varied knowledge and agreeable manners then easily enabled him in the course of the sitting to lead them into an animated discussion on those ascertained subjects. As they spoke he caught their features, enlivened by the strongest expression of which they were susceptible. While he thus made the portrait much more correct and animated, his sitters had a much more agreeable task than those who were pinned up for hours in a constrained and inanimate posture, and in a state of mental vacuity. So agreeable, indeed, did many of the most distinguished and intelligent among them find his society, that they courted it ever after, and studiously converted the artist into a friend and acquaintance.

Besides his excellence in this essential quality of portrait, Sir Henry possessed also in an eminent degree those secondary merits which are requisite to constitute a fine painting. His drawing was correct, his colouring rich and deep, and his lights well disposed. There was something bold, free, and open in the whole style of his execution. The accessories, whether of drapery, furniture, or landscapes, were treated with elegance and spirit; yet without that elaborate and brilliant finishing, which makes them become principals. These parts were always kept in due subordination to the human figure; while of it, the head came always out as the prominent part. Animals, particularly that noble species the horse, were introduced with peculiar felicity; and Sir Henry's equestrian portraits are perhaps his very best performances. The able manner in which the animal itself was drawn, and in which it was combined with the human figure, were equally conspicuous.

In private life Raeburn was remarkable for his courteous and amiable manners and his great domestic worth. While his painting-rooms were in George Street, and latterly in York Place, he resided in a sequestered villa called St. Bernard's, near the village where he drew his first breath, then distant from, but now engrossed in, the extending city—where he amused his leisure hours by the society of his children and grandchildren, the cultivation of his garden, and the study of ship-building, and some other mechanical pursuits, for which he had a liking. The hours between nine and four he almost invariably spent in his studio. He latterly found another kind of employment for his leisure in planning out the environs of his little villa, which consisted of about ten acres, in lots for building, and in designing the architectural elevations of a little group of streets with which the ground was to be occupied. It may readily be supposed that in this task he manifested a superiority of taste, corresponding in some measure with his supremacy in another branch of art. The suburb which has arisen upon his property, and which

¹ The following pictures by Sir Henry Raeburn, besides others, have been engraved:—[*Full length.*] First Viscount Melville, in peer's robes. General Sir David Baird, with horse. Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Macdonnell of Glangary. Lord Chief-commissioner Adam. Henry Mackenzie. General the Earl of Hopetoun, with horse.—[*Three-quarters Length.*] Captain G. Duff, of the *Mars*, who fell at Trafalgar. Neil Gow, with his fiddle. Dr. Alexander Adam. James Pillans, professor of humanity, Edinburgh. John Clerk, of Eldin. Charles Hope, president of the Court of Session. Robert Macqueen of Braxfield, in judiciary robes. Hon. Henry Erskine. Dugald Stewart, professor of moral philosophy. James Gregory, M.D. Robert Blair, president of the Court of Session. George IV. Robert Dundas, president of the Court of Session. John Elder, provost of Edinburgh, in his robes. William Creech, bookseller. Professor Thomas Hope. Dr. Hugh Blair. James Balfour, Esq., golfer.—[*Half Length.*] Rev. Dr. Andrew Hunter, professor of divinity. George Jardine, professor of logic, Glasgow. Justice-clerk Macqueen. Lord Chief-baron Dundas. Hay, Lord Newton. Rev. Dr. David Johnston, minister of North Leith. Rev. Dr. John Erskine. Dr. James Hamilton. John Gray, Esq., golfer. Professor Playfair. Sir Walter Scott, when young; Dutton, when older. Sir John Sinclair, of Ulbster, Bart. Tytler of Woodhouselee. Harry David Inglis, advocate. Sir Henry Raeburn. Dr. George Hill, principal of St. Andrews. Rev. Archibald Alison. Mr. Francis Jeffrey. Henry Cockburn. Lord Meadowbank.—The following are portraits which, with many others, have not been engraved:—Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton. Mr. Benjamin Bell, surgeon. Mr. Leonard Horner. Mr. Henry Raeburn, the painter's son. The Duke of Hamilton. Lord Frederick Campbell. The Laird of Macnab, in Highland costume. Earl of Breadalbane. Sir John Douglas. Marquis of Huntly. Sir John Hay. Archibald Constable. Rev. F. Thomson. Sir John and Lady Clerk. Mr. Rennie, engineer. Dr. Lindsay, Pinkieburn. Dr. Alexander Duncan.

was only commenced in his own lifetime, is accordingly conspicuous for the elegance displayed both in its general arrangement and in its details, and has become a favourite residence with such individuals as do not find it necessary, for professional reasons, to live nearer the centre of the city.

In 1814 Raeburn was made an associate of the Royal Academy, and in the subsequent year he became an academician. He afterwards obtained from foreign countries many honours of the same kind. In 1822, when George IV. visited Scotland, the long-established fame of Raeburn, together with his fortune and gentlemanly manners, pointed him out as an individual in whom the king might signify his respect for Scottish art, and he was accordingly knighted at Hopetoun House, on the last day of his majesty's residence in the country. Some weeks afterwards his brethren in art, now increased to a large and respectable body, gave him a dinner as a token of their admiration of his talents and character. In his speech on this occasion he said modestly that he was glad of their approbation, and had tried to merit it; for he had never indulged in a mean or selfish spirit towards any brother-artists, nor had at any time withheld the praise which was due to them, when their works happened to be mentioned.

Sir Henry received afterwards the appointment of portrait-painter to his majesty for Scotland; a nomination, however, which was not announced to him till the very day when he was seized with his last illness. The king, when conferring the dignity of knighthood, had expressed a wish to have a portrait of himself painted by this great artist; but Sir Henry's numerous engagements prevented him from visiting the metropolis for that purpose. It reflects great honour on the subject of this memoir, that he never gave way to those secure and indolent habits which advanced age and established reputation are so apt to engender. He continued, with all the enthusiasm of a student, to seek and to attain further improvement. The pictures of his two or three last years are unquestionably the best that he ever painted. But perhaps the most interesting part of his recent works consists in a series of half-length portraits of eminent Scotsmen, which during this period he executed for his private gratification.

This amiable and excellent man was suddenly affected with a general decay and debility, not accompanied by any visible complaint. This state of illness, after continuing for about a week to baffle all the efforts of medical skill, terminated fatally on the 8th July, 1823, when he had reached the age of sixty-seven.

Few men were better calculated to command respect in society than Sir Henry Raeburn. His varied knowledge, his gentlemanly and agreeable manners, an extensive command of anecdote, always well told and happily introduced, the general correctness and propriety of his whole deportment, made him be highly valued by many of the most distinguished individuals in Edinburgh, both as a companion and as a friend. His conversation might be said in some degree to resemble his style of painting—there was the same ease and simplicity, the same total absence of affectation of every kind, and the same manly turn of sense and genius. But we are not aware that the humorous gaiety and sense of the ludicrous, which often enlivened his conversation, ever guided his pencil.

Sir Henry Raeburn, like Raphael, Michael Angelo, and some other masters of the art, possessed the advantages of a tall and commanding person, and a noble and expressive countenance. He excelled in archery, golf, and other Scottish exercises;

and it may be added that, while engaged in painting, his step and attitudes were at once stately and graceful.

By his lady, who survived him ten years, Sir Henry had two sons: Peter, a youth of great promise, who died at nineteen; and Henry, who, with his wife and family, lived under the same roof with his father during the whole of their joint lives, and was his most familiar friend and companion. To the children of this gentleman the illustrious painter left the bulk of his fortune, chiefly consisting of houses and ground-rents in the suburb of St. Bernard's.

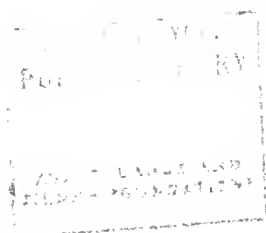
RAMSAY, ALLAN, the celebrated poet, was born at the village of Leadhills, in Lanarkshire, October 15, 1686. His parentage was highly respectable, and his ancestry even dignified. His father, Robert Ramsay, was manager of the lead-mines in Crawfordmuir, belonging to the Earl of Hopetoun; and his mother, Alice Bower, was the daughter of a gentleman who had been brought from Derbyshire to introduce and oversee some improvements in the management of the mines. His grandfather, Robert Ramsay, writer or notary in Edinburgh, was the son of Captain John Ramsay, a son of Ramsay of Cockpen, whose family was a branch of the Ramsays of Dalhousie, afterwards ennobled.¹ A grandmother of the poet, moreover, was Janet Douglas, daughter of Douglas of Muthil. Though thus well descended, he was reared in the midst of poverty. He had the misfortune to lose his father while he was yet an infant; and his mother seems almost immediately to have married a Mr. Crighton, a small landholder in the neighbourhood. Whether this last circumstance was an additional misfortune, as has been generally assumed by his biographers, we think may reasonably be questioned. It is not at all probable that his father, dying at the age of twenty-five, could have much property; and the use and wont of even a small landholder's house is not likely to have been beneath that of a poor widow's. His mother had a number of children to Mr. Crighton; but the subject of this memoir seems to have been cared for in the same way as those were, and to have enjoyed all the advantages appropriate to the same station in life. He had the benefit of the parish school till he was in his fifteenth year—an extent of education not yet common in Scotland, except when attendance on the university is included. Of the progress he had made in his studies we have unfortunately no particular account; it certainly made him acquainted with Horace, as is abundantly evident in his poems.

In the year 1700 Ramsay lost his mother; and in the following year his step-father carried him into Edinburgh, and apprenticed him to a periwig-maker, which appears to have been at that time a flourishing profession. Ramsay himself, it is said, wished to have been a painter; and his step-father has been reflected on as acting with niggardly sharp-sightedness in refusing to comply with his wishes. There is not, however, in the numerous writings of Ramsay, one single hint that any violence was, on this occasion, done to his feelings; and we think the reflection might well have been spared. Those who have borne the burden of rearing a family upon limited means know the impossibility of indulging either their own wishes or those of their children in

¹ The laird of Cockpen here mentioned is usually represented as a brother of Ramsay of Dalhousie; but the branch seems to have left the main stock at a much earlier period than that would imply. The first Ramsay of Cockpen was a son of Sir Alexander Ramsay, who was knighted at the coronation of James I. in 1424.







this respect, being often obliged to rest satisfied, not with what they would have wished, but with what they have been able to attain. There can be no doubt that Allan Ramsay served out his apprenticeship honourably, and afterwards for a number of years practised his trade as a master successfully; circumstances that, in our opinion, justify the discretion and good sense of his step-father more powerfully than any reasoning could do. It is to be regretted that of this period of his life no accounts have been handed down to us; and the more so, that we have no doubt they would show his general good sense, and the steady character of his genius, more powerfully than even the later and more flourishing periods of his history. Unlike the greater number of men of poetical talent, Ramsay had the most perfect command over himself; and the blind gropings of the Cyclops of ambition within led him to no premature attempts to attain distinction. Though he must have entertained day-dreams of immortality, he enjoyed them with moderation; and, without indulging either despondency or dejection, he waited with patience for their realization. Prosecuting his business with diligence, he possessed independence; and while in the company of respectable fellow-citizens he indulged and improved his social qualities, he, by taking to wife an excellent woman, Christian Ross, the daughter of a writer in Edinburgh, laid the foundation of a lifetime of domestic felicity.

It was in the year 1712, and in the twenty-sixth year of his age, that he entered into the state of matrimony; and the earliest of his productions that can now be traced is an epistle to the most happy members of the Easy Club, dated the same year. This club originated, as he himself, who was one of its members, informs us, "in the antipathy we all seemed to have at the ill humour and contradiction which arise from trifles, especially those that constitute Whig and Tory, *without having the grand reason for it.*" This club was in fact formed of Jacobites, and the restoration of the Pretender was the "grand reason" here alluded to. In the club every member assumed a fictitious name, generally that of some celebrated writer. Ramsay, probably from the *Tutler*, which must have been a book much to his taste, pitched upon that of Isaac Bickerstaff, but afterwards exchanged it for that of Gawin Douglas. In the presence of this club Ramsay was in the habit of reading his first productions, which, it would appear, were published by or under the patronage of the fraternity, probably in notices of its sittings, which would tend to give it celebrity and add to its influence. The *Elegy on Maggy Johnston* seems to have been one of the earliest of his productions, and is highly characteristic of his genius. An *Elegy on the Death of Dr. Pitcairne*, in 1715, was likewise read before, and published by, the club; but being at once political and personal, it was rejected by the author when he republished his poems. Allan had this year been elected poet-laureate of the club. But the rising of Mar put an end to its meetings; and Ramsay, though still a keen Jacobite, felt it to be for his interest to be so in secret. It was now, however, that he commenced in earnest his poetical career, and speedily rose to a degree of popularity which had been attained by no poet in Scotland since the days of Sir David Lindsay. For more than a century, indeed, Scottish poetry had been under an eclipse, while such poetical genius as the age afforded chose Latin as the medium of communication. Semple, however, and Hamilton of Gilbertfield, had of late years revived the notes of the Doric reed; and it seems to have been some of

their compositions, as published in Watson's *Collection* in 1706, that first inspired Ramsay. *Maggy Johnston's Elegy* was speedily followed by that on John Cowper, quite in the same strain of broad humour. The publication of King James' *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, from an old manuscript, speedily followed, with an additional canto by the editor, which, possessing the same broad humour, in a dialect perfectly level to the comprehension of the vulgar, while its precursor could not be read even by them without the aid of explanatory notes, met with a most cordial reception. Commentators have since that period puzzled themselves not a little to explain the language of the supposed royal bard. Ramsay, however, saved himself the trouble, leaving every one to find it out the best way he might, for he gave no explanations; and at the same time, to impress his readers with admiration of his great learning, he printed his motto, taken from Gawin Douglas, in Greek characters. A second edition of this work was published in the year 1718, with the addition of a third canto, which increased its popularity so much that, in the course of the four following years, it ran through five editions. It was previously to the publication of this work in its extended form that Allan Ramsay had commenced the book-selling business, for it was "printed for the author, at the *Mercury*, opposite to Niddry's Wynd;" but the exact time when, or the manner how, he changed his profession has not been recorded. At the *Mercury*, opposite to the head of Niddry's Wynd, Ramsay seems to have prosecuted his business as an original author, editor, and bookseller with great diligence for a considerable number of years. His own poems he continued to print as they were written, in single sheets or half sheets, in which shape they are reported to have found a ready sale, the citizens being in the habit of sending their children with a penny for "Allan Ramsay's last piece." In this form were first published, besides those we have already mentioned, the *City of Edinburgh's Address to the Country*, the *City of Edinburgh's Salutation to the Marquis of Caernarvon*, *Elegy on Lucky Wood*, *Familiar Epistles*, &c. &c., which had been so well received by the public that in the year 1720 he issued proposals for republishing them, with additional poems, in one volume quarto. The estimation in which the poet was now held was clearly demonstrated by the rapid filling up of a list of subscribers, containing the names of all who were eminent for talents, learning, or dignity in Scotland. The volume, handsomely printed by Ruddiman, and ornamented by a portrait of the author, from the pencil of his friend Smibert, was published in the succeeding year, and the fortunate poet realized 400 guineas by the speculation. This volume was, according to the fashion of the times, prefaced with several copies of commendatory verses; and it contained the first scene of the *Gentle Shepherd*, under the title of "Patie and Roger," and apparently intended as a mere pastoral dialogue. Incited by his brilliant success, Ramsay redoubled his diligence, and in the year 1722 produced a volume of *Fables and Tales*; in 1723 the *Fair Assembly*; and in 1724, *Health*, a poem inscribed to the Earl of Stair. In the year 1719 he had published a volume of *Scottish Songs*, which had already run through two editions, by which he was encouraged to publish, in January, 1724, the first volume of the *Tea-table Miscellany*, a collection of songs, Scottish and English. This was soon followed by a second; in 1727 by a third; and some years afterwards by a fourth. The demand for this work was so great that, in the course of a few years, it ran through twelve editions. In later times Ram-

say has been condemned for what he seems to have looked upon as a meritorious piece of labour. He had refitted about sixty of the old airs with new verses, partly by himself and partly by others; which was perhaps absolutely necessary on account of the rudeness and indecency of the elder ditties. Modern antiquaries, however, finding that he has thus been the means of banishing the latter order of songs out of existence, declaim against him for a result which he perhaps never contemplated, and which, to say the least of it, could never have occurred if the lost poems had possessed the least merit. That Ramsay, in publishing a work for the immediate use of his contemporaries, did not consult the taste or wishes of an age a century later, was certainly very natural; and though we may regret that the songs are lost, we cannot well see how the blame lies with him. Ramsay, let us also recollect, was at this very time evincing his desire to bring forward the really valuable productions of the elder muse. In the year 1724 he published the "*Ever-Green*, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600." Ramsay, however, was neither a faithful nor a well-informed editor. He introduced into this collection as ancient compositions two pieces of his own, entitled the *Vision* and the *Eagle and Robin Redbreast*, the former being a political allegory with a reference to the Pretender.

Ramsay had already written and published, in his first volume of original poetry, *Patie and Roger*, which he had followed up the following year with *Jenny and Maggy*, a pastoral, being a sequel to *Patie and Roger*. These sketches were so happily executed, as to excite in every reader a desire to see them extended. He therefore proceeded with additional colloquies in connection with the former, so as to form in the end a dramatic pastoral in five acts. In the following letter, published here for the first time, it will be seen that he was engaged on this task in spring 1724, at a time when the duties of life were confining him to the centre of a busy city, and when, by his own confession, he had almost forgot the appearance of those natural scenes which he has nevertheless so admirably described:—

ALLAN RAMSAY TO WILLIAM RAMSAY OF TEMPLE-HALL, ESQ.

"EDINBURGH, April 8th, 1724.

"Sir,—These come to bear you my very heartyest and grateful wishes. May you long enjoy your Marlefield, see many a returning spring pregnant with new beautys; may everything that's excellent in its kind continue to fill your extended soul with pleasure. Rejoyce in the beneficence of heaven, and let all about ye rejoyce—whilst we, alake, the laborious insects of a smoaky city, hurry about from place to place in one eternal maze of fatiguing cares, to secure this day our daylie bread—and something till't. For me, I have almost forgot how springs gush from the earth. Once I had a notion how fragrant the fields were after a soft shower; and often, time out of mind! the glowing blushes of the morning have fired my breast with raptures. Then it was that the mixture of rural music echo'd agreeable from the surrounding hills, and all nature appear'd in gayety.

"However, what is wanting to me of rural sweets I endeavour to make up by being continually at the acting of some new farce, for I'm grown, I know not how, so very wise, or at least think so (which is much about one), that the mob of mankind afford me a continual diversion; and this place, tho' little, is crowded with merry-andrews, fools, and fops of

all sizes, [who] intermix'd with a few that can think, compose the comical medley of actors.

"Receive a sang made on the marriage of my young chief. I am, this vacation, going through with a dramatick pastoral, which I design to carry the length of five acts, in verse a' the gate, and if I succeed according to my plan, I hope to tope with the authors of *Pastor Fido* and *Aminta*.

"God take care of you and yours is the constant prayer of, sir, your faithful humble servant,

"ALLAN RAMSAY."

The poem was published in 1725 under the title of the *Gentle Shepherd*, and met with instant and triumphant success. A second edition was printed by Ruddiman for the author, who still resided at his shop opposite Niddry's Wynd; but the same year he removed from this his original dwelling to a house in the east end of the Luckenbooths, which had formerly been the London Coffee-house. Here, in place of Mercury, he adopted the heads of Ben Jonson and Drummond of Hawthornden, and in addition to his business as a bookseller he commenced that of a circulating library. Ramsay was the first to establish such a business in Scotland, and it appears that he did so not without some opposition from the more serious part of the community, who found fault with him for lending the loose plays of that age to persons whose morals were liable to be tainted by them. In this shop the wits of Edinburgh continued daily to meet for information and amusement during the days of Ramsay and his successors in trade. In the year 1728 he published by subscription the second volume of his poems in quarto (including the *Gentle Shepherd*), which was equally successful with the first. Of this volume a second edition was printed in octavo in the succeeding year. In 1730 Ramsay published a collection of thirty fables, after which, though he wrote several copies of verses for the amusement of his friends, he gave nothing more to the public. His fame was now at the full, and though he had continued to issue a number of volumes every year, all equally good with those that preceded them, it could have received no real addition. Over all the three kingdoms, and over all their dependencies, the works of Ramsay were widely diffused and warmly admired. The whole were republished by the London booksellers in the year 1731, and by the Dublin booksellers in 1733, all sterling proofs of extended popularity, to which the poet himself failed not on proper occasions to allude.

Ramsay had now risen to wealth and to high respectability, numbering among his familiar friends the best and the wisest men in the nation. By the greater part of the Scottish nobility he was caressed, and at the houses of some of the most distinguished of them—Hamilton Palace, Loudoun Castle, &c.—was a frequent visitor. With Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, afterwards lord-president, and the first of Scottish patriots, Sir John Clerk, Sir William Bennet, and Sir Alexander Dick, he lived in the habit of daily and familiar and friendly intercourse. With contemporary poets his intercourse was extensive and of the most friendly kind. The two Hamiltons, of Bangour and Gilbertfield, were his most intimate friends. He addressed verses to Pope, to Gay, and to Somerville, the last of whom returned his poetical salutations in kind. Mitchell and Mallet shared also in his friendly greetings. Meston addressed to him verses highly complimentary, and William Scott of Thirlstane wrote Latin hexameters to his praise. Under so much good fortune he could not escape the malignant glances of envious and disappointed poetsasters, and of morose and stern moralists. By the

first he was annoyed with a "*Block for Allan Ramsay's Wig, or the Poet fallen in a Trance*;" by the latter, "*Allan Ramsay metamorphosed to a Heather-blower Poet*," in a Pastoral between Algon and Meliboea," with the "*Flight of Religious Piety from Scotland*," upon the Account of Ramsay's Lewd Books and the Hellbred Playhouse Comedians, who debauch all the Faculties of the Souls of the Rising Generation;" a "*Looking-glass for Allan Ramsay, the Dying Words of Allan Ramsay, &c.*" The three last of these pieces were occasioned by a speculation which he entered into for the encouragement of the drama, to which he appears to have been strongly attached. For this purpose, about the year 1736, he built a play-house in Carrubber's Close at vast expense, which, if it was ever opened, was immediately shut up by the act for licensing the stage which was passed in the year 1737. Ramsay on this occasion addressed a rhyming complaint to the Court of Session, which was first printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and since in all the editions that have been given of his works. It does not, however, appear that he obtained any redress, and the pecuniary loss which he must have suffered probably affected him more than the lampoons to which we have alluded. He had previously to this published his *Reasons for not Answering the Hackney Scribblers*, which are sufficiently biting, and with which he seems to have remained satisfied through life. He has described himself in one of his epistles as a—

"Little man that lo'd his ease,
And never tho'd these passions lang,
That rudely meant to do him wrang;"

which we think the following letter to his old friend Smibert, the painter, who had by this time emigrated to the western world, will abundantly confirm:—"My dear old friend, your health and happiness are ever an addition to my satisfaction. God make your life easy and pleasant. Half a century of years have now rowed o'er my pow, that begins to be lyart; yet thanks to my author I eat, drink, and sleep as sound as I did twenty years syne, yea I laugh, heartily too, and find as many subjects to employ that faculty upon as ever; fools, fops, and knaves grow as rank as formerly, yet here and there are to be found good and worthy men who are an honour to human life. We have small hopes of seeing you again in our old world; then let us be virtuous and hope to meet in heaven. My good auld wife is still my bed-fellow. My son Allan has been pursuing your science since he was a dozen years auld; was with Mr. Hyfidg at London for some time about two years ago; has been since at home, painting here like a Raphael; sets out for the seat of the beast beyond the Alps within a month hence, to be away about two years. I'm sweer to part with him, but canna stem the current which flows from the advice of his patrons and his own inclination. I have three daughters, one of seventeen, one of sixteen, and one of twelve years old, and no ae wally dragle among them—all fine girls. These six or seven years past I have not written a line of poetry; I can give over in good time before the coolness of fancy that attends advanced years should make me risk the reputation I had acquired.

"Frae twenty-five to five-and-forty,
My muse was neither sweer nor dorthy,
My Pegasus would break his tether,
E'en at the shaking of a feather;
And through ideas scour like drift,
Streking his wings up to the lift.
Then, then my soul was in a low,
That gart my numbers safely row;
But eild and judgment 'gin to say,
Let be your sangs, and learn to pray."

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more pleasing picture of ease and satisfaction than is exhibited in the above sketch; and, the affair of the theatre in Carrubber's Close excepted, Ramsay seems to have filled it up to the last. He lost his wife, Christian Ross, in the year 1743; but his three daughters, grown up to womanhood, in some measure supplied the want of her society, and much of his time in his latter years seems to have been spent with his friends in the country. It appears to have been about this period, and with the view of relinquishing his shop, the business of which still went on prosperously, that he erected a house on the north side of the Castle Hill, where he might spend the remainder of his days in dignified retirement. The site of this house was selected with the taste of a poet and the judgment of a painter. It commanded a reach of scenery probably not surpassed in Europe, extending from the mouth of the Forth on the east to the Grampians on the west, and stretching far across the green hills of Fife to the north; embracing in the including space every variety of beauty, of elegance, and of grandeur. The design for the building, however, which the poet adopted, was paltry in the extreme, and by the wags of the city was compared to a goose-pie, of which complaining one day to Lord Elbank, his lordship gayly remarked, that now seeing him in it he thought it an exceedingly apt comparison. Fantastic though the house was, Ramsay spent the last twelve years of his life in it, except when he was abroad with his friends, in a state of philosophic ease, which few literary men are able to attain. In the year 1755 he is supposed to have relinquished business. An epistle which he wrote this year to James Clerk, Esq. of Pennycuik, "full of wise saws and modern instances," gives his determination on the subject, and a picture of himself more graphic than could be drawn by any other person:—

"Tho' born to no ae inch of ground,
I keep my conscience white and sound;
And though I ne'er was a rich keeper,
To make that up I live the cheaper;
By this ae knack I've made a shift
To drive ambitious care adrift;
And now in years and sense grown auld,
In ease I like my limbs to fauld.
Debts I abhor, and plan to be
From shackling trade and dangers free;
That I may, loosed frae care and strife,
With calmness view the edge of life;
And when a full ripe age shall crave
Slide easily into my grave;
Now seventy years are o'er my head,
And thirty more may lay me dead."

While he was thus planning schemes of ease and security, Ramsay seems to have forgotten the bitter irony of a line in one of his elegies,—

"The wily carl, he gathered gear,
But ah! he's dead."

At the very time he was thus writing, he was deeply afflicted with the scurvy in his gums, by which he eventually lost all his teeth, and even a portion of one of his jawbones. He died at Edinburgh on the 7th of January, 1757, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried on the 9th of the month without any particular honours, and with him for a time was buried Scottish poetry, there not being so much as one poet found in Scotland to sing a requiem over his grave. His wife, Christian Ross, seems to have brought him seven children, three sons and four daughters; of these Allan, the eldest, and two daughters survived him. Of the character of Ramsay the outlines we presume may be drawn from the comprehensive sketch which we have exhibited of the events of his life. Prudent self-control seems to have been his leading characteristic, and the acquisition of a competency the great object of his life. He

was one of the few poets to whom, in a pecuniary point of view, poetry has been really a blessing, and who could combine poetic pursuits with those of ordinary business.

RAMSAY, ALLAN, an eminent portrait-painter, was the eldest son of the subject of the preceding article, and was born in Edinburgh in the year 1713. He received a liberal education, and displayed in boyhood a taste for the art which he afterwards successfully cultivated. It is to be supposed that the father would be the less inclined to control his son in this matter, as he was himself in early life anxious to be brought up as a painter. In Italy young Ramsay studied three years under Solimano and Imperiali, two artists of celebrity. He then returned to his native country, and commenced business, painting, amongst others, his father's friend President Forbes, and his own sister Janet Ramsay, whose portraits are preserved in Newhall House; and an excellent full-length of Archibald Duke of Argyle, in his robes as an extraordinary lord of session, now in the town-hall, Glasgow. The name of Allan Ramsay, junr., is found in the list of the members of the Academy of St. Luke, an association of painters and lovers of painting instituted at Edinburgh in 1729, but which does not appear to have done anything worthy of record.¹ It would also appear that he employed part of his time in giving private instructions in drawing, for it was while thus engaged in the family of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick that he gained the heart and hand of the baronet's eldest daughter, Margaret—a niece of the illustrious Mansfield—by whom he had three children. In 1754 he became the founder of the Select Society, which comprised all the eminent learned characters then living in the Scottish capital, and which he was well qualified to adorn, as he was an excellent classical scholar, knew French and Italian perfectly, and had all the polish and liberal feeling of a highly instructed man.

Previously to this period he had made London his habitual residence, though he occasionally visited both Rome and Edinburgh. In Bouquet's pamphlet on the *Present State of the Fine Arts in England*, published in 1753, he is spoken of as "an able painter, who, acknowledging no other guide than nature, brought a rational taste of resemblance with him from Italy. Even in his portraits," says this writer, "he shows that just steady spirit which he so agreeably displays in his conversation." He found in the Earl of Bridgewater one of his earliest English patrons. He was also introduced by the Earl of Bute to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., of whom he painted portraits, both in full length and in profile, which were engraved, the one by Ryland, the other by Woollett. He practised portrait-painting for several years with distinguished success, being deficient, according to Walpole, rather in subjects than in genius. His portraits are distinguished by a calm unaffected representation of nature; and he is universally allowed to have contributed with Reynolds to raise this branch of art in Britain. He had not long been in practice before he acquired considerable wealth, which, it appears, he used in a liberal spirit. When his father died in 1757, in somewhat embarrassed circumstances, he paid his debts, settling at the same time a pension on his unmarried sister Janet Ramsay, who survived till 1804.

¹ The rules of this obscure institution, with the signatures, were published by Mr. Patrick Gibson, in his "View of the Arts of Design in Britain," in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1816.

In 1767 Ramsay was appointed portrait-painter to the king and queen, which brought him an immense increase of employment, as portraits of their majesties were perpetually in demand for foreign courts, ambassadors, and public bodies at home. He was, therefore, obliged to engage no fewer than five assistants to forward his pictures, among whom was David Martin, the predecessor of Raeburn. In consequence of his enlightened and amusing conversation, he became a great favourite with their majesties, the queen being particularly pleased with him on account of his ability to converse in German, in which he had not a rival at court, save amongst her own domestics. The state nobles, and other public leaders of that time, were also fond of the conversation of Ramsay, who is said to have taken more pleasure in politics and literature than in his art, and wrote many pieces on controverted subjects, with the signature "Investigator," which were ultimately collected into a volume. He corresponded too with Voltaire and Rousseau, both of whom he visited when abroad; and his letters are said to have been elegant and witty. "Ramsay, in short," says Mr. A. Cunningham, "led the life of an elegant accomplished man of the world, and public favourite." He was frequently of Dr. Johnson's parties, who said of him, "You will not find a man in whose conversation there is more instruction, more information, and elegance, than in Ramsay's." He was noted in his own country for having, after the battle of Prestonpans, written an imitation of the song of Deborah in Scripture, which he put into the mouth of a Jacobite young lady of family, and which displayed considerable powers of satire; and in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1813 will be found a burlesque on Horace's "Integer Vitæ," which shows such a dexterous union of the Latin rhythm with the English rhyme, as none but a man of a singular kind of genius could have effected.¹

In consequence of an accident which injured his arm, Ramsay retired from business about the year 1775. He then lived several years in Italy, amusing himself chiefly with literary pursuits. His health gradually sinking, he formed the wish to return to his native land; but the motion of the carriage brought on a slow fever by the way, and he died at Dover, August 10, 1784, in the seventy-first year of his age.

John Ramsay, the son of the painter, entered the army, and rose to the rank of major-general. His two daughters, Amelia and Charlotte, were respectively married to Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverness, and Colonel Malcolm of Ford Farm, Surrey.

RAMSAY, ANDREW MICHAEL, better known by the name of the Chevalier de Ramsay, was born in Ayre, 9th June, 1686. He was the son of a baker, who had acquired some property, and was able to give him a good education. From the school of his native burgh he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he became distinguished for his abilities and diligence. In consequence of the high reputation he had acquired, he was intrusted with the tuition of James, afterwards fourth Earl of Wemyss, and his brother David, Lord Elcho, the former of whom he attended at the university of St. Andrews.

¹ The following portraits by Mr. Ramsay, have, amongst others, been engraved:—King George III.; Queen Charlotte; Frederick Prince of Wales; Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; the Earl of Bute; Lord Duke of Argyle; the Earl of Bath; Sir Charles Pratt (Lord Camden); Thomas Burnet, judge of Common Pleas; Hugh Dalrymple (Lord Drummore); Dr. Alexander Munro, primus; David Hume; Archibald Duke of Argyle; President Forbes; Provost Coutts; Lady George Lennox; Lady Erskine; Allan Ramsay, the poet.

Of these youths the chevalier has left a pleasing notice, dated Isleworth, February 25, 1709: "I have nothing to interrupt me but an hour or two's attendance at night upon two of the most innocent, sweet, sprightly little boys I ever knew." Besides this notice of his pupils, we have in the same document a remarkable revelation respecting himself. That he was a young man full of literary enthusiasm, and haunted with day-dreams of immortality, the history of his after-life abundantly testifies; yet he professes here that all his "ambition was to be forgotten." Such a profession may reasonably be suspected in any man, for no one, in ordinary circumstances, can have the least reason to fear that he will be forgotten. In young men it may always be interpreted as meaning the very reverse of the expression, being neither more nor less than the extorted bitterness of a proud or a vain spirit, sickening and sinking under the prospect of accumulating difficulties or ultimate disappointment.

Before this time Ramsay had become unsettled in his religious principles. He now visited Holland, and took up his residence at Leyden, the university of which was at that time the common resort of the literary youth of Scotland. Here he fell into the company of Poiret, one of the most distinguished advocates of the mystic theology then so prevalent on the Continent, from whom he learned the leading dogmas of that system. Having heard of the fame of Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray, and that he had long advocated mysticism, Ramsay determined to pay him a visit and take his advice on the subject. He accordingly, in 1710, repaired to Cambray, where he met with the most cordial reception. He was at this time in his twenty-fourth year, polite and engaging in his manners, and of a gentle and easy temper, every way calculated to win upon the affections of a man like Fénelon. Having received him into his house as an inmate of the family, the good archbishop listened to the disjointed history of his religious opinions with patience, discussed with him at large his objections, his doubts, and his difficulties, and in less than six months had the satisfaction to find that he had succeeded in making his guest a true Catholic, at least as far as he could believe himself such, for Ramsay had most cordially imbibed all his opinions, philosophical, moral, and religious. This strange adventure gave colour and consistence to the whole subsequent life of the chevalier. Having been preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, heir-apparent to the throne of France, Fénelon had considerable influence at the French court, and he procured for his disciple and protégé the preceptorship to the Duke de Chateau-Thierry and the Prince de Turenne. In this situation Ramsay acquitted himself so well that he was made a knight of the order of St. Lazarus, and from the commendations he received, was selected by the Pretender to superintend the education of his two sons, Prince Charles Edward, and Henry, afterwards Cardinal de York. For this purpose he left France, and repaired to Rome in the year 1724.

The retirement which Ramsay had previously courted and enjoyed was now interrupted. His literary status hindered him from keeping altogether aloof from the kindred spirits around him. Moreover, he perceived that the political and religious intrigues that were carried on at the apostolic court, but ill suited the prosecution of those literary labours in which he had embarked. He therefore, after a short residence in Italy, requested of his employer permission to return to France, which was readily granted. Literary leisure was what he now desired. In the capital of France, however, it was unlikely he

could obtain this, as the same intolerant spirit prevailed that had hastened his departure from Rome. He therefore resolved on visiting his native country. On reaching Britain he was received into the family of the Duke of Argyle. That repose so congenial to one of his studious habits was now afforded him, and he immediately set about the preparation of those works which he had long meditated, and through which he has become known to posterity. His largest work, *On the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, contains a luminous and detailed statement of the various steps which the Divine Being, in the former of these grand divisions, has made demonstrable by human reason, and an ingenious exhibition of the latter as made known to man by revelation. The forcible process of deduction which, throughout the work, is brought to bear upon the mind of the reader, can hardly fail in accomplishing what the author intended—an elevation of the heart of the creature to the Creator. The work has passed several times through the press. Ramsay next published the *Travels of Cyrus*. The best criterion of judging of this publication is to be found in the great number of editions that have from time to time been laid before the public. Although the fame of the chevalier as a writer rests chiefly upon the *Travels of Cyrus*, yet on its first appearance it met with severe criticism. That a desire to be hypercritical might sway some of his literary judges is possible; at any rate, it has outlived their censorship. It secured for its author an honourable niche among the standard authors of Britain. It displays an intimate acquaintance with the customs, laws, learning, and antiquities of the period of which it treats, and exhibits a beautiful delineation of human character, together with the soundest principles of true philosophical discrimination. Soon after these works appeared he was honoured by the university of Oxford with the degree of Doctor of Laws, which was conferred on him by Dr. King, principal of St. Mary's Hall. It ought to have been previously stated, that, before receiving this honourable distinction, he had been admitted to St. Mary's Hall in 1730. He afterwards returned to France, and resided several years at Pontoise, a seat of the Prince de Turenne, Duke de Bouillon. While here, he published the life of his benefactor, the Archbishop of Cambray; a biographical sketch, chiefly remarkable as containing a detailed account of the persecution to which the worthy prelate was subjected by his brother divines, for his suspected connivance at the doctrines of mysticism, and the arguments adduced on both sides on his own conversion to the Catholic faith. It was reprinted in this country in a small duodecimo volume. Soon afterwards he published, in two volumes, the *History of Viscount Turenne, Marshal of France*, which was also translated and published in England. He resided in the prince's family in the situation of intendant till the period of his death, which happened at St. Germain-en-Laye, on the 6th of May, 1743, having nearly completed his fifty-seventh year. His remains were interred at the place where he died, but sometime afterwards his heart was removed to the nunnery of St. Sacrament at Paris.

It is supposed that when in England he did not visit the place of his birth. Perhaps his renunciation of the faith of his forefathers, and blighting the hopes of a doting parent, prevented his doing so. That he did not, however, neglect his relations is evident from the fact of his wishing to settle upon them an annuity, which they refused to accept. From France he remitted a considerable sum of money to his father: but on its being presented, the stanch Presbyterian indignantly replied, "It cam' by the beast,

and let it gang to the beast;" and it is not supposed that he ever profited in any manner by his son's abilities.

The principal works of the Chevalier Ramsay not yet alluded to are—a *Discourse on the Epic Poem*, in French, generally prefixed to the later editions of Telemachus; an *Essay on Civil Government*; *Remarks on Lord Shaftesbury's Characteristics* (French); a few English poems of no value; and two letters in French to Racine the younger, upon the true sentiments of Pope in the *Essay on Man*.

RAMSAY, JAMES ALEXANDER BROWN. See DALHOUSIE (MARQUIS OF).

RANDOLPH, THOMAS, Earl of Moray. This ancient Scottish paladin, who occupies so prominent a part in the wars of Robert Bruce, was sister's son of that great sovereign. He first appears among the adherents of good King Robert, when the latter commenced his desperate attempt to win the crown of Scotland, and make it worth wearing. In this way his name, as Thomas Randolph, knight of Strahdon, occurs in the list of that intrepid band who crowned his uncle at Scone; and in the disastrous skirmish soon after, near Methven, he was one of the prisoners who fell into the hands of the English. As the insurgent Scots were regarded as rebels against their liege-lord, Edward I., the usual laws of war were dispensed with; and thus, either with or without trial, the noblest and best of Scotland were consigned to the dungeon or the gallows. The worst of these alternatives would probably have been the fate of Randolph, in consequence of his near relationship to Bruce, had not the brave Adam de Gordon, who was a favourite with the English king, interceded in his behalf. Randolph's life in consequence was spared, but it was only on condition that he should swear fealty to Edward: and to this he submitted with that facility so characteristic of the knightly fidelity of the middle ages. He swore that he would be Edward's man, and the deadly enemy of all his enemies (including of course his own uncle and kindred), and thus was transformed in a trice from a Scottish patriot into a friend and servant of the oppressor. If anything can apologize for such tergiversation, it might be the difficulty of deciding at times with which party the right remained; and many may have thought, with Sir Roger de Coverly, that much might be said on both sides—especially when they had a gallows in view.

Randolph having thus changed his party, appears to have fought for it with a courage that did not belie his future renown. He was even among that band, headed by Aymer de Valence and John of Lorn, that chased Robert Bruce among the wilds of Galloway with blood-hounds, and nearly succeeded in capturing or slaying him. On this occasion Sir Thomas pursued the chase so eagerly, that he took his uncle's standard-bearer prisoner, along with the royal banner. But this unworthy alienation was not to continue much longer, and an event occurred by which Randolph was to be recovered to his country and his true fame. At this time Sir James Douglas, renowned far and wide by his terrible vengeance upon the English, who had garrisoned the castle of his fathers, was entrenched among the depths of Ettrick Forest, and making it good by prowess and stratagem against every assailant. This was a tempting adventure for Randolph, and accordingly, accompanied by Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkill and Sir Adam Gordon—Anglicized Scots, like himself—he set off upon the enterprise, and encamped for the night at a solitary house on the Lyne-water, a tributary stream that falls into the Tweed a little above Peebles.

Douglas, however, whom no enemy ever caught asleep, happened to be in the neighbourhood; and on approaching the house he overheard some one within exclaiming "the devil!" with true military emphasis. Guessing from this token that the building was tenanted by stout soldiers, he made a sudden assault, scattered the surprised inmates, and captured Stewart and Randolph, whom he conducted to his master next morning. The meeting between the king and his renegade nephew was characteristic of such a party-changing period. "Nephew," said Bruce, "you have for a while renounced your faith, but now you must be reconciled to me." "You reproach me," answered the nephew sharply, "and yet better deserve to be reproached yourself; for since you made war against the King of England, you should have vindicated your right in the open field, and not by cowardly sleights and skirmishes." "That may hereafter fall out, and soon," replied the king—who had commenced in this very fashion, until misfortune taught him a wiser course of action; "meanwhile, since you have spoken so rudely, it is fitting that your proud words should receive due chastisement, until you learn to know the right, and bow to it as you ought." After this sage rebuke Randolph was sent into close and solitary confinement, to digest the lesson at leisure. How wisely such a punishment was inflicted, and how well it wrought, was attested not only in the future life of Randolph, but in the history of his country.

On being set at liberty, Randolph was not only restored to the king's favour, but invested with the earldom of Moray, which had large territories attached to it; and having set these in order, he repaired to that warfare in which he was to be surpassed by none except Bruce himself. It was now also, perhaps, that the generous rivalry commenced between him and his gallant captor Sir James Douglas, which continued to the end of their lives. This noble contention was now signalized by the "good Lord James" undertaking the siege of Roxburgh Castle, and Randolph that of Edinburgh, the two strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and still in possession of the English. The garrison in Edinburgh Castle was commanded by Sir Piers Leland, a knight of Gascony, but the soldiers having suspected him of holding communication with the Scottish king, deposed and imprisoned him, and set one of their own countrymen in his place, who was both wight and wise. While Randolph beleaguered the well-defended castle, tidings reached him that Douglas had succeeded at Roxburgh; and perceiving that force was useless, he resolved, like his rival in arms, to have recourse to stratagem. A favourable opportunity soon occurred. One of his soldiers, William Frank, had in his youth been wont to descend from the apparently inaccessible ramparts by a secret way in the rock, aided by a ladder of ropes, to visit a woman in the town with whom he intrigued; and he now offered to be the foremost man in conducting a party up the same path, which he still distinctly remembered. The proposal was accepted, and Randolph, with thirty followers, and Frank for his guide, commenced at midnight this dangerous escalade. With the aid of a rope-ladder they ascended in file, one man following another in silence, and by ways where a single false step might have precipitated the whole party to the bottom, or roused the sentinels above. They could even hear the footsteps of the guards going their rounds upon the ramparts. At this instant a stone came whizzing over their heads, with a cry from above, "Aha! I see you!" and they thought that all was over. "Now, help them, God," exclaims Barbour, at this point of the narrative, "for

in great peril are they!" But the sentry who had thrown the stone and uttered the cry, saw and suspected nothing, and was merely diverting his companions. After waiting till all was quiet, they resumed their desperate attempt, but had scarcely reached the top of the wall, Randolph being the third man who ascended, than the alarmed garrison rushed out upon them, and a desperate fight commenced. It fared, however, with the English as is the wont of such strange surprisals; they were confounded, driven together into a mass, and unfitted either for safe flight or effectual resistance. The result was, that the governor and several of his soldiers were slain, others threw themselves from the ramparts, and the rest surrendered.

While the report of this gallant deed was still circulating throughout the country, those events occurred that led to the battle of Bannockburn. At this great assize of arms, which seemed to be the last appeal of Scottish liberty previous to the final sentence, either for weal or woe, the arrangements which Bruce made for the trial were such a masterpiece of strategy as has seldom been equalled, even by the science of modern warfare. Among these dispositions the command of the left wing was intrusted to Randolph, with strict charge to prevent the English from throwing reinforcements into the castle of Stirling. Here, however, the cunning captor of Edinburgh Castle was about to be outwitted in turn, for 800 horsemen detached from the English army under the command of Sir Robert Clifford made a circuit by the low grounds to the east, and, unperceived by Randolph, whose post they had thus turned, were in full progress to the castle. The quick military eye of Bruce detected the movement, and riding up to the earl, he pointed to the detachment, and sharply exclaimed, "A rose has fallen from your chaplet!" Impatient to retrieve his lost honour, and recover the important pass, which was the key of the Scottish position, Randolph, at the head of 500 spearmen, hurried off with such speed, that he soon interposed his force between the enemy and the castle. The English thus interrupted, resolved to reach the castle by trampling down the little band with a single charge, and for this purpose came on with loosened rein. This contempt of foot-soldiers, which was common to the chivalry of the period, cost them dear, for Randolph, causing his men to place themselves in a ring back to back with their spears pointing outward, presented an impenetrable hedge to the enemy, through which they were unable to ride. Still the appearance of that charge, as seen from the Scottish army, was so terrible, and the little phalanx was so eclipsed by the throng of cavaliers that surrounded and seemed to tread it under foot, that Sir James Douglas could endure the sight no longer, and cried to the king, "Ah, sir! the Earl of Moray is in danger unless he is aided: with your leave, therefore, I will speed to his rescue." "No," replied the king, "you shall not stir a foot for him: whether he may win or lose, I cannot alter my plan of battle." But Douglas was not to be thus silenced. "I may not stand by," he impetuously exclaimed, "when I can bring him aid, and therefore, with your leave, I will assuredly help him or die with him!" Having exorted from the king a reluctant assent, he hastened to the aid of his rival; but before he could reach the spot he saw that the Scottish phalanx was still unbroken, while the English cavalry were reeling in disorder, and had already lost some of their bravest. On seeing this Douglas cried to his party, "Halt! our friends will soon be victorious without our help; let us not therefore lessen their glory by sharing it!" His prediction was accomplished, for Randolph and

his band so bestirred themselves, that the English were broken and chased off the field, while the earl, with the loss of only one yeoman, returned to his companions.

In the great battle that followed, by which the independence of Scotland was secured, the master-mind and towering form of the Bruce are so pre-eminent over every part of the field, that no room is left for meaner men. On this account we cannot discover the gallant Randolph amidst the dust and confusion of the strife, where he no doubt performed the office of a gallant man-at-arms, as well as a wise and prompt captain. He figures, indeed, in Barbour, where, as leader of the left wing, he resisted the shock of the English cavalry, in which the enemy chiefly rested their hopes, and kept his ground so gallantly, although his troops looked "as thai war plungyt in the se,"³ that—

"Quha sa had sene thaim that day,
I trow forsuht that thair suld say
That thair suld do thair deivour wele,
Swa that thair fayis suld it felle."

His name next appears in the parliament held at Ayr on the 26th of April, 1315, when an act was passed for the succession to the crown of Scotland. On this occasion it was ordained, that should the king or his brother, Edward Bruce, die during the minority of the heirs male of their bodies, "Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, should be guardian of the heir and of the kingdom, until the major part of the states should hold the heir fit to administer the government in his own person." In an important event that occurred only one month afterwards—the invasion of the Scots into Ireland, for the purpose of driving the English out of that island, and placing Edward Bruce upon its throne—Randolph was one of the principal leaders of the expedition, and, as such, was repeatedly employed in bringing over reinforcements from Scotland. Three years afterwards (1318), while Bruce was laying siege to Berwick, Spalding, one of the citizens, who had been harshly treated by the governor of Berwick, offered, by letter written to a Scottish nobleman, to betray upon a certain night the post upon which he was appointed to mount guard. This lord, unwilling to act in so important a matter upon his own responsibility, brought the letter to the king. "You did well," said Bruce, "that you revealed this to me, instead of to Randolph or to Douglas, for you would thus have offended the one whom you did not trust. Both of them, however, shall aid you in this adventure." The rival pair were accordingly enlisted for the purpose, and under their joint efforts the important town of Berwick was taken in a few hours.

The loss of Berwick was so disastrous to the English, as it furnished an open door to Scottish invasion, that they made every effort to recover it; and for this purpose laid siege to it in such force, and with a camp so well fortified, that to assail them would have been a perilous adventure. Bruce therefore resolved to withdraw them by an invasion of England, and for this purpose sent Randolph and Douglas, at the head of 15,000 soldiers, who penetrated through the west marches, wasted Yorkshire, and attempted to carry off the queen of Edward II., at that time residing near York, whom they meant to keep as a hostage for their retention of Berwick. But, unluckily for these heroes—and more unluckily by far for her husband, to whom her bondage would have been a blessing—the queen escaped when she was almost within their toils. A battle followed soon after, in which the English, under the command of the Archbishop of York, were routed at Mitton, near Boroughbridge, in the north riding of York-

shire, with great slaughter; and such was the number of priests who accompanied the standard of the archbishop, and fell on this occasion, that the Scots derisively termed it the "Chapter of Mitton." This event raised the siege of Berwick, and although the English army on its way homeward endeavoured to intercept the Scots, Randolph and Douglas eluded them, and returned in safety to Scotland. Another expedition into England, in which the pair were engaged under the leading of Bruce himself, occurred in 1322, or three years after the victory at Mitton. On this occasion the Scots almost succeeded, by a forced march, in capturing Edward II. himself, at the monastery of Biland, in Yorkshire; and although he escaped with difficulty to York, it was after leaving all his baggage and treasure in the hands of the pursuers. During this campaign Bruce resolved to attack the English camp, which was so completely fortified that it could only be reached, as was supposed, by a narrow pass. This pass Douglas undertook to force, and Randolph generously left his own command to serve as volunteer under him. The English gallantly defended this entrance to the camp; but while their attention was thus wholly occupied, Bruce, who was skilled in mountain warfare, turned their position in the rear by a body of Highlanders and Islesmen, who scaled the precipices, and unexpectedly came down upon the English while they were fully occupied with Randolph and Douglas in front.

The Earl of Moray was now to combat the enemy upon a new field of battle, and with very different weapons, in the capacity of envoy to the court of Rome, by which his sovereign had been excommunicated for the murder of Comyn, and where envoys from England were busily employed in stirring up the pontiff against the Scots. It was a strange match, where an illiterate soldier had to confront a conclave—a blunt straightforward Scot to wage a controversy with Italian cunning and finesse—and it was a still stranger result that the ultramontane, the barbarian, the man of Thule, should have had the best of it. Perhaps the College of Cardinals thought it impossible that such a person could know anything of the "trick of fence" in a political conflict, and therefore did not think it worth while to "lie at their old ward." Be that as it may, Randolph managed the negotiation so wisely and dexterously, that in spite of the evil odour under which his master's reputation suffered at the Papal court, and in spite of the intervention of wealthy, powerful England—compared with which the interests of Scotland were of little price at Rome—the pope accorded to Bruce a temporary absolution, by refusing the request of his enemies to ratify and publish in due form the sentence of excommunication—accorded to the Scots the right of electing their own bishops, although they had been accused of despising the authority of the church, slaughtering ecclesiastics, and subjecting them to capital trial and punishment, and showing, on not a few occasions, a strong leaning towards heresy—and gave Bruce himself the title of KING, thus recognizing his right to rule as a legitimate sovereign, notwithstanding his ecclesiastical offences, the claims of the house of Comyn to the Scottish throne, and the still more formidable pretensions of Edward II. himself, as lord paramount of Scotland. After having suffered these concessions to be extracted from him, the pope seems to have been astonished at his own facility; and he wrote accordingly to the King of England an apologetic letter, in which he fully stated the inducements presented to him by the Scottish envoy. This missive is a most incontestable proof of the sagacity of

Randolph, and shows that he was as fitted to excel in diplomacy as in war.

After having accomplished the emancipation of Scotland, the great work for which he had lived, and toiled, and suffered, Robert Bruce, prematurely worn out by his heroic exertions, and languishing under an incurable disease, retired to a castle on the banks of the Clyde, to spend in peace the few days that might be allotted him, and prepare for his departure. Still it was necessary, for the purpose of securing the advantages he had already won, to continue the war against England, until the independence of his country was fully recognized by the latter. This was the more necessary as Edward III. had now succeeded to the English throne, and although only sixteen years old, was already impatient to win his spurs, and giving promise that he might become as formidable a foe to Scotland as his grandfather Edward I. had been. Bruce therefore, from his sick-bed, dictated the plan of a formidable invasion into England, and intrusted the management of it to Randolph and Douglas, upon whose fitness for the undertaking he could now confidently rely, for hitherto they had been his right and left arms during the course of the eventful war. Seldom, indeed, have two military rivals been so completely at one in their joint undertakings, so that what the wisdom of the one could plan, the daring courage of the other was fully ready to execute. In this respect Randolph, who was the chief leader of the enterprise, appears to have wonderfully changed from that fiery young knight of Strahdon, who joined in the hot chase against his uncle in the wilds of Galloway, and afterwards, when taken prisoner, had reproached him to his beard for having recourse to delays and stratagems, instead of hazarding all upon an open field. His wisdom was as conspicuous through the whole of this singular campaign as the daring valour and chivalrous deeds of the Douglas. Into the particulars of the campaign itself we do not enter, as these have been fully detailed in another part of this work.¹ After the pair had wrought fearful havoc, defied the whole chivalry of England, and shifted their ground so rapidly that they could not be overtaken, or entrenched themselves so skillfully that they could not be attacked, they returned to Scotland unmolested, and laden with plunder. The blow they had dealt on this occasion was so heavy, that England, wearied with the disastrous strife, succumbed to a treaty of peace, which was ratified in a parliament held at Northampton in April, 1328. The conditions were glorious to Scotland, for by these the independence of the kingdom was recognized, and all the advantages that Edward I. had won with so much toil and expense, were renounced and relinquished; and, if not honourable, they were absolutely necessary for England, whose treasures were exhausted and her people dispirited by defeat, while her councils, controlled by a profligate queen and her minion, promised to end in nothing but ruin and shame.

Only a year after this event, by which Bruce's utmost hopes were realized, he breathed his last at Cardross, surrounded by the faithful warriors who had partaken of his victories as well as his trials and cares. His dying testament, which he gave on this occasion, for the future protection of the kingdom, as well as the commission which he intrusted to the "good Lord James," to carry his heart to the holy sepulchre, are matters familiar to every reader of Scottish history. By the act of settlement passed in 1315, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, became regent of the kingdom during the minority of his young cousin David II.

¹ See SIR JAMES DOUGLAS, vol. i. p. 462.

On entering upon the duties of the regency the Earl of Moray showed himself not only an able but a strict and stern justiciary. In such a situation, indeed, severity to the criminal was true clemency to society at large, in consequence of the wild insecurity which so protracted a warfare had occasioned. The strictness with which he enforced the laws gives us not only a strange picture of the state of society in general, but the nature of Scottish legislation since the days of Malcolm Canmore. Minstrels and players, who often made their profession a cover for every kind of license, he prohibited from wandering about the country under severe penalties. If any one assaulted a traveller, or any public officer while in the discharge of his duty, he made it lawful for any man to kill the offender. To prevent robberies and promote a feeling of security among the industrious, he made a law that the countrymen should leave their iron tools and plough-gear in the field, and that they should not shut their houses nor stalls at night. If anything was stolen, the loss was to be repaired by the sheriff of the county, and the sheriff was to be reimbursed by the king; and the king was to be indemnified out of the goods of the robbers when they were taken. To insure the due execution of the laws, he also held justice-aïres, travelling for this purpose over the whole country; and while his sentences were severe, and often measured by the mere purpose of the criminal, whether it had succeeded or not, prompt execution was certain to follow. Thus, at a justice-court which he held at Wigton, a man complained at his tribunal that an ambush was placed in a neighbouring wood for the purpose of murdering him, but that happily he escaped it, and now claimed protection. Randolph immediately sent to the place, where the men in ambush were arrested, and had them forthwith executed, as if they had committed the murder. On another occasion he showed an instance of boldness in vindicating the claims of natural justice in defiance of ecclesiastical immunities, upon which few in England, or even in Europe, whether magistrate or king, would have dared to venture. A man having slain a priest, had subsequently passed over to Rome, where, after confession of his offence and full performance of penance, he received clerical absolution. Being thus, as he thought, *rectus in curia*, he ventured back to Scotland, as if every penalty had been liquidated, and, in an evil hour for himself, ventured into the presence of Randolph while the latter was holding a justice-court at Inverness. The quick eye of the earl detected the culprit, who was immediately arrested, and placed on trial for the murder. The man pleaded that the person he had slain was a priest, not a layman; and that for this he had received the absolution of the church, whose subject the priest was. But this was not enough for Randolph: the priest, he said, was a Scottish subject and king's liege-man, irrespective of his clerical office; and therefore, as the murderer of a Scottish subject, the culprit was adjudged to suffer death.

Although a perpetual peace had been ratified between Scotland and England, the injuries each country had received were too recent, and the claims for compensation were too numerous, to give hope that it would be lasting. Scarcely, therefore, had Randolph held the regency for three years, when certain English nobles, who were disappointed in the recovery of their Scottish estates, adopted the cause of Baliol as their pretext for breaking the treaty of Northampton, and made formidable preparations to invade Scotland by sea. In consequence of this intelligence, Randolph assembled an army and marched to Colbrandspath, expecting the invasion

would be made by land; but as soon as he learned that the enemy had embarked at Ravenshire in Holderness, he turned his course northwards, to be ready for the assailants at whatever point they might land in the Forth. But on reaching Musselburgh his last march was ended. For some time past he had been afflicted with that excruciating disease the stone, and he suddenly died on the 20th of July, 1332, in the midst of his political anxieties and warlike preparations. Never, indeed, has Scotland—so often harassed with minority and interregnum—possessed, either before or afterwards, such a deputy-sovereign, with the single exception of his noble namesake of after centuries, that Earl of Moray who was called the "Good Regent." Randolph's death was the commencement of heavy woes for Scotland. From the suddenness of his departure, and its disastrous consequences, it was suspected that the invaders, who had no hope of success as long as he lived, had caused him to be removed by poison; but the incurable nature of the malady under which he died sufficiently accounts for his decease.

REID, JOHN, M.D., Chandos professor of anatomy and medicine in the university of St. Andrews. This talented anatomist and physiologist, who was so unexpectedly removed from us when his value was just beginning to be estimated by the world, was born at Bathgate, Linlithgowshire, on the 9th of April, 1809. He was the sixth child of Henry Reid, a thriving farmer and cattle-dealer. The commencement of his education was rather unpropitious; for before he knew the grammar of his own language he was sent to learn that of Latin, under one of those frowzy village pedagogues who were so plentiful in Scotland, as well as England, when normal schools were as yet unknown. Under, or rather, we should say, in spite of such a preceptor, John Reid made a respectable proficiency in classical learning; and at the age of fourteen he was sent to the university of Edinburgh, where, for the first two or three years, he chiefly devoted himself to the study of Latin, Greek, and mathematics. But a love of literature for its own sake was not his characteristic: it was merely the means to an end, and not the end itself, and he valued it chiefly as the exponent of thought in those scientific pursuits to which his life was devoted. The same love of science induced him to direct his studies to the medical profession, instead of the church, which had been originally selected for his career. In the many departments of the healing art, those of anatomy and physiology exclusively attracted his attention, and upon these, while a student, he laid the secure foundation of his future distinction. After five years spent as a medical student, he obtained, in 1830, the diploma of surgeon and physician. On receiving the last and most honourable of these appointments there were not less than 106 candidates who obtained the diploma of M.D. on the same day. On this occasion a velvet cap is placed for a moment upon each head successively—resembling the now almost forgotten process in Scotland of extinguishing a chandelier of candles. This useful and wonder-working cap, that converts raw lads into learned doctors by a single touch, was supposed to have been originally the head-gear of George Buchanan. At the university of St. Andrews the case is better still, as their graduating cap is supposed to have been made out of a part of the velvet dress of John Knox.

On becoming a physician Dr. Reid's first wish was to receive a medical appointment in the navy for two or three years, in the hope of seeing the world and establishing himself in his profession.

But as no opportunity of this kind occurred, he accepted the office of clerk or assistant physician in the clinical wards of the Edinburgh infirmary. After discharging its duties for a twelvemonth with great ability, he repaired to Paris in the autumn of 1831, for the purpose of improving himself in its medical schools. His enthusiastic application in the French capital was well requited by the lessons of Louis and Andral, two of the most distinguished physicians, and Dupuytren and Listrane, the most skilful surgeons in Paris, whose lectures he attended. His description of the daily routine while thus employed, although so brief, gives a full idea of his diligence:—"I go to one of the hospitals for three hours in the morning, before breakfast; immediately after breakfast I go to the dissecting-rooms for three or four hours, then attend a lecture or two, return to dinner, and pass the evening at home." On his return to Scotland in 1832, uncertain where to commence his labours, he soon found that a choice had been made for him, by a stern necessity over which he had no control. The cholera had entered the country, and was making fearful havoc in Dumfries; and as the regular physicians of the district were too few to withstand the sudden and overwhelming visitation, four medical men were sent to their aid from Edinburgh, of whom Dr. Reid was one. He had seen the worst of this terrible calamity in Paris, and learned its mode of treatment: he was also aware of the danger which it entailed upon the physician as well as the patient. Undismayed, however, by his full knowledge of the peril, he set off with this "forlorn hope," and remained a whole month in the midst of infection, until the plague was stayed; and this, too, in spite of an alarming attack of peritonitis, that threatened every moment while it lasted to involve him in the fate of the sufferers, by increasing his liability to infection. The duties which he had to undergo in Dumfries during his short sojourn there, were such as required the utmost of moral heroism. "It was terrible work," he thus wrote, "for the first few days. It was truly the city of the plague. Such dreadful scenes I should never wish to be again obliged to witness; and what aggravated in no small degree the miseries and horrors inseparable from the agonies and dying groans of so many sufferers was, that the dread of contagion seemed to have torn asunder the social bonds of society, and the wretched victim had too often occasion to upbraid, with his last breath, the selfish fear of friends, and even of his nearest relations."

On the cessation of this most fearful of plagues, Dr. Reid, after a short interval, and while he was yearning for active employment, received two offers. The one was to settle in a medical vacancy near his native Bathgate, where he might have secured the quiet, easy, and respectable life of a country doctor, and talked politics with the parish minister, or general gossip with the laird's family. The other offer was to become a partner in the school of anatomy in Old Surgeons' Hall, Edinburgh, where the growing crowd of students required an addition to the usual staff of instructors. Here, as demonstrator, his duty would be a revolting one. He would have to wait all day, like a ghoul, in the dissecting-room, amidst mangled human subjects, and expound, from morning till night, the construction of these revolting masses, and trace in them the sources of those various maladies which flesh is heir to. He felt that he must thus dwell among the dead to benefit the living. He knew, also, that in this way alone he could prosecute those anatomical researches in reference to physiology, to which his whole heart was so devoted. On this account he did not hesitate to accept the

office, notwithstanding the horror of his family at the idea of one of their number being a mangler of the dead—a very henchman of the common executioner! From 1833 to 1836 he continued to be the demonstrator of Old Surgeons' Hall, and his labours in this capacity have elicited the most enthusiastic encomiums from those distinguished successors who were originally his pupils. "He was the most painstaking demonstrator," one of them declares, "I ever knew or heard of. No 'grinder' paid by the hour could have displayed more patience, or taken more trouble, to make anatomy easy to the meanest capacity. Where he might have contented himself in the discharge of his duty by a bare demonstration and description of the parts, he seemed to be animated by a sincere purpose of stereotyping his lesson on the memory and understanding of the duller of his audience. His patience with those who wished to learn had no limit." "We used to crowd round him," another pupil writes, "and ask questions on any point that was not thoroughly understood; but this was very seldom necessary; for such was the order, clearness, and minuteness of his description, that the subject was indeed made easy to the duller comprehension. That kind of instruction, also, which with him, as with every great anatomist of this country, sought for illustration in those points bearing on surgical or medical practice, was never lost sight of; and I, for one, up to this hour, and I firmly believe on this account, have never forgotten his admirable demonstrations." In this way he was wont, during nine months of each year, to give instructions daily in the dissecting-room from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; and as some time was necessary for rest after such fatiguing labours, he generally commenced his private studies late in the evening, and continued them till long after midnight, declaring that he always found himself fittest for work when other people were going to their beds. He also attended, on the evenings of the six months of winter, the meetings of the scientific societies in Edinburgh connected with his profession, where the discussions were of such an interesting character as to attract the intellectual of every class, either as members or auditors. At this time, also, he gave the fruits of some of his more diligent investigations in the form of essays read before these societies, which were published in 1835. Two of these were on certain curious structures observed in connection with the veins; a third was on the organization of certain glands in the whale, and some peculiarities in the internal arrangement of the blood-vessels of man during the period of juvenility. But amidst all this heroism of labour and research, we must confess that with Dr. Reid one important subject had been, and still continued to be, omitted. On one occasion, a discussion among some of his medical friends who had met in his apartment was carried on, in which a religious question was involved, and Scripture was appealed to as conclusive evidence. But on searching his well-stored library for a Bible to quote chapter and verse, none could at first be found; and it was only after careful rummaging that at length this most momentous of all volumes was found thrust behind the other books and covered with dust. He was at present labouring for distinction, and had no time to study it; by and by, when the prize was won, he would again read his Bible as he had done when he was a boy. It is well that this indifference, lately so common among intellectual men, is now regarded not only as profane, but even unliterary and in bad taste. It was well, also, for Reid, that the "more convenient season," which so many have expected in vain, was vouchsafed to him at last.

In consequence of the high reputation which Dr. Reid had acquired as the anatomical demonstrator of Old Surgeons' Hall during three years' attendance, he was unanimously called, by his brethren of Edinburgh, to occupy a more honourable and important office. It was that of lecturer on physiology in the Extra-academical Medical School, now left vacant by the death of Dr. Fletcher, author of the *Rudiments of Physiology*. Into this new sphere he removed with considerable reluctance, for he was diffident of his powers as a lecturer, which were still untried. His perseverance, however, not only overcame his timidity, but enabled him to become as distinguished in the oratorical as he had formerly been in the conversational form of instruction. He now also had more leisure for self-improvement, as his course for the year commenced in November, and terminated with the close of April. In 1838 he was appointed pathologist to the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, where his duties consisted in collecting the weekly statistics of the institution, and conducting the *post-mortem* examinations of the patients who had died in the hospital; and in the following year he was also appointed superintendent of the infirmary. In this last capacity, we are told in the *Monthly Journal of Medical Science*, "he carried into his inquiries concerning morbid anatomy and pathology, the same accuracy in observing facts, and the same cautious spirit in drawing inferences from them, that characterized his anatomical and physiological researches. He at once saw the necessity of making his position serviceable to the advancement of medical knowledge, and, struck with the inconsistencies which existed as to the absolute and relative size and weight of the principal organs of the body, he commenced another laborious investigation on this subject. He introduced weighing-machines into the pathological theatre, by means of which the weight of the entire body was first ascertained, and then, respectively, the weights of the different organs." In 1839 Dr. Reid was candidate for the chair of medicine in King's College, Aberdeen, but was unsuccessful; in the same year he was candidate for the chair of anatomy in Marischal College, and was again unsuccessful. These disappointments, however, he bore with such good humour, as consciousness of desert and hope of better luck in store, acting upon a naturally cheerful, buoyant spirit, seldom fail to supply. Already he had broken ground, and most successfully, into those discoveries upon the anatomy and physiology of the heart, and especially of the nervous system, upon which he may be said to have established for himself a European reputation; and in the latter department he had produced and read before the British Association an epitome of his "*Experimental Investigation into the Functions of the Eight Pair of Nerves, or the Glosso-pharyngeal, Pneumogastric, and Spinal Accessory.*" The light which was dawning upon him in the course of these investigations was soon to be worth more than the distinction that can be conferred by a seat upon the bench of a college *senatus consultum*. All this was soon after attested at a public scientific meeting, in which it was declared, among other just encomiums, that Dr. Reid, by his "original investigations into the physiology of the nervous system, had made the profession acquainted with valuable facts, which had at once enriched the science their discoverer cultivated, and procured for himself an extensive and enviable reputation." Such was the testimony of Professor Alison, one of the most competent of judges upon such a subject.

Having now attained a high reputation in his own favourite walks of science, an appointment soon

offered that consoled Dr. Reid for his late mischances. This was the professorship of anatomy in the university of St. Andrews, which was conferred upon him in March, 1841. He had now only reached his thirty-first year; and from what he had already accomplished, combined with his robust, vigorous, healthy constitution, it was hoped that a long life was yet in store for him, as well as an ample field of research and discovery. He commenced in winter the course of lectures that properly belonged to his professorship; but as this class, composed of medical students only, was too limited a sphere, he also delivered a course of lectures on comparative anatomy and general physiology, which all were free to attend gratuitously, whether from town or college. A delighted crowd usually assembled at these prelections, composed not only of professors, ministers, and students from several classes, but also of the citizens of St. Andrews, whose earnest animated attention would of itself have been a rich reward to any public instructor. But even amidst all this, Dr. Reid felt that there was something wanting. St. Andrews was not a medical school of any mark, as most of the county students destined for the healing profession were wont to pass over to the university of Edinburgh. Besides, it was difficult to procure *subjects*, without which anatomical dissertations are all but useless—for even yet there still lingered among the living of Fifeshire that jealous care of their dead, which was placarded not a hundred years ago over one of their cemeteries, in these ominous words: "Whoever enters this churchyard will be shot." These drawbacks he felt so sensitively that he was impatient for wider action, until 1844, when St. Andrews was converted into a happy home for him, by his marriage with Miss Ann Blyth. Four years followed, in which his researches were chiefly directed to the natural history of the marine animals so plentiful on the Fifeshire coast, and the results of which he communicated in several papers to the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*. In 1848 he made a collection, in one volume, of the essays which he had published in several scientific journals during the course of thirteen years. The work is entitled *Physiological, Anatomical, and Pathological Researches*, and consists of twenty-eight articles. Of the value of these, especially of the six that contain the results of his inquiries into the functions of living organs, it would be impossible to convey an adequate idea, without such a full analysis as would far exceed the plan and limits of our work. We content ourselves with quoting, from a host of congenial critics who reviewed the volume, the opinions of one who was well qualified to estimate its worth. "As a physiologist," says Dr. J. H. Bennett, "he [Dr. Reid] may be considered to have been unsurpassed; not, indeed, because it has fallen to his lot to make those great discoveries or wide generalizations which constitute epochs in the history of the science, but because he possessed such a rare degree of caution and conscientiousness in all his researches, that no kind of investigation, whether literary, anatomical, physiological, or pathological, that could illustrate any particular fact, did he ever allow to be neglected. . . . His volume contains more original matter and sound physiology than will be found in any work that has issued from the British press for many years."

Dr. Reid was now a happy man in the fullest sense of the term. With a happy home, and an extensive circle of friends, by whom he was honoured and beloved, his scientific aspirations were every day advancing towards that termination upon which his heart had been fixed for years. "My worldly

circumstances," he wrote afterwards to a friend, "were assuming a more comfortable aspect; my constitution, until lately, was robust; my age still in its prime (within some months of forty years); I had formed plans for carrying on investigations into the structure and vital actions of the lower organized bodies, which can be so readily procured from this coast, little thinking that disease was so soon to overtake me. I had my dreams of being able to add something of importance to the deeply attractive and instructive matters embraced in such investigations; and I was looking forward to the time when I should be able to say that I have done something which will prevent me from being readily forgotten." But while he was thus in the full flush of health and strength, of happiness and hope, a fearful pause occurred. A small insignificant-looking blister made its appearance upon his tongue, which, instead of departing, continued to increase, until it became a confirmed ulcer; and on examining this suspicious plague-spot, it was found to be the sure commencement of a cancer. He was thus to be the victim of a disease the most loathsome and incurable, while the only prospect which it held out was nothing but months of anguish and torture, until his iron frame should be worn out, and his strength prostrated into utter helplessness, so that death might come to his relief. He changed his residence from place to place in search of alleviation from pain, and submitted to torturing operations, in the faint hope that the malady might be eradicated; but its fangs were too deeply inserted, and too firmly closed, to be thus loosed from their hold. It was a barbed arrow which no surgery could extract; and nothing remained for him but to linger upon the outskirts of the fight of life, in which he had hitherto borne himself so bravely, and await the moment of release. It was then that the all-important subject, which hitherto he had too much neglected, summoned his attention with an authority that would not be gainsaid. For what had he spent the past? What provision had he made for the future? These were questions that occurred through the long days of helplessness and nights of sleeplessness and pain, and he knew that if not answered here, they would assuredly be repeated, and as certainly must be answered, elsewhere. And thither he felt that he was moving from day to day, and step by step, under an urgency which no power of earth could retard. The result of this solemn self-examination was, that Dr. Reid became a Christian in the true sense of the term. His life, indeed, had been one of unimpeachable honour and universal kindness and benevolence; and, as far as a profession of religion went, he had passed muster among the general file of Christian men. But now he felt that all his thoughts and studies had been devoted to the things that are seen and felt, while his futurity had been bounded by time and the world, which were fast vanishing away. He thus became a Christian, not, however, from selfish and craven fear, but from the same steady conviction and love of truth that had hitherto directed all his researches; and even to the last, while exhibiting the child-like simplicity and humility of his new character, he continued his scientific studies, but purified and elevated by the fresh impulse that had been given them. And thus he died, rejoicing, even in death, that the glorious future into which he was about to enter would fully open up to him those sciences of which as yet he had scarcely learned the alphabet. What are our studies worth unless they are to be eternal? After more than a year and a half of intense suffering Reid entered into his rest on the 30th of July, 1849. His widow

and two daughters, one a posthumous child, survive to lament him. A simple tablet on the wall of the ancient churchyard of St. Andrews indicates the place of his interment.

REID, DR. THOMAS, an eminent metaphysician and moral philosopher, and professor of the latter science in the universities of Aberdeen and Glasgow successively, was born at Strachan, in Kincardineshire, in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, on the 26th of April, 1710, as shown by the minute researches of Professor Dugald Stewart, who affectionately wrote the life of his eminent friend. The family of Reid had been ornamented by producing different authors of considerable eminence in their age.¹ One of his ancestors, James Reid, was the first minister of Banchory-Ternan (a parish in the neighbourhood of Strachan) after the Reformation. His son Thomas has been commemorated by Dempster (whose praises of a Protestant clergyman's son may be deemed worthy of credit) as a man of great eminence. He collected in a volume the theses he had defended at foreign universities; and some of his Latin poems were inserted in the *Delitiae Poetarum Sotorum*. He was Greek and Latin secretary to James I., and bequeathed to Marischal College a sum for the support of a librarian, which has since disappeared or been directed to other purposes. Alexander, a brother of Thomas, was physician to King Charles I., and published some forgotten works on medicine and surgery. Another brother translated Buchanan's *History of Scotland* into English. The father of the subject of our memoir was the Rev. Lewis Reid, for fifty years minister of the parish of Strachan; and his mother was daughter to David Gregory of Kinnairdie, elder brother of James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting telescope.

After spending two years at the parish school of Kincardine O'Neil, Thomas Reid was sent, for the further prosecution of his studies, to Aberdeen, where, at the age of twelve or thirteen, he was entered as a student of Marischal College. Little is known of his early studies or qualifications, with the exception of the not very flattering remark of his master, "That he would turn out to be a man of good and well-wearing parts." In a letter to a friend, written late in life, he has stated some circumstances connected with his habits of body in youth, which he appears to have recollected merely as the data of some of his philosophical speculations. They are perhaps not the least interesting, as showing that the physical state of the body produces effects in the procedure of the mind, different from what might be presumed as the mental characteristics of the individual, as derivable from his opinions. "About the age of fourteen," he says, "I was almost every night unhappy in my sleep from frightful dreams, sometimes hanging over a dreadful precipice, and just ready to drop down; sometimes pursued for my life, and stopped by a wall, or by a sudden loss of all strength; sometimes ready to be devoured by a wild beast. How long I was plagued with such dreams I do not recollect. I believe it was for a year or two at least; and I think they had quite left me before I was sixteen. In those days I was much given to what Mr. Addison, in one of his *Spectators*, calls castle-building: and in my evening solitary walk, which was generally all the exercise I took, my thoughts would hurry me into some active scene, where I generally acquitted myself much to my own satisfaction; and in these scenes of imagina-

¹ Stewart's *Biographical Memoirs*, p. 400.

tion I performed many a gallant exploit. At the same time, in my dreams I found myself the most arrant coward that ever was. Not only my courage, but my strength, failed me in every danger; and I often rose from my bed in the morning in such a panic that it took some time to get the better of it. I wished very much to get free of these uneasy dreams, which not only made me unhappy in sleep, but often left a disagreeable impression in my mind for some part of the following day. I thought it was worth trying whether it was possible to recollect that it was all a dream, and that I was in no real danger, and that every fright I had was a dream. After many fruitless attempts to recollect this when the danger appeared, I effected it at last, and have often, when I was sliding over a precipice into the abyss, recollected that it was all a dream, and boldly jumped down. The effect of this commonly was that I immediately awoke. But I awoke calm and intrepid, which I thought a great acquisition. After this my dreams were never very uneasy; and in a short time I dreamed not at all." That a mind such as Reid's should have been subject to "castle-building," and to singular dreams, must be accounted for from the state of his body; while the strong active powers of his mind are shown in the mastership which he at length acquired over the propensity.

While he remained at Marischal College, Reid was appointed to the librarianship which his ancestor had founded. During this period he formed an intimacy with John Stewart, afterwards professor of mathematics in Marischal College. In 1736 he accompanied this gentleman to England, and they together visited London, Oxford, and Cambridge, enjoying an intercourse with Dr. David Gregory, Martin, Folkes, and Dr. Bentley. In 1737 the King's College, as patrons, presented Dr. Reid with the living of New Machar, in Aberdeenshire. An aversion to the law of patronage, which then strongly characterized many districts of Scotland, excited hostile feelings against a man who, if the parishioners could have shown their will as well in making a choice as in vituperating the person chosen, would have been the very man after their heart. In entering on his cure he was even exposed to personal danger. "His unwearied attention, however," says Professor Stewart, "to the duties of his office, the mildness and forbearance of his temper, and the active spirit of his humanity, soon overcame all these prejudices: and not many years afterwards, when he was called to a different situation, the same persons who had suffered themselves to be so far misled as to take a share in the outrages against him, followed him, on his departure, with their blessings and tears." On his departure some old men are said to have observed, "We fought against Dr. Reid when he came, and would have fought for him when he went away." It is said that, for at least a considerable portion of the time which he spent at New Machar, he was accustomed to preach the sermons of Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Evans, instead of his own; a circumstance which his biographer attributes to modesty and self-diffidence. In 1740 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of his uncle, Dr. George Reid, physician in London. About this period he is said to have spent his time in intensely studying moral philosophy, and in making those observations on the organs of sense, and their operation on the external world, which formed the broad basis of his philosophy. Reid was not a precocious genius; and whatever he wrote in early life is said to have been defective in style: but he busied himself in planting good seed, which, in the autumn of his days, produced to himself and to the world a

rich and abundant harvest. His first public literary attempt was an "*Essay on Quantity*, occasioned by reading a Treatise, in which Simple and Compound Ratios are applied to Virtue and Merit," published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, in 1748. This paper is levelled at the *Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, by Dr. Hutcheson, who had committed the venial philosophical sin of making use of a science which can only be brought to bear on moral science as a means of illustrating it, and abbreviating the method of reasoning, as affording grounds for reasoning by analogy. Perhaps, on a fair consideration, Hutcheson may not have intended to carry his system to the extent presumed in this valuable little treatise, most of the arguments of which are made to meet the application of the mathematics, not only as forming a regular series of analogies fit to be used in moral science, but likewise as so accurately corresponding, that, as it is all mensurable itself, it serves the purpose of a measurer in moral science. The following sentence contains the essence of his argument on this last point, and it is conclusive. "It is not easy to say how many kinds of improper quantity may, in time, be introduced into the mathematics, or to what new subjects measures may be applied: but this, I think, we may conclude, that there is no foundation in nature for, nor can any valuable end be served by, applying measure to anything but what has these two properties: First, it must admit of degrees of greater and less; secondly, it must be associated with or related to something that has proper quantity, so as that when one is increased the other is increased; when one is diminished the other is diminished also; and every degree of the one must have a determinate magnitude or quantity of the other corresponding to it."¹ Reid seems not to have been very certain whether the person whom he opposes (styled by him Dr. M.) did actually maintain mathematics as being a proper measure in the moral sciences, or that it merely afforded useful analogies; and perhaps some who are disposed to agree with Reid as to the former alternative, may not be prepared to join him in attacking the latter. He continues: "Though attempts have been made to apply mathematical reasoning to some of these things, and the quantity of virtue and merit in actions has been measured by simple and compound ratios; yet Dr. M. does not think that any real knowledge has been struck out this way: it may perhaps, if discreetly used, be a help to discourse on these subjects, by pleasing the imagination and illustrating what is already known; but till our affections and appetites shall themselves be reduced to quantity, and exact measures of their various degrees be assigned, in vain shall we essay to measure virtue and merit by them. This is only to ring changes on words, and to make a show of mathematical reasoning, without advancing one step in real knowledge."²

In 1752 the professors of King's College in Aberdeen elected Dr. Reid professor of moral philosophy, "in testimony of the high opinion they had formed of his learning and abilities." After having taken up his residence in Aberdeen, he became one of the projectors of that select society of philosophers which then dignified the northern city. It is perhaps partly to the influence of this association that, among many other works, we owe the *Inquiry into the Human Mind upon the Principles of Common*

¹ Reid's *Essays* (1820), vi.

² *Essays*, viii. Stewart, who praises the principles of this essay (*Life*, *ut sup.*, 510), was more than most philosophers of his eminence, addicted to the vice detected in one of its forms, viz. comparison between mental and physical nature, not merely to the extent of illustration, but of analogy.

Sense, which Dr. Reid published in 1764. As this work developed an argument against the sceptical philosophy of Mr. Hume, the author, with more magnanimity than some members of his profession displayed at the time, procured, by the interposition of Dr. Blair, a perusal of the manuscript by Hume, in order that any of those disputes from mere misunderstanding of words, so pernicious to philosophical discussion, might be avoided. Hume at first displayed some disinclination, founded on previous experience of others, to encourage this new assailant. "I wish," he said, "that the parsons would confine themselves to their old occupation of worrying one another, and leave philosophers to argue with temper, moderation, and good manners." But his liberal mind did not permit him, on seeing the manuscript, and knowing the worth of its author, to yield to his hasty anticipations. Writing personally to Reid he said, "By Dr. Blair's means I have been favoured with the perusal of your performance, which I have read with great pleasure and attention. It is certainly very rare that a piece so deeply philosophical is wrote with so much spirit, and affords so much entertainment to the reader, though I must still regret the disadvantages under which I read it, as I never had the whole performance at once before me, and could not be able fully to compare one part with another. To this reason chiefly I attribute some obscurities which, in spite of your short analysis or abstract, still seem to hang over your system. For I must do you the justice to own that, when I enter into your ideas, no man appears to express himself with greater perspicuity than you do; a talent which, above all others, is requisite in that species of literature which you have cultivated. There are some objections which I would willingly propose to the chapter "Of Sight," did I not suspect that they proceed from my not sufficiently understanding it; and I am the more confirmed in this suspicion, as Dr. Black tells me that the former objections I had made had been derived chiefly from that cause. I shall therefore forbear till the whole can be before me, and shall not at present propose any farther difficulties to your reasonings. I shall only say, that if you have been able to clear up these abstruse and important subjects, instead of being mortified, I shall be so vain as to pretend to a share of the praise; and shall think that my errors, by having at least some coherence, had led you to make a more strict review of my principles, which were the common ones, and to perceive their futility."

It may be as well here to pass over the intervening events of Dr. Reid's life, and give a brief sketch of the principles of his philosophy, as developed in his other works, to which, as Mr. Stewart has properly remarked, the *Inquiry into the Human Mind* forms an introduction. In 1785 he published his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, and in 1788 those on the *Active Powers*. These two have been generally republished together, under the well-known title, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind*; a work which has gradually gained ground in the estimation of intelligent thinkers, and is now used as a text-book by many eminent teachers of philosophy. When it is said that Dr. Reid's philosophy is entirely, or intended to be entirely, synthetical, and that it adopts no theory, except as an induction from experiment, it will readily be understood that a view of its general principles and tendency cannot be given; but it is not on this account very difficult to describe the method by which he reasoned, and came to the different conclusions he has adopted.

Reid has generally received, and probably with

justice, the praise of having been the first to extend, by a general system, the process of reasoning from experiment, so strongly recommended by Bacon in natural science, to the operations of the mind. In this he was, to a certain extent, anticipated by Hume, who, especially in his arguments on cause and effect, and his essay on miracles, proceeded on analyses of our experience: but the two philosophers followed a different method; the sceptic using his experience to show the futility of any systems of philosophy which had been raised; while Reid made use of them to redeem, as it were, mental science, by eschewing these systems, and founding one of his own on that experience which he saw had enabled the sceptic to demolish the systems destitute of such a support. But to accomplish his purpose—and this is what distinguishes his philosophy from all other systems—Reid found it necessary to set bounds to his inquiries, which other philosophers had passed. He abstained from that speculation concerning the nature and essence of the mind itself, which, as followed by others, had formed the most convenient object of demolition to the sceptic, and limited himself to observations on the operations of the mind, as he saw them performed before him. Instead, therefore, of appealing to any theories of his own (which he knew would require to be founded on vague speculation, and independently of observation) on the essence of the mind, when he tried the truth of his observations he appealed to what he called "common sense," or that sense, however acquired, which prompts us to believe one thing and disbelieve another. Hence it might be said, in common language, that instead of making his inquiries by means of subtle and metaphysical reasonings, he stated his views, trusting that his readers would believe him from their common sense, and if they did not choose to do so, knowing that the greater part of the world was on his side, despite of any fine-spun objections which might be produced by the sophist. The following, perhaps, more than most other passages in his works, bears a marked stamp of his method of reasoning: "Perhaps Des Cartes meant not to assume his own existence in this enthymeme, but the existence of thought, and to infer from that the existence of a mind or subject of thought. But why did he not prove the existence of his thought? Consciousness, it may be said, vouches that. But who is voucher of the consciousness? Can any man prove that his consciousness may not deceive him? No man can: nor can we give a better reason for trusting to it, than that every man, while his mind is sound, is determined, by the constitution of his nature, to give implicit belief to it, and to laugh at, or to pity, the man who doubts its testimony. And is not every man in his wits as determined to take his existence upon trust as his consciousness?"¹ It is easier to find objections to, than to erect a system of metaphysical philosophy; and that of Reid affords ample room for controversy. Admitting that the only ground on which we can ever place metaphysical truths is, the general belief of men of sound mind, it must still, in every instance, be a very questionable matter, whether these men of sound mind have come to the *right* conclusion, and whether it may not be possible, by a little more investigation and argument, even though conducted by a sceptical philosopher, to show reasons for coming to a different conclusion, and to establish it upon the very same grounds, viz. the general belief of men of sound mind. When Galileo discovered that nature abhorred a vacuum, and was afterwards obliged to admit that this abhorrence did not extend above

¹ *Inquiry* (1819), 23.

thirty-three feet, many men of sound mind probably felt themselves "determined, by the constitution of their nature, to give implicit belief" to both positions, until one discovered the effect of atmospheric pressure, and got men of common sense to admit that nature had no greater horror at a vacuum than at a plenum. It became a necessary consequence of this method of reasoning, that Reid's first or instinctive principles were less simple and more numerous than those of other philosophers; and his opponents accused him of having by that means perplexed and complicated the science of mind. In simplifying this science there are two evils to be avoided—a propensity to refine everything into first principles, unsupported by reason; and the lesser vice of producing confusion, by not extending speculation so far towards the establishment of first principles as there may be good reason for proceeding. It was probably in his anxiety to avoid the former, that Reid incurred not unjust censure for sometimes embracing the latter alternative. The *Principle of Credulity* and the *Principle of Veracity* are certainly objectionable. Reid has had many warm followers, and many who have looked on his philosophy with great contempt. Those who conceive that all systems of mental philosophy are merely useful for the exercise they give the mind, and the undoubted truths which they occasionally lay open, will perhaps make the fairest appreciation of his merit, and by such it may perhaps be allowed, that the broad method he followed has enabled him to lay before the world a greater number of interesting circumstances connected with moral science, than most other philosophers have been enabled to display. Before leaving the subject of his works, it may be mentioned, that he composed, as a portion of Lord Kames' *Sketches of the History of Man*, "A Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic;" the chief defect of this production is its professed brevity. It is very clear and distinct, and leads one to regret that so accurately thinking and unprejudiced a writer had not enriched the world with a more extensive view of the Aristotelian and other systems.

In 1763, while he was, it may be presumed, preparing his *Inquiry* for the press, a knowledge of what was expected to come from his pen, and his general fame, prompted the university of Glasgow to invite him to fill the chair of natural philosophy there. In this office Professor Stewart remarks, that "his researches concerning the human mind, and the principles of morals, which had occupied but an inconsiderable space in the wide circle of science allotted to him by his former office, were extended and methodized in a course which employed five hours every week, during six months of the year. The example of his illustrious predecessor, and the prevailing topics of conversation around him, occasionally turned his thoughts to commercial politics, and produced some ingenious essays on different questions connected with trade, which were communicated to a private society of his academical friends. His early passion for the mathematical sciences was revived by the conversation of Simson, Moor, and the Wilsons; and at the age of fifty-five he attended the lectures of Black with a juvenile curiosity and enthusiasm." Dr. Reid's constant desire for the acquisition of facts on which to raise his deductions, kept him continually awake to all new discoveries; and he spent many, even of the latter days of his long life, in observing the truths which were developed by this illustrious chemist. The biographer, after observing that the greater part of the course of lectures delivered by Dr. Reid at Glasgow is to be found in his published

works, proceeds: "Beside his speculations on the intellectual and active powers of man, and a system of practical ethics, his course comprehended some general views with respect to natural jurisprudence, and the fundamental principles of politics. A few lectures on rhetoric which were read at a separate hour to a more advanced class of students, formed a voluntary addition to the appropriate functions of his office, to which, it is probable, he was prompted rather by a wish to supply what was then a deficiency in the established course of education, than by any predilection for a branch of study so foreign to his ordinary pursuits." It may be right to quote from the same authority those observations as to his method of teaching, which none but an ear-witness can make. "In his elocution and mode of instruction there was nothing peculiarly attractive. He seldom, if ever, indulged himself in the warmth of extempore discourse; nor was his manner of reading calculated to increase the effect of what he had committed to memory. Such, however, was the simplicity and perspicuity of his style; such the gravity and authority of his character; and such the general interest of his young hearers in the doctrines which he taught, that by the numerous audiences to which his instructions were addressed, he was heard uniformly with the most silent and respectful attention. On this subject I speak from personal knowledge, having had the good fortune, during a considerable part of winter 1772, to be one of his pupils." In 1781 Dr. Reid retired from the duties of his professorship; and while his labour and assiduity had earned for him a full right to enjoy his old age in literary retirement, his mental faculties remained unimpaired. After this period he communicated some essays to the Philosophical Society. The most important were: *An Examination of Priestley's Opinions concerning Matter and Mind; Observations on the Utopia of Sir Thomas More; and Physiological Reflections on Muscular Motion*. By this time Reid had suffered considerable domestic affliction; four of his children had died after reaching the age of maturity, leaving one daughter, married to Patrick Carmichael, M.D. After his retirement his wife died. In a letter to Professor Stewart he thus affectingly describes his situation after that event: "By the loss of my bosom friend, with whom I lived fifty-two years, I am brought into a kind of new world, at a time of life when old habits are not easily forgot, or new ones acquired. But every world is God's world, and I am thankful for the comforts he has left me. Mrs. Carmichael has now the care of two old deaf men, and does everything in her power to please them; and both are very sensible of her goodness. I have more health than at my time of life I had any reason to expect. I walk about; entertain myself with reading what I soon forget; can converse with one person if he articulates distinctly, and is within ten inches of my left ear; and go to church without hearing one word of what is said. You know I never had any pretensions to vivacity, but I am still free from languor and *ennui*. In the summer of 1796 he spent a few weeks in Edinburgh, and his biographer, who was then his almost constant companion, mentions that, with the exception of his memory, his mental faculties appeared almost unimpaired, while his physical powers were progressively sinking. On his return to Glasgow, apparently in his usual health and spirits, a violent disorder attacked him about the end of September; and after repeated strokes of palsy, he died on the 7th October following. The affectionate biographer, in drawing a character of this eminent and excellent man, may

be said to sum up the particulars of it in the words with which he commences. "Its most prominent features were—intrepid and inflexible rectitude; a pure and devoted attachment to truth; and an entire command (acquired by the unwearied exertions of a long life) over all his passions."

RENNIE, JOHN, a celebrated civil engineer, was the youngest son of a respectable farmer at Phantassie, in East Lothian, where he was born, June 7, 1761. Before he had attained his sixth year he had the misfortune to lose his father; his education, nevertheless, was carried on at the parish school (Prestonkirk) by his surviving relatives. The peculiar talents of young Rennie seem to have been called forth and fostered by his proximity to the workshop of the celebrated mechanic Andrew Meikle, the inventor or improver of the thrashing-machine. He frequently visited that scene of mechanism, to admire the complicated processes which he saw going forward, and amuse himself with the tools of the workmen. In time he began to imitate at home the models of machinery which he saw there; and at the early age of ten he had made the model of a wind-mill, a steam-engine, and a pile-engine, the last of which is said to have exhibited much practical dexterity.

At twelve Rennie left school, and entered into the employment of Andrew Meikle, with whom he continued two years. He then spent two years at Dunbar, for the purpose of improving his general education. So early as 1777, when only sixteen years of age, his Dunbar master considered him fit to superintend the school in his absence, and on being removed to the academy at Perth, recommended Rennie as his successor. This, however, was not the occupation which the young mechanician desired, and he renewed his former labours in the workshop of Andrew Meikle, employing his leisure hours in modelling and drawing machinery. Before reaching the age of eighteen he had erected two or three corn-mills in his native parish; but the first work which he undertook on his own account was the rebuilding of the flour-mills at Invergowrie, near Dundee.

Views of an ambitious kind gradually opened to him, and, by zealously prosecuting his professional labours in summer, he was enabled to spend the winter in Edinburgh, where he attended the lectures of Professor Robison on natural philosophy, and those of Dr. Black on chemistry. Having thus fitted himself in some measure for the profession of an engineer, he proceeded to Soho, with a recommendation from Robison to Messrs. Bolton and Watt. On the way he examined the aqueduct bridge at Lancaster, the docks at Liverpool, and the interesting works on the Bridgewater Canal. At Soho he was immediately taken into employment, and it was not long ere Mr. Watt discovered the extraordinary talents of his young assistant. In the erection of the Albion Mills in London, which was completed in 1789, Mr. Rennie was intrusted by his employers with the construction of the mill-work and machinery, which were admitted to be of superior excellence. These mills consisted of two engines, each of fifty horse power, and twenty pairs of millstones, of which twelve or more pairs, with the requisite machinery, were constantly kept at work. In place of wooden wheels, so subject to frequent derangement, wheels of cast-iron, with the teeth truly formed and finished, and properly proportioned to the work, were here employed; the other machinery, which used to be made of wood, was made of cast-iron in improved forms. This splendid establishment, which Mr.

Watt acknowledges to have formed the commencement of the modern improved system of mill-work, was destroyed in 1791 by wilful fire, being obnoxious to popular prejudices, under the mistaken supposition of its being a monopoly. The mechanism, however, established Mr. Rennie's fame, and he soon after began to obtain extensive employment on his own account.

The earlier years of his professional life were chiefly spent in mill-work; and his merits in this line may be briefly stated. One striking improvement was in the bridge-tree. It was formerly customary to place the vertical axis of the running millstone in the middle of the bridge-tree, which was supported only at its two extremities. The effect of this was that the bridge-tree yielded to the variations of pressure arising from the greater or less quantity of grain admitted between the millstones, which was conceived to be a useful effect. Mr. Rennie, however, made the bridge-tree perfectly immovable, and thus freed the machinery from that irregular play which sooner or later proves fatal to every kind of mechanism. Another improvement by Mr. Rennie has been adverted to in the above account of the Albion Mills; but the principal one was in the comparative advantage which he took of the water-power. He so economized the power of water as to give an increase of energy by its specific gravity to the natural fall of streams, and to make his mills equal to four-fold the produce of those which, before his time, depended solely on the impetus of the current.

Mr. Rennie was gradually attracted from the profession of a mechanician to that of an engineer. In the course of a few years after his first coming into public notice, he was employed in a considerable number of bridges and other public works, all of which he executed in a manner which proved his extraordinary genius. His principal bridges are those of Kelso, Leeds, Musselburgh, Newton-Stewart, Boston, and New Galloway. The first, which was erected between 1799 and 1803, has been greatly admired for its elegance, and its happy adaptation to the beautiful scenery in its neighbourhood. It consists of a level roadway resting on five elliptical arches, each of which has a span of seventy-three feet, and a rise of twenty-one. The bridge of Musselburgh is on a smaller scale, but equally perfect in its construction. A remarkable testimony to its merits was paid in Mr. Rennie's presence, by an untutored son of nature. He was taking the work off the contractor's hands when a magistrate of the town, who was present, asked a countryman who was passing at the time with his cart how he liked the new bridge. "Brig?" answered the man, "it's nae brig ava; ye neither ken whan ye're on't, nor whan ye're aff't." It must be remarked that this bridge superseded an old one in its immediate neighbourhood, which had a very precipitous roadway, and was in every respect the opposite of the new one.

Mr. Rennie was destined, however, to leave more splendid monuments of his talents in this particular department of his profession. The Waterloo Bridge across the Thames at London, of which he was the architect, would have been sufficient in itself to stamp him as an engineer of the first order. This magnificent public work was commenced in 1811, and finished in 1817, at the expense of rather more than a million of money. It consists of nine equal arches of 127 feet span; the breadth between the parapets is 42 feet; and the roadway is perfectly flat. Mr. Rennie also planned the Southwark Bridge, which is of cast-iron. The plan of the new London Bridge was likewise furnished by him; but of this public work he did not live to see even the commencement.

Among the public works of different kinds executed by Mr. Rennie may be mentioned;—of canals, the Aberdeen, the Great Western, the Kennet and Avon, the Portsmouth, the Birmingham, and the Worcester;—of docks, those at Hull, Leith, Greenock, Liverpool, and Dublin, besides the West India docks in the city of London;—and of harbours, those at Berwick, Dunleary, Howth, Newhaven, and Queensferry. In addition to these naval works he planned various important improvements on the national dockyards at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Chatham, and Sheerness; and the new naval arsenal at Pembroke was constructed from his designs. But by far the greatest of all his naval works was the celebrated breakwater at Plymouth. It is calculated that he planned works to the amount of fifty millions in all, of which nearly twenty millions were expended under his own superintendence.

Mr. Rennie died, October 16, 1821, of inflammation in the liver, which had afflicted him for some years. By his wife, whom he married in 1789, he left six children, of whom the eldest, Mr. George Rennie, followed the same profession as his father, and died near the beginning of the year 1866. Mr. John Rennie was buried with great funeral honours in St. Paul's Cathedral, near the grave of Sir Christopher Wren.

The grand merit of Mr. Rennie as an engineer is allowed to have been his almost intuitive perception of what was necessary for certain assigned purposes. With little theoretical knowledge he had so closely studied the actual forms of the works of his predecessors, that he could at length trust in a great measure to a kind of tact which he possessed in his own mind, and which could hardly have been communicated. He had the art of applying to every situation where he was called to act professionally the precise form of remedy that was wanting to the existing evil. Whether it was to stop the violence of the most boisterous sea—to make new harbours, or to render those safe which were before dangerous or inaccessible—to redeem districts of fruitful land from encroachment by the ocean, or to deliver them from the pestilence of stagnant marsh—to level hills or to tie them together by aqueducts or arches, or, by embankment, to raise the valley between them—to make bridges that for beauty surpass all others of their time, and for strength seem destined to last to the latest posterity—Rennie had no rival. Though he carried the desire of durability almost to a fault, and thus occasioned more expense perhaps, on some occasions, than other engineers would have considered strictly necessary, he was equally admired for his conscientiousness in the fulfilment of his labours, as for his genius in their contrivance. He would suffer no subterfuge for real strength to be resorted to by the contractors who undertook to execute his plans. Elevated by his genius above mean and immediate considerations, he felt in all his proceedings as if he were in the court of posterity: he sought not only to satisfy his employers, but all future generations.

Although Rennie did not devote himself to the acquisition of theoretical knowledge, excepting to that general extent which is required by every well-informed engineer, he was fond of those investigations of a mixed character, where the results of experiment are combined by mathematical rules and a train of inquiry directed and modified by the lights of theory. In his instrument for ascertaining the strength of flowing water he has made a contribution to science of no small importance.

In person Mr. Rennie was greatly above the usual size. His figure was commanding, and his features

massive and strong, but with a mild expression. He was endeared to all who knew him by the gentleness of his temper; and the cheerfulness with which he communicated the riches of his mind, and forwarded the views of those who made useful improvements or discoveries in machinery, procured him universal respect.

RENWICK, JAMES, a celebrated nonconforming clergyman, was born in the parish of Glencairn, Dumfriesshire, on the 15th of February, 1662. His parents, who were in humble circumstances, and of whom he was the only surviving child, seem to have looked upon him with peculiar fondness—especially his mother, who regarded him as a special gift, an answer to her prayers, and one who was intended to be more than ordinarily useful in the world. His childhood was watched over with peculiar solicitude; and their hopes were still further excited, and their confidence strengthened, by the sweetness and docility of his disposition. Piety marked his earliest years, and his attention to his books was unwearied, circumstances which induced his parents, amidst many difficulties, to keep him at school till he found the means of putting himself in the way of attaining greater proficiency in the city of Edinburgh, where, by attending upon and assisting in their studies the children of persons more wealthy than himself, he was enabled to prosecute his own. After having attended the university there, however, he was denied laureation, in consequence of refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and was under the necessity of prosecuting his studies more privately, and in the best manner he could. In the meantime, he was a diligent attendant on the secret meetings of the persecuted Presbyterians, and took a deep interest in the questions which at that time were so keenly agitated among, and at length so widely divided, that unfortunate party. Of the unfaithfulness of the indulged ministers in general he had long had strong impressions, and these seem to have been confirmed by hearing the testimony and witnessing the martyrdom of Mr. Donald Cargill, on the 27th of July, 1681; an event which determined him to attach himself to the small remnant which adhered to the principles of that sincere and excellent Christian.

On the death of Mr. Cargill, being deprived of public ordinances, this portion of the sufferers formed themselves into particular societies, united in one general correspondence, in which Mr. Renwick was particularly active. In the month of October he held a conference with a number of the more influential of the party, concerning the testimonies of some of the martyrs lately executed; when, it is said, he refreshed them much by showing them how much he was grieved to hear these martyrs disdainfully spoken of; how much he was offended with some that attended the curates, pleaded for the paying of cess, and for owning and defending the authority of the tyrant; and how much he longed to see a formal testimony lifted up against all those, with their attendant defections. On the 15th of December, in the same year in which Mr. Cargill suffered, his adherents held their first general meeting, at which was drawn up the paper known by the name of the Lanark Declaration, from the place where it was proclaimed, on the 12th day of January, 1682. Mr. Renwick was not the writer of this document, some parts of which he always allowed to be “inconsiderately worded;” but he was one of the party who proclaimed it, and at the same time burned the test and the act of succession of the Duke of York to the crown.

The boldness of this declaration, which embraced

both the Rutherglen and Sanquhar declarations, emitted in the years 1679 and 1680, and declared the whole acts of the government of Charles Stuart, from his restoration in 1660 down to that day, to be utterly illegal, as emanating from a pure usurpation upon the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and many of them, in their own nature, tyrannical and cruel in the highest degree, astonished their enemies, and astounded not a few of their best friends, who, to correct the unfavourable reports concerning them, which, through the malice of their enemies, were circulated among the churches of the Low Countries, found it necessary to commission Gordon of Earlstoun to the United Provinces, to state their case as it actually stood, and to solicit that compassion and sympathy which was denied them by their own countrymen. Earlstoun met with a very favourable reception: and it was proposed, seeing the universities in Scotland were closed against all such as were desirous of maintaining a clear conscience, to have students educated under the eye of these churches at their universities, who might be ordained to the work of the ministry; and that there should thus be a succession of faithful labourers kept up for the benefit of the present and of future generations. This proposal was at once embraced by the societies as the only probable method of being supplied with a dispensation of gospel ordinances; and Mr. Renwick, along with some others, was accordingly sent over and admitted into the university of Groningen. After he had attended six months the progress he had made was such, together with the urgency of the case (for the societies had not so much as one preacher all this time), that it was thought proper he should be ordained, and sent back to his native land. He was accordingly, after no little trouble, through the interest of Mr. Robert Hamilton, who was well known there, ordained by the classes of Groningen; when, longing to employ any little talent he possessed for the advancement of the cause of Christ and the benefit of his suffering people, he proceeded to Rotterdam, intending to avail himself of the first opportunity of a ship going for Scotland. Finding a ship ready to sail, Mr. Renwick embarked at the Brill for his native country; but after being some time on board, he was so much annoyed by some profane passengers, that he left the vessel and entered another that was going to Ireland. In consequence of a violent storm the vessel put into the harbour of Rye, in England, where he was in no small danger from the noise and disturbance created at the time by the Rye-house Plot. He, however, got safely off, and, after a tedious and stormy passage, was landed at Dublin. In a short time he embarked for Scotland, and with no little difficulty and danger succeeded in landing on the west coast of that kingdom, where he commenced those weary wanderings which were to close only with his capture and death. His first public sermon was delivered in the moss of Darmead, in the month of September, 1683, where he was cordially and kindly received by a poor and persecuted people, who had lost, for the gospel's sake, whatever they possessed of temporal enjoyments, and were ready for that consideration to peril their lives. On this occasion, for his own vindication and for the satisfaction of his hearers, he gave an account of his call to the ministry, and declared his adherence to the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland. He at the same time gave them his opinion upon the particular questions which were agitating the minds of men at the time, stating particularly what class of ministers and professors he was willing to hold fellowship with, and also that with which he

could not. In this statement, as he studied to be plain and particular, he mentioned several names, which gave great offence to some, and it was employed with much assiduity to excite prejudices and create slanders against both his person and ministry; and with all the other hardships of his lot, he was pursued everywhere by misrepresentation and calumny.

Amidst so much clamour of friends and of enemies, he soon attracted the notice of the council, to whom nothing was so terrible as field-preaching. He was speedily denounced as a traitor, and all who followed him were pursued as abettors of rebellion. No house that he entered, if it was known, escaped pillage; and no one who heard him, if he could be found, escaped punishment. Nothing can be conceived more desperate than his situation; not daring to venture abroad, yet finding no place of rest except in the most remote and inaccessible retreats. Called upon nightly to confer, to preach, to pray, to baptize, and to catechise, with no better accommodation than the cavern of the rock, an excavation in the moss, or, at the best, a ruined and deserted shepherd's shiel, where a fire of sticks or heath, and a scanty morsel brought from afar by the hands of children, were his greatest luxuries; yet he prosecuted his labours with remarkable success, greatly increasing the number of his followers in the course of a few months.

In the succeeding year, 1684, his difficulties and discouragements were considerably increased. The revilings of those who should have been his helpers became more bitter, and the vigilance of his persecutors more unremitting. Often was he pursued for days and nights together, and to all appearance left without the possibility of escape; yet he still escaped as if by miracle. Enraged beyond measure at the increase of his followers, and their want of success in so many attempts to apprehend him, the council, in the month of September in this year, issued out letters of intercommuning against him; which, reducing the whole body of the sufferers to the most incredible hardships, drove them, between madness and despair, to publish, in the month of October following, their apologetical declaration; wherein, after stating their abhorrence of the idea of taking the lives of such as differ from them in opinion, they declared their firm persuasion of their right, from the word of God and fundamental laws of the kingdom, to defend themselves in the exercise of their religion; and, after naming the persons whom they supposed to be their chief persecutors, and whom they threatened with immediate and full retaliation, they add, "Now, let not any think, our God assisting us, we will be so slack-handed in time coming to put matters in execution as heretofore we have been, seeing we are bound faithfully and valiantly to maintain our covenants and the cause of Christ. Therefore let all these foresaid persons be admonished of their hazard. And particularly all ye intelligencers, who by your voluntary informations endeavour to render us up to the enemies' hands, that our blood may be shed—for by such courses ye both endanger your immortal souls, if repentance prevent not, seeing God will make inquisition for shedding the precious blood of his saints, whatever be the thoughts of men; and also your bodies, seeing ye render yourselves actually and maliciously guilty of our blood, whose innocency the Lord knoweth. However, we are sorry at our very hearts that any of you should choose such courses, either with bloody Doeg to shed our blood, or with the flattering Ziphites to inform persecutors where we are to be found. So we say again, we desire you to take warning of the hazard that ye incur by following such courses; for the sinless necessity of self-pre-

servation, accompanied with holy zeal for Christ's reigning in our land, and suppressing of profanity, will move us not to let you pass unpunished. Call to your remembrance all that is in peril is not lost, and all that is delayed is not forgiven. Therefore expect to be dealt with as ye deal with us, so far as our power can reach; not because we are incited by a sinful spirit of revenge for private and personal injuries; but, mainly, because by our fall reformation suffers damage, yea, the power of godliness, through ensnaring flatteries and terrible threatening, will thereby be brought to a very low ebb, the consciences of many more dreadfully surrendered, and profanity more established and propagated. And as upon the one hand, we have here declared our purposes anent malicious injurers of us; so, upon the other hand, we do hereby beseech and obtest all you who wish well to Zion, to show your good-will towards us, by acting with us, and in your places and stations, according to your abilities, counselling, encouraging, and strengthening our hands for this great work of holding up the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ. Think not that in anywise you are called to lie by neutral and indifferent, especially in such a day; for we are a people by holy covenants dedicated unto the Lord, in our persons, lives, liberties, and fortunes, for defending and promoting this glorious work of reformation, notwithstanding all opposition that is or may be made thereunto, yea, and sworn against all neutrality and indifferency in the Lord's matters. And moreover, we are fully persuaded that the Lord, who now hideth his face from the house of Jacob, will suddenly appear, and bring light out of darkness, and perfect strength out of weakness, and cause judgment return again unto righteousness."

When this declaration was first proposed, Mr. Renwick was averse to it, fearing that it might be followed by bad effects: nor were his fears disappointed. A reward of 500 merks was offered for every person who owned the declaration, or rather who would not disown it upon oath. No person was allowed to travel without a pass who was above the age of sixteen; many were shot instantly in the fields if they refused to take, even at the hands of a common trooper, the oath of abjuration; others, refusing the oath, were brought in, sentenced, and executed. On all which accounts Mr. Renwick was often heard to say, he wished from his heart that that declaration had never been published. The year 1685 did not at all better his situation; he was still persecuted with the utmost fury, yet he ventured, in the month of May that year, to the market-cross of Sanquhar, accompanied by 200 men, where he published a declaration against the succession of James Duke of York, called from that circumstance the Sanquhar Declaration. Refusing to concur with Argyle, who this year made an unsuccessful attempt from Holland, a division arose among his followers, several of whom withdrew from the societies, and became, both by word and pen, his bitter traducers; and in addition to all his other afflictions, when he had put his life in his hand, as it were, to dispense the ordinances of the gospel to the bereaved people, he was met even by those who had been his friends with protestations against him, taken in the name of large districts of the country. Even Mr. Peden was, by the multiplied slanders of his enemies, spirited up against him, and was not reconciled till after a conversation with him, when he was upon his death-bed, and unable to repair the injury. In the midst of these multiplied discouragements he was cheered by the assistance and fellowship of Mr. David Hunston, a minister from Ireland, and Mr. Alex-

ander Shields, a preacher who had made his escape from London, both of whom espoused the same testimony, and perilled their lives with him. It was but a short time, however, that he enjoyed the aid of these intrepid men; Mr. Hunston being necessitated to go to Ireland, and Mr. Shields going over to Holland, to superintend the printing of the informatory vindication. It was in this year that James VII., for the encouragement of the Catholics, set aside the penal statutes, and gave out his indulgences, allowing all to worship in their own way, except in barns or in fields; which, to the disgrace of the Scottish church, was embraced with abundance of gratulatory addresses by her whole body, ministers and members, Mr. Renwick and his followers excepted. This was a new addition to his troubles, and opened the mouths of complying professors still more against him. About this time, too, he became infirm in body, could neither walk nor ride, and was carried to his preaching places in the fields with great difficulty; though, in the time of preaching, he felt nothing of his weakness. The pursuit after him was now doubly hot, and £100 sterling was offered for him, either dead or alive. Coming to Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1688, to give in a testimony to the synod of tolerated ministers against the toleration which they had accepted, and having delivered it into the hands of Mr. Kennedy, their moderator, he passed over to Fife, where he continued preaching at different places till the end of January, when he returned to Edinburgh and took up his lodgings in the house of a friend on the Castle Hill, a dealer in uncustomed goods. A party coming to search for these, discovered Mr. Renwick and apprehended him. He did not, however, surrender himself into the hands of his enemies without resistance. He drew out and fired a pocket-pistol, and having thus made an opening among his assailants, escaped into the Castle Wynd, and ran towards the head of the Cowgate; but one of the party having hit him a violent stroke on the breast with a long staff as he passed out, he was staggered, and fell several times, and having lost his hat, was laid hold of by a person in the street, who probably knew nothing of the man, or the crimes laid against him. Being taken to the guard-house, he was there kept for a considerable time, and suffered much from the insolence of some that came to see him. The captain of the guard seeing him of little stature, and of a comely countenance, exclaimed, "Is this the boy which the whole nation has been troubled about?" After undergoing examination before the council, he was committed close prisoner, and put in irons. Before he received his indictment he was carried before the Lord-chancellor Tarbet, and examined upon his owning the authority of James VII., the paying of cess, carrying arms at field-meetings, &c.; upon all of which he delivered his mind with such faithfulness, freedom, and composure as astonished all that were present. He was examined upon the paying of cess, in consequence of the notes of two sermons on the subject being found upon him when he was taken. Among these notes were also memorandums of names, some in full, and some with merely the initials; all these, to avoid threatened torture, he explained with the utmost freedom, knowing that the persons were already as obnoxious as anything he could say would make them. This ingenuousness on his part had a wonderful effect in calming their rage against him, and Tarbet mildly asked him what persuasion he was of; to which he replied, of the Protestant Presbyterian. He was then asked how he differed from other Presbyterians who had accepted

his majesty's toleration, owned his authority, &c. &c. ? to which he answered, that he adhered to the old Presbyterian principles (which all were obliged by the covenants to maintain) as generally professed by the church and nation from the year 1640 to 1660, from which some had apostatized for a little liberty (they knew not how short), as they themselves had done for a little honour. Tarbet admitted that these were the Presbyterian principles, and that all Presbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the courage. Mr. Renwick was tried, February 8th, before the high court of justiciary, upon an indictment which charged him with denying the king's authority, owning the covenants, refusing to pay cess, and maintaining the lawfulness of defensive arms; and, upon his confession, was condemned to die. The day fixed for his execution was the 11th, but it was postponed to the 17th, in the hope that he would gratify the court by petitioning for a pardon, which it has never been doubted would have been gladly extended to him. With the constancy which had marked his whole life, he refused to do so, and was accordingly executed, being the last person who suffered a judicial death for the sake of religion in Scotland.

RHIND, ALEXANDER HENRY. This talented and enthusiastic antiquary was the only surviving son of Josiah Rhind of Sibster, banker in Wick, and was born on the 26th of July, 1833. Having been educated in early life at the Pultneytown Academy, he afterwards became a student in the university of Edinburgh, where, from 1848 to 1850, he attended the classes of natural history and natural philosophy. But his chief bent while at college was towards historical pursuits, and in 1849-50 he attended the lectures delivered in the university by Professor Cosmo Innes on "Scottish history and antiquities," and had his love of antiquarianism confirmed for life. And none but the votaries of the science can know the devoted affection which it inspires. To them the fragments of past ages, which to common eyes have no attraction whatever, transcend in value all living realities of the present. It is thus that the rusty coin, which ages ago has ceased to be current, can now realize its value a hundred-fold in the antiquarian market.

Impatient to extend his investigations and bring them into useful application, Mr. Rhind in March, 1851, and before he had completed his eighteenth year, was occupied in opening a set of cairns in the southern corner of the parish of Wick; and about the same time he translated from the German, Worsaae's *National Knowledge of Antiquities in Germany, and Notes of a Tour*. In the summer of this year he also visited the Great Exhibition in London, and afterwards set out in a tour of some months' duration to the Continent, during which he passed through the Low Countries, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, and Denmark, and gratified the chief purpose of his visit by examining the antiquarian stores of their museums. In the close of the following year Mr. Rhind, who already had acquired the character of an ingenious and indefatigable investigator into the graves of departed ages, was elected a fellow of the antiquaries of Scotland, and on this occasion he presented two remarkable stone vessels found near Wick to their museum. In the following year he brought before the society a paper, an abstract of which is printed in their *Proceedings* (vol. i. p. 182), under the title of *An Attempt to Define how far the Cymric encroached upon the Gaelic Branch of the Early Celtic Population of North Britain*. About the same time, and in 1853-4,

he employed himself in excavating those ancient remains called Picts' houses, to which such interest is attached by the students of the prehistoric records of Scotland; and the results of these explorations were communicated to the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, and published in their *Transactions*. Still ardent upon the subject of archaeology, and desirous that its discoveries should be generally known, he in 1854 proposed to the Crystal Palace Company that they should erect models of certain early British remains in their grounds at Sydenham. Alluding to their design, "not merely to gratify or educate the eye, but also to supply suggestive materials for intellectual information," he says in his proposal, "It will not, therefore, I imagine, be an objection to British aboriginal remains, that in an ornamental point of view they would be deficient, since, as practical and really attractive instructors, their value would be undoubted. Nor does it seem altogether free from anomaly that the visitors to the 'great popular educator,' as it has been justly termed, should have every facility for ascertaining how an Assyrian monarch was housed 3000 years ago, or for studying the sepulchral customs which prevailed on the banks of the Nile more than a millennium before our era; while no means whatever are afforded to enable them to form any idea of the manners and state of civilization at those periods of their predecessors on British soil—their ancestors it may be." It was not the smaller tools, weapons, and utensils of which he wished specimens or facsimiles to be exhibited—these were already to be found in local museums—but models of Picts' houses, hill-forts, cromlechs, and chambered cairns.

In 1853 Mr. Rhind, in the number of the *Retrospective Review* for February, published an article on "Early Scottish History and its Exponents," chiefly in reference to the *questio vexata*, Who were the Picts? In the *London Quarterly Review* for September, 1854, he also wrote a review of Worsaae's *Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It was reckoned at the time a very remarkable paper, on account of its suggestive character and extensive knowledge of the subject, although the source of its authorship was unknown until a considerable time afterwards. As his contemplated occupation was the Scottish bar, it was now time for Mr. Rhind to be up and doing, and he was making preparations for abjuring his beloved studies for the time, in favour of a regular attendance on the law classes in 1853 and 1854. But this purpose, as well as his active researches and manly athletic recreations, had to be set aside, in consequence of symptoms of a pulmonic disease which began to manifest themselves in 1854. A change to a milder atmosphere being judged necessary, he removed to Clifton in April, 1854. An ominous change had taken place on his physical system, from which the worst might be apprehended; and writing from Clifton he thus describes it: "The ascent of a gentle acclivity has now more terrors for me than climbing to a point in the Mont Blanc range 10,000 feet above the sea-level had two or three years ago." At Clifton he received accounts of the death of his elder and only surviving brother, and soon after he abandoned his purpose of studying for the law. He was now entirely at liberty to follow his favourite pursuits, and in the winter of 1854-5 he sent a paper to the Scottish Antiquarian Society, which was published in its *Proceedings*, "On the Bronze Swords occasionally attributed to the Romans." During the same season he also sent to it another on "British Primeval Antiquities; their Present Treatment and their Real Claims," which Mr. Rhind afterwards

published as a pamphlet. His aim in this proceeding was to create a general respect for the relics of the past, and secure them from that careless or destructive spirit by which they were so often rendered useless. With the same object in view he afterwards wrote a paper "On the Present Condition of the Monuments of Egypt and Nubia," which was published in the *Archæological Journal* for 1856. While thus employed he also induced the Scottish Antiquarian Society to exert their influence upon the ordnance survey, so that all primeval vestiges should be carefully set down in the ordnance map of Scotland. By this plan the inquirer would learn at a glance where certain relics are located, or what remains exist in specific districts, instead of being obliged to find them for himself by minute and laborious research.

During the winter of 1855-6 Mr. Rhind resided in Egypt, and in this new and important field of archæological exploration he commenced his researches in the tombs at Thebes, which were afterwards to throw such light upon ancient Egyptian history. "It is my earnest desire," he wrote in a letter to his biographer, "to add to our museum such a series of Egyptian antiquities as will form a fair comparative representation of the archæology of the extraordinary people who lay so near the primary fountains of civilization. With this view I shall gladly purchase where I can objects suitable for my purpose, which any of the peasantry around may possess, with the view of supplementing where the results of my own excavations may be wanting." This double expenditure of money and personal labour was successful, so that he was enabled to send many objects of interest, including a set of bilingual papyri and a painted bier, both supposed to be unique, to our national museum. He exerted himself in procuring skulls for such of his friends as were zealous in studying the successive races by whom the country had been occupied. Desirous also of recommending this locality to valetudinarians and tourists in general, he published, in November, 1856, a little volume entitled *Egypt: its Climate, Character, and Resources as a Winter Resort*, which contained not only the fruits of his own experience, but thermometrical notes contributed by the late Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Gardener Wilkinson, and others.

In the summer of 1856 Mr. Rhind had returned to Sibster, and renewed his excavations in the neighbourhood, the result of which was a communication entitled "Notes of Excavations of Tumuli in Caithness made in the Summer of 1856," which was published in the *Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii. p. 372. In July of the same year a congress of the Archæological Institute, in the preliminary arrangements of which Mr. Rhind took an active interest, was held in Edinburgh, and at its meeting he read a paper "On Megalithic Remains in Malta," distinguished by the cautious character of its conclusions, and rejection of merely traditional premises. He also read before it a paper "On the History of Systematic Classification of Primeval Relics," in which he showed that the plan of arranging by fixed progressive periods had been known in Scotland before it was adopted in Scandinavia. Both papers were printed in the *Archæological Journal* for 1856.

In the winter of 1856-7 Mr. Rhind was once more in Egypt, and among the tombs at Thebes. The difficulties of his explorations, and the extent on which they were conducted, may be surmised from the following amusing letter which he wrote to a friend in the beginning of 1857:—"Having stated to our consul-general, Mr. Bruce, when at Cairo, the ob-

jects I had in view, he very kindly applied for and obtained for me a firman from the viceroy. Armed with this precious document under the seal of Said Pacha, enjoining all the governors throughout Egypt to aid me in whatever I may require, and permitting me to excavate wherever I like in the whole country, I possess here where I have taken up my position a sort of irresponsible power. I certainly shall not abuse it; and I do need it, for I have a shocking set of scoundrels to deal with. I have already forty men at work at one point and twenty at another. At the former I was cheered yesterday by the discovery of eight mummy cases, and to-day of six more. They were not within a tomb, but give evidence, I hope, of the proximity of one, and I shall diligently persevere in search of it, as from the position it would probably be interesting. On Monday I intend to have fifty more men in the valley of the splendid tombs of the kings. I have several times gone diligently over the ground, and I have marked off several spots that seem promising. . . . I have also originated an excavation on the island of Elephantine, 150 miles up the river, which Lord Henry Scott and Mr. Stobart have undertaken to superintend for me, sending for me should it prove favourably." But for this wide and laborious range of action his health was incompetent, so that he was obliged to yield, after having made a few discoveries, the chief of which was a large and remarkable tomb with its deposit in untouched security. Constrained by this and the advance of the season, he set sail from Alexandria, on the 4th of April for Malta, and thence proceeded to Palermo. It was a climate and scene fitted for such a toil-worn invalid, as his following description will testify:—"A more delicious place I have never seen. The eye may be almost constantly intoxicated with the exquisite landscape; and all around the city the air is redolent of the perfumes of endless varieties of flowers, orange blossoms, and the other products of a most luxuriant vegetation. Man is the sole saddening element in the prospect, both from what he too often appears to be in point of comfort, and from what we know he *is* in point of liberty. It had been my design to go on to Naples and Rome, but everything here is so attractive that I shall not tear myself away until it is necessary to turn homewards."

This deprecated necessity soon arrived, for during the summer of 1857 he returned to Sibster, and there we find him as busy with ruined towers and Celtic crania as he had lately been in Egypt with subterranean tombs and mummies. But every fresh exertion, whether of mind or body, was now certain to be followed by a severe penalty; and he was so utterly prostrated by hæmoptysis as to make it necessary at the close of the year to retire to Malaga. Early in the following year he was further saddened with tidings of the death of his father; and soon after, from the gloom which this event occasioned, he left Malaga and crossed over to Algeria. In the former place he wrote a paper, which was read to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in his absence, and which he afterwards published as a pamphlet under the title of the *Law of Treasure Trove*. Finding the climate of Algiers too stimulating for his exhausted constitution, he shifted his quarters to the south of France, and made a temporary return to Sibster, where we find him studying "sculptured stones" and their deposits, and investigating the question about certain disinterred skulls as to whether they were Celtic or Scandinavian. After this we again find him in the south of France, in Nice, in Genoa, in Leghorn, and Rome, the last of which places was well calculated to gratify his antiquarian enthusiasm;

and of this mighty churchyard of the tombs of ancient nations he thus writes:—"I need not tell you of the archaeological profusion here. It is overpowering in quantity and dazzling in kind. During the past week I have examined most of the ruins of ancient Rome. The art galleries and the churches I have not yet entered upon. With regard to these, however, I intend on this occasion only to familiarize myself with the most prominent exemplars; and my time I propose chiefly to devote to the study of the Etruscan antiquities, with respect to which I want to lay a good basement in my memory for comparative purposes." In these brief notices of his last journeying we have a distinct outline of the character of Alexander Henry Rhind. He was travelling in quest of health, and to escape a deadly malady; but even this was of secondary importance to his scientific pursuits, which these changes of locality were so well suited to advance; and at whatever place he sojourned we find him studying its ancient history, not in myths and legends, but in its relics and ruins. Not content with seeing the world as it now existed, he must also see it as it had been—and not from the lying inscriptions on its tombstone, but the distinguished reality. And this knowledge alone he identified as veritable history, from which we could learn the real origin and progress of nations, and apply it to the welfare of living communities and the direction of those who were still to come. This, and not the gratification of an idle curiosity, was his generous aim, and for this his life-long career had been exclusively an antiquarian pilgrimage.

Mr. Rhind, at his departure from Edinburgh, had continued, as an honorary member, to maintain his connection with the Society of Scottish Antiquaries; and in 1859, when they were engaged in determining the principles on which their museum was to be arranged, he was desirous to aid them with his experience. This also he could offer with a good grace, as at various times he had visited, and carefully examined, the chief antiquarian museums of Europe. He accordingly wrote from Clifton, where he at that time resided, a *Memorandum on the Arrangement of the National Museum of Scottish Antiquities*, which he forwarded to the society. That the establishment of a right plan was no trivial or easy task may be learned from the following requirements of such a museum, which he stated at the outset. "The first is, that a collection calculated to teach inductively or deductively, should be arranged with respect to its instructive capabilities, and not merely in the manner most convenient for general adjustment or reference, as for example books in a library. The second is, that such a collection being an embodiment, or rather the data, of scientific inquiries not fully developed, speculative and progressive, should not, as far as possible, be classified according to any conclusion that may be doubtful, and thus cramped into a mere illustration of a foregone formula, instead of being allowed, by a quasi-natural juxtaposition of the objects, to evolve whatever shades of meaning they may bear." It was in accordance with these principles that the plan he suggested was drawn out, and the details were characterized by sagacity and clearness. After this his journeyings were resumed, sometimes with benefit to his health and sometimes the reverse; but at each remove we still find him busy among ethnological questions, and those chiefly which had a reference to his own country. In 1862 he was at Madeira, and here it was that he published his largest and most important work, on which he had been employed for many years, entitled *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants, Ancient and Present, including a Record of Excavations in the Necropolis*.

The following is an abstract of the contents of the work given by Rhind's biographer:—"It contains eleven chapters, the first of which is devoted to the general history of Thebes; the second describes the necropolis as one of the most remarkable in the world; the third gives the result of former sepulchral researches; the fourth describes the unified tomb of a Theban dignitary and its contents, portions of which were of an unusual character, and others unique; the fifth gives an account of a burial-place of the poor; the sixth records excavations among tombs of the kings, and of various grades; the seventh is devoted to the theories explanatory of Egyptian sepulture; the eighth to the sepulchral evidence of early metallurgic practice; the ninth points out how the demand for Egyptian relics has been supplied, and its influence on the condition of the monuments; the tenth furnishes an account of the present tenants of the tomb; and the eleventh continues the account of these tenants and of their rulers. The volume is illustrated by plates of the more remarkable objects."

After the completion of this laborious task, the wanderings of Mr. Rhind were renewed; but however his antiquarian tastes may have been gratified, his health underwent little or no improvement. Having visited Teneriffe, he wished once more to return to it; but this was for the purpose of investigating the relics of the Guanches, its early population before the Spanish conquest of the island 400 years ago, who presented, as he thought, some interesting resemblances to the primeval races of Europe. He revisited Egypt in 1862, where he spent the winter in tracing the operations of the Nile for 1000 miles, for the purpose of adding a preface to his work on Thebes, which he meant to have for its title, *The Nile Valley in relation to Chronology*. But the failure of health obliged him to abandon his intention and return to Europe, where he took up his residence first at La Majolica, on the Lake of Como, and afterwards at Zürich. And here his journeys and studies were to terminate, as he was found dead in his bed on the morning of the 3d of July, 1863, having passed away so tranquilly, that even his head had not moved on the pillow. His body was brought from Zürich, and interred in the family burying-ground in the parish churchyard of Wick. Such was the end of Alexander Henry Rhind, before he had attained the age of thirty. His will attested his love of the science to which his whole life had been devoted. To the Scottish Antiquarian Society he bequeathed his library, consisting of 1600 volumes, more or less connected with antiquarianism, and some of them of great rarity and value. He left to the society the sum of £400, "to be expended on practical archaeological excavations in the north-eastern portions of Scotland, where the remains are mostly unknown to the general student, and, from ethnographical reasons, are likely to afford important information." He also bestowed upon it the copyright of his work, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*; and after providing for the foundation and endowment of an institution at Wick for the industrial training of young women from certain parishes in Caithness, the foundation of two scholarships in the university of Edinburgh, and many other bequests of a private character, he left the residue of his estate of Sibster for the endowment of a professor or lecturer on archaeology in connection with the Antiquarian Society of Scotland. This bequest, which would ultimately realize a sum of about £7000, was to be available for the purpose when the life-rent of the occupant of Sibster had expired.

RICHARDSON, SIR JOHN, M.D. This distinguished naturalist was born at Dumfries in 1787.

His father, Gabriel Richardson, Esq., of Rosebank, was a magistrate of the county, and provost of the town of Dumfries. After an education at the grammar-school of his native town, John Richardson, at the age of fourteen, was sent to the university of Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies chiefly with a view to the medical profession; and in 1807 he entered the royal navy as an assistant-surgeon. In this capacity he served at the siege of Copenhagen, and afterwards on the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and before he had attained the age of twenty-one he was promoted to the rank of acting-surgeon of the *Hercules*, 74 guns, in reward of his bravery and coolness displayed in a night-attack by boats on a French brig in the Tagus. It was a distinguished rise for one so young in years, but it was succeeded by the dull monotonous duty of cruising and protecting in the Baltic, on the West African coast, and at Quebec, until the American war of 1813 and 1814, in which he served as surgeon to a battalion of marines. With this last expedition his services in naval warfare terminated. In 1816 he took his degree of M.D. at the university of Edinburgh; and two years after, he married his first wife, a daughter of William Stiven, Esq., of Leith.

Although thus settled ashore, and married, Dr. Richardson was not to enjoy the peaceful easy life of a physician. He had resumed his studies, and his progress in these was accompanied with an ardent desire to enter the field of scientific enterprise and discovery. Accordingly, when Captain Franklin was about to set out on his expedition to the Arctic seas, Richardson volunteered his services, which were gladly accepted, and he accompanied the first overland expedition in 1819 as surgeon and naturalist. This dangerous enterprise was for the purpose of tracing the coast-line of the North American continent, at that time imperfectly known, and to achieve it the party were obliged to travel 5550 miles over ground as yet mostly unexplored. The privations, the trials, and dangers they underwent during their route were terrible, constituting a very martyrdom in the cause of scientific discovery; but the adventurers persevered in their course, and their devotedness was crowned by large acquisitions which were made to our knowledge of these concealed regions, both as to their physical geography and natural productions. The expedition was not completed until the year 1822, and in the following year Captain Franklin published his account of it, under the title of *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, in 1819 to 1822. This work had an appendix of "Geognostical Observations, Remarks on the Aurora Borealis, Notices of Fishes, and a Botanical Appendix, by Dr. Richardson;" and in the introduction Franklin wrote the following honourable attestation of the services of his talented assistant:—"To Dr. Richardson in particular the exclusive merit is due of whatever collections and observations have been made in the department of natural history; and I am indebted to him in no small degree for his friendly advice and assistance in the preparation of the present narrative."

The love of locomotion, especially if attended with the excitement of danger, is apt to become a passion, and to settle into a habit—and hence it is that sailors and travellers are so apt to return to their chosen occupation with the ardour of a first love. Notwithstanding the hardships and perils through which they had passed, Franklin and Richardson were to be no exceptions to this general rule, so that in 1825 a second expedition was undertaken by the pair to the shores of the Arctic Sea, the former in his capacity of commander, and the latter as medi-

cal officer and naturalist. Having reached Great Bear Lake in safety, they passed the winter of 1825–26 at Fort Franklin, which they had constructed for the purpose. When the season became fit for travelling, they descended the Mackenzie River, and having arrived at the spot where it separates into two main branches, the expedition was divided into two detachments, the one headed by Franklin and the other by Richardson. Captain Franklin's division with two boats descended the western branch of the river, while Dr. Richardson and his party, also in two boats, descended the eastern branch. The latter, after tracing the coast eastwards to the mouth of the Coppermine River, then ascended in their boats eleven miles to Bloody Fall, where the river ceases to be navigable; and there leaving their boats, they proceeded along the banks of the Coppermine on foot, and across the country, until they joined Captain Franklin, who had returned to Fort Franklin on Great Bear Lake, after he had traced the shores of the Arctic Sea from the Mackenzie River westwards to nearly 149° W. long. Having thus effected all that could be achieved by their second expedition, the pair returned to London, where they arrived on the 29th of September, 1827; and in the following year their discoveries were published as a "*Narrative of the Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827, by John Franklin, Captain, R.N., F.R.S., &c., and Commander of the Expedition; including an Account of the Progress of a Detachment to the Eastward by John Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., Surgeon and Naturalist to the Expedition. Illustrated with numerous Plates and Maps," 4to. Richardson's part of the narrative gives a full detail of his overland journey of 1980 miles, which occupied him seventy-one days. But a more important result of his expedition was the appearance of his "*Fauna Boreali-Americana; or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America*: containing Descriptions of the Objects of Natural History collected on the late Northern Land Expeditions under the command of Sir John Franklin; by John Richardson, M.D.; F.R.S., &c., assisted by William Swainson, Esq., F.R.S., &c., and the Rev. William Kirby, M.A., F.R.S., &c.," 4to. The first part of this truly magnificent work was published in 1829; part 2, comprising "the Birds," by Swainson and Richardson, appeared in 1831; part 3, "the Fishes," by Richardson, in 1836; and part 4, "the Insects," in 1837.

Dr. Richardson's first wife having died in 1831, he married in 1833 the only daughter of John Booth, Esq., of Stickney. In 1838 he was appointed physician to the fleet, and in 1840 an inspector of hospitals. In 1846 he received the honour of knighthood. His second wife having died in the previous year, he in 1847 married his third wife, who was the youngest daughter of Archibald Fletcher, Esq., of Edinburgh. After a career so useful and so honourably acknowledged both by government and the public, Sir John, it might be thought, would have devoted the rest of his life to the tranquil enjoyments of his home, and the prosecution of those studies in which he had already won such distinction. On his appointment of physician to the fleet he had gone to reside at the Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar, near Gosport; and there he not only was active in the discharge of his professional duties, but in the establishment of an asylum for lunatic sailors, which he effected against much opposition; and he had the satisfaction of daily witnessing from his own windows the success of his plan of treatment, in the comfort and conduct of his patients. He was also carrying on his scientific observations, and imparting them to society in

his valuable publications, besides establishing the museum of Haslar, which owed its existence to his zeal and energy. But from all this the united calls of duty and affection called him away, to undertake, at the age of sixty-one, a third Arctic expedition, to ascertain the fate of his beloved friend and commander of former years, Sir John Franklin. That intrepid navigator and traveller, still as ardent in old age as in his youth for geographical discovery, had left England in 1845 in search of the north-west passage; but the expedition never returned; and as time passed onward, the public feeling became more intense either to aid the enterprising travellers, or at least to ascertain their fate. Three distinct expeditions of search were instituted by the British government for the purpose: one to Lancaster Sound under Sir James Clarke Ross; a second down Mackenzie River, under Sir John Richardson; and a third to Behring's Straits, under Captain Kellett. Thus Sir John in his old days was again gratuitously to brave those dangers between the Mackenzie and the Coppermine Rivers, which he had confronted with such difficulty in the strength of his matured manhood. So widely spread was the enthusiasm for such a generous enterprise, that persons the most unlikely were desirous to share in it. "I was almost daily," says Richardson, "receiving letters from officers of various ranks in the army and navy, and from civilians of different stations in life, expressing an ardent desire for employment in the expedition. It may interest the reader to know that among the applicants there were two clergymen, one justice-of-peace for a Welsh county, several country gentlemen, and some scientific foreigners, all evidently imbued with a generous love of enterprise, and a humane desire to be the means of carrying relief to a large body of their fellow-creatures."

The chief object of the expedition under Sir John Richardson was to search the coast between the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers, and the shores of Victoria Land and Wollaston Land lying opposite to Cape Krusenstern. With him was associated Mr. John Rae, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, a bold explorer, and possessed of those qualities best fitted for such an enterprise, having lived fifteen years in Prince Rupert's Land. They left Liverpool by a steamer on the 25th of March, 1848, and on the 18th of the following month they had reached Montreal. Having crossed the Canadian lakes in steamers, they afterwards travelled with canoes along the northern series of lakes and rivers to the Great Slave Lake. Boats and all necessary stores having been provided for the expedition, they commenced the descent of the Mackenzie River on the 24th of July, and on the 6th of August reached the sea. After tracing and examining the shores as far as Cape Krusenstern, they proceeded to Cape Kendall, but were prevented by the ice from reaching the mouth of the Coppermine River. They therefore were obliged to leave their boats, and proceed overland on foot, till they reached Fort Confidence, on Dease River, where they passed the winter of 1848-9, log-houses having been constructed for their use. On the return of summer in 1849, Mr. Rae made a bold attempt to reach Wollaston Land by sea, as a search in that quarter was included in the purposes of the expedition, while only one boat remained sea-worthy for such service. But although the attempt was gallantly made and skilfully conducted, it was baffled by the ice and stormy weather, which compelled the adventurers to return. And thus after dangers surmounted and hardships endured, the mere narrative of which makes the home-keeping reader shudder at his fireside, and

look around him to be assured of his safety, the generous purpose of the expedition had proved a failure, as no traces of the lost ones could be ascertained. The dreary residence of Richardson and his party at Fort Confidence, in which they had passed the winter, gives a strange picture of their comforts when their condition was at the best. "Our winter dwelling, though dignified, according to custom, by the title of 'the fort,' had no defensive works whatever, not even the stockade which usually surrounds a trading-post. It was a simple log-house, built of trunks of trees laid over one another, and morticed into the upright posts of the corners, door-ways, and windows. The roof had considerable slope: it was formed of slender trees laid closely side by side, resting at the top on a ridge-pole, and covered with loam to the depth of six or eight inches. A man standing on the outside could touch the eaves with his hand. Well-tempered loam or clay was beat into the spaces left in the walls by the roundness of the logs, both on the outside and inside, and as this cracked in drying, it was repeatedly coated over, for the space of two months, with a thin mixture of clay and water, until the walls became nearly impervious to the air. The rooms were floored and ceiled with deal. Massive structures of boulder-stones and loam formed the chimney-stacks, and the capacious fire-places required three or four armfuls of fire-wood, cut into billets three feet long, to fill them. The building was forty feet long by fourteen wide, having a dining-hall in the centre measuring sixteen by fourteen, and the remaining space divided into a store-room and three sleeping apartments. A kitchen was added to the back of the house, and a small porch to the front. Mr. Rae's room and mine had glazed windows, glass for the purpose having been brought up from York factory. The other windows were closed with deer-skin parchment, which admitted a subdued light. Two houses for the men stood on the east, and a storehouse on the west, the whole forming three sides of a square, which opened to the south. The tallest and straightest tree that could be discovered within a circuit of three miles was brought in, and being properly dressed, was planted in the square, for a flag-post; and near it a small observatory was built, for holding magnetic instruments." Such was the *fort* in which they gallantly held out against the siege and blockade of an Arctic winter. It was well that their necessary occupations left them no time to be idle; and every day each man had his allotted task of house repairing, carpentering, wood-cutting, hunting, fishing, &c., which kept them in a healthy excitement of constant occupation. "From this sketch," adds Sir John, "of our occupations it will be seen that our time was filled up, and that we had no leisure for ennui in the long winter. In fact, we enjoyed as much comfort as we could reasonably expect, and had our postal arrangements succeeded as well as the others, we should have had little more to desire. Our schemes for sending and receiving letters were, however, failures, and productive of much subsequent disappointment."¹

On the 7th of May, 1849, Sir John Richardson left his winter-quarters of Fort Confidence, and returning by the former route he and his party reached the Great Bear Lake, and afterwards the Great Slave Lake. Having safely arrived in Canada, Sir John left Montreal in October, and landed at Liverpool on the 6th of November. On returning home his resting time must have been very brief, as in 1851 he published an account of the expedition in

¹ Richardson's *Arctic Searching Expedition*, &c.

two volumes, with the following title: "*Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under command of Sir John Franklin.*" With an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America. By Sir John Richardson, C.B., F.R.S., Inspector of Naval Hospitals and Fleets, &c. &c." This work is one of the most interesting of the records of travel, not only on account of the journal of his route and the scientific matter with which it abounds, but the lively sketches of the Indians and Esquimaux by whom these strange regions are inhabited, and the pictorial illustrations, maps, &c., with which the narrative is accompanied.

The rest of Richardson's biography, although largely abounding in action and interest, must be briefly told. After returning from his third Arctic exploration, he once more took up his abode at Haslar, where he resided from 1849 to 1855, when he retired from the service in which he had been occupied for nearly half a century; but during the ten years of his life which followed he actively discharged the duties of a magistrate, officiated frequently as a chairman at public meetings, carried through the press several volumes of his revised scientific works, especially those connected with ichthyology, and visited Rome and Naples. Finally, he died at Lancrigg, near Grasmere, on the 5th of June, 1865, after an honourable, active, and useful life of seventy-eight years. His personal and private virtues were those of truthfulness, charity, devotedness to the welfare of others, and a spirit of chivalrous friendship, which the expedition in search of Sir John Franklin so well attested. Besides his publications which have been already mentioned, he contributed to the natural history of the following voyages:—

The "Mammalia," to the Zoology of *Captain Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, in H.M.S. Blossom*, 4to, 1839. The "Fishes," to the Zoology of the "*Voyage of H.M.S. Erebus and Terror*, under the Command of Sir James Clarke Ross, during the Years 1839 and 1843," 4to, 1845. The "Fishes," to the Zoology of the "*Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang*, under the Command of Captain Sir Edward Belcher, during the Years 1843-1846," 4to, 1848. "Fossil Mammals," to the Zoology of the "*Voyage of H.M.S. Herald*, under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett, R.N., C.B., during the Years 1845-51," 4to, 1852. "Notes on the Natural History," to the "*Last of the Arctic Voyages*, being a Narrative of the Expedition of H.M.S. *Assistance*, under the command of Captain Sir Edward Belcher, C.B., in Search of Sir John Franklin, during the Years 1852-1854." 2 vols. 8vo, 1855.

RICHARDSON, WILLIAM, an elegant miscellaneous writer, and professor of humanity in the university of Glasgow, was born, October 1, 1743, at Aberfoyle, of which parish his father, James Richardson, was minister. After a course of Latin and Greek under the parish schoolmaster, he was placed in his fourteenth year at the university of Glasgow, where he pursued his studies under Professors Muirhead and Moor, and distinguished himself by his extraordinary diligence and capacity. Even at this early period of his life he was noted for the composition of verses, which, if not of any high positive merit, were at least thought to display an uncommon degree of taste for so boyish a writer. He thus recommended himself to the friendship of the professors, and at the same time formed an intimacy with Messrs Foulis, the eminent printers, whose notice he is said to have first attracted by the eagerness with which he bade, at one of their sales, for a

copy of *Marcus Antoninus*. When he had finished the usual course of languages and philosophy, and had taken the degree of Master of Arts, he began the study of theology, with the intention of becoming a clergyman. He had attended nearly three sessions, when the design was laid aside, in consequence of his being appointed tutor to the sons of Lord Cathcart, then about to go to Eton. At the latter place he spent two years, after which he accompanied his pupils, with their father Lord Cathcart, to St. Petersburg, whither his lordship was sent as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. He remained in the Russian capital from 1768 till 1772, during which time he acted also as secretary to Lord Cathcart. In the latter year he returned with his only surviving pupil to the university of Glasgow, and before the commencement of the ensuing session, by the interest of Lord Cathcart, who was lord-rector of the college, was chosen to succeed Professor Muirhead in the chair of humanity, the duties of which he performed without any intermission till his death in 1814.

The remaining history of Mr. Richardson is the history of his works. His first publication was a small volume, entitled *Poems, chiefly Rural*, which appeared in 1774; the next was his *Philosophical Analysis and Illustration of some of Shakspeare's Remarkable Characters*, which appeared early in the succeeding year. The latter volume, containing analyses of the characters of Macbeth, Hamlet, Jacques, and Imogen, was followed up in 1784 by a sequel, containing essays on the characters of Richard III., King Lear, and Timon of Athens; and some time after by a third volume, adverting to Sir John Falstaff, and containing various other critical speculations upon the writings of Shakspeare. The whole were united in one volume in 1797, and have been frequently reprinted. The other chief works of Professor Richardson are:—*Anecdotes of the Russian Empire; The Indians, a Tragedy; The Maid of Lochlin, a Lyrical Drama, with other Poems; The Philanthrope*, a periodical essayist which appeared in London in 1797. He also contributed to Gilbert Stuart's *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, and to the *Mirror and Lounger*. He wrote the life of Professor Arthur prefixed to that gentleman's works, and an *Essay on Celtic Superstitions* appended to the Rev. Dr. Graham's inquiry into the authenticity of the poems of Ossian. An *Essay on Figurative Language*, and other works, were left at his death in manuscript.

The genius of Professor Richardson was more elegant than strong; he was rather fitted to produce a tasteful dissertation or an ingenious inquiry, than a work of nervous and original character. Hence his works are now put aside in a great measure by those of succeeding writers. In his professional character he enjoyed a high degree of reputation, and in private life his character was singularly amiable. He shone in conversation, at a time when conversation was more an art than it now is. From his earliest years to the period of his death, he cherished the best principles of religion and morality.

After a short but severe illness, he died on the 3d of November, 1814, in the seventy-second year of his age.

RITCHIE, LEITCH. This talented writer of several popular works was born in Greenock at or near the close of the last century, but the particular date we are unable to ascertain. Being designed for business, he was apprenticed in a banking-office in his native town; but when the time of his apprenticeship had expired, and while he was yet a mere youth,

he visited London, furnished with several letters of recommendation, and having been there thrown into the society of literary persons, his original love of literature and ambition to distinguish himself in authorship revived. After a considerable stay in London he was recalled to Scotland by his father, upon which he performed the journey on foot, spending two months on the way, and making a visit to the lakes of Cumberland. At his return the mercantile interest of his family obtained for him a situation in the counting-house of a firm in Glasgow that carried on an extensive West India and North American trade; and here he also joined several friends in commencing a periodical called the *Wanderer*. It was as well that he had thus prepared a second string to his bow, for his employers became bankrupt, in consequence of which he again set off for London, and commenced authorship there as a contributor to several of the periodicals; and besides these occasional attempts, he published a volume of tales entitled *Head-pieces and Tail-pieces*.

After these literary attempts Mr. Ritchie visited Ireland, but his health having become impaired, he abandoned all thoughts of business, and resolved to stick to the profession of authorship. On returning to London he therefore threw himself with his whole heart into literary occupation, and contributed several articles to the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, the *Westminster Review*, and several other periodicals; he also published a volume under the title of *Tales and Confessions*, and another called *London Night Entertainments*. The *London Weekly Review*, in which he was chiefly employed, having passed into other hands, he and the editor, Mr. J. A. St. John, resolved to devote themselves to works of literature and fiction in relation to continental countries and their history, with which view the pair with their families took up their residence in Normandy; and it was here that Ritchie wrote the *Game of Life* and the *Romance of French History*. This last-mentioned work was so greatly superior to his previous productions, as to introduce him at once to the notice of the literary world, so that occupation flowed in upon him abundantly; and in addition to his other engagements, he, in connection with Mr. William Kennedy, author of *Fifteen Fancies*, started a periodical named by Coleridge the *Englishman's Magazine*; but in these numerous attempts Mr. Ritchie had overtasked his strength so greatly as to produce an attack of severe illness, so that the magazine was discontinued. His next engagement was to write two series of books of travels illustrative of the views in Turner's *Annual Tour* and Heath's *Picturesque Annual*, and in consequence of this commission he made an extensive tour on the Continent from Venice to Moscow. The result was a work of twelve volumes, to which he supplied the letter-press, and as he had an observant eye for scenery and a just appreciation of its beauties, he described the scenes he had visited for the purpose of illustrating the above-mentioned pictorial works, not only with remarkable accuracy but eloquent descriptive power.

After this series of annual volumes was finished, Mr. Leitch Ritchie published an illustrated *Pedestrian Tour of the Wye*, diligently filling up the intervals of his time with many papers contributed to the *Athenæum*; and turning once more to fictitious writing, he produced the *Magician*, and *Schinderhannes, or the Robber of the Rhine*. These were tales of considerable note in their day, although the strong ever-flowing tide of novel-writing has nearly borne them to oblivion, with many still more distinguished productions of the same period. He also edited the *Library of Romance*, published by Messrs. Smith

& Elder. The demand for annuals, to which Mr. Ritchie had so abundantly ministered, having lasted its day, he next became editor of the *Era*, a London weekly newspaper, and subsequently established and edited the *Indian News*; and on the latter becoming a remunerative undertaking, the copyright of it was presented to him by the proprietors. While engaged in this work, he published in connection with it the *British World in the East; Guide to India*, a work in two volumes. The copyright of the *Indian News* he disposed of in consequence of the publishers of the *Asiatic Journal* having brought out a periodical called the *Indian Mail*. From this brief sketch of Mr. Ritchie's literary labours it will be seen that although not originally trained to a life of authorship, he possessed an industry and perseverance which only belong to a chosen few in literature. During this period of his career he had written more than thirty original volumes, besides editing and partly writing about fifty more, and had contributed extensively to the principal periodicals of the day. To a discursive fancy he added correct perceptions and a sound judgment; and to all his multifarious occupations in literature he brought those methodical habits which he had acquired in business, so that he was enabled to encounter an amount of work at which ordinary authorship would have quailed. His study was a counting-house, in which regularity and method prevailed, and where everything was done at the right time and in the proper way.

The latter portion of Mr. Leitch Ritchie's life was spent chiefly in Scotland, in consequence of having accepted an engagement from the Messrs. Chambers to be editor of their well-known *Journal*; and in this office he continued several years, occasionally assisting his employers also in several of their publications. His last production was a tale of considerable interest entitled "Wearyfoot Common," which appeared in portions in *Chambers' Journal*. At length exhausted with years and still more by intellectual labour, Mr. Ritchie retired to London and died in 1865.

ROBERTS, DAVID, R.A. This excellent painter of landscape and architectural subjects was one of those many "self-made" men whom it is so peculiarly the distinction of Scotland to produce. He was born at Stockbridge, near Edinburgh, October 24th, 1796. His father was a shoemaker in Church Lane; his mother was a native of St. Andrews. From her influence, it may be presumed, David's original tendency to art was directed so strongly towards ecclesiastical architecture; for she often spoke to him of the ancient buildings of her native town, and described its magnificent ruins. Even when a boy Roberts displayed his prevailing bias, by visiting every old castle and ruined chapel round Edinburgh, and making sketches of such as struck his fancy. Perceiving the bent of his genius, and hopeful of its development, Graham, the director of the Trustees' Academy, advised that David should commence with house-painting, and at the same time pursue the study of drawing. Accordingly, at the early age of ten years, the boy was apprenticed to Gavin Beugo, a house-painter, who had formerly been a painter of heraldry. It was fortunate for him that he had several fellow-prentices who, like himself, loved drawing and painting, and who afterwards became respectable artists. Their mode of study at this time was sufficiently aspiring. Resolved to have a life-studio of their own, they hired a cellar in Mary King's Close, one of the many ravines branching from the High Street, Edinburgh; and having clubbed

together a few shillings, they purchased a donkey to serve them as their live model, each member in turn supplying the animal with its daily provender of thistles, kail-blades, and other such appropriate fare. Such was the first studio of David Roberts.

Having served a seven years' apprenticeship with Beugo, who was a harsh and exacting master, Roberts commenced business on his own account, and was obliged to begin at the lowest round of the ladder by becoming in 1818 assistant scene-painter at the Pantheon, a second-rate theatre in Edinburgh. On the following year he mounted a step, by becoming principal painter at the Theatre Royal, Glasgow; and in 1820 and 1821 he held the same office at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. Even in this obscure position his merits had reached the ears of Elliston, at that time lessee of Drury Lane, and before the close of 1821 Roberts was engaged by that celebrated manager for a term of three years. He accordingly went to the metropolis, and in painting scenery for the theatre of Drury Lane he had for his fellow-worker Clarkson Stanfield, afterwards the celebrated landscape painter, with whom he formed a friendship that continued through life. Under two such artists dramatic scene-painting attained the very highest excellence; and the gorgeous views upon the stage of Drury Lane could draw full houses whatever might be the dullness of the play or indifference of the acting. Both of these great artists also were influenced by the nature of their occupation, so that in their after productions the result of their practice in scene-painting was visible in the telling effects of light and shadow, and the dramatic character of the figures they frequently introduced into their paintings. Roberts also, like his associate Stanfield, had an ambition that sought something higher than the applause of mere play-goers, and in 1826 and the following year he exhibited in the gallery of the Royal Academy a view of Rouen Cathedral, and a picture of the cathedral of Amiens. These paintings showed the bent of his genius, and he began to be regarded as one of the most promising painters of architectural subjects.

Having thus effectually opened for himself a new and higher path, Mr. Roberts abandoned scene-painting, and went abroad in search of congenial objects for his pencil. These he found abundantly in Spain, the land of ancient chivalry and romance; and as the results of his sojourn there he produced pictures which were highly esteemed, while a folio volume of tinted lithographs from these Spanish sketches extended his reputation widely among that portion of the public who had no access to the originals. From 1835-1838 inclusive, he furnished the drawings for the illustrations of four successive volumes of Jennings' *Landscape Annual*. These consist of views in Granada, Andalusia, Biscay, and the Castiles, together with several in Morocco; and the engravings from them are generally of the choicest description. About this time he also made the drawings for the original edition of Sir Bulwer Lytton's *Pilgrims of the Rhine*. In the meantime Roberts made a judicious use of the professional reputation he was thus acquiring. At the outset of his public career he, like many other young painters, joined the Society of British Artists, of which he subsequently became vice-president; but when the celebrity of his *Spanish Pictures and Sketches* made it evident that he could gain admission into the ranks of the Royal Academy, he resigned his connection with the British Artist Society. His prospects were fully realized, as he was elected A.R.A. in 1839, and an academican in 1841, an unusually short period intervening between his two elections.

Having achieved such successful results from his Spanish travels, Mr. Roberts resolved to attempt a new and still more interesting field, for which purpose he made a protracted visit to Syria and Egypt. His patient endurance of a long sojourn in such a climate, and his artistic industry, which seemed never to remit or grow weary, were crowned with their merited success: a mass of drawings and sketches were produced, so numerous, so varied, and so finished, as no single artist has produced under such trying circumstances of country and climate; and the lithographic facsimiles of these productions compose that rich pictorial work in four volumes folio, entitled *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumæa, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia*. This work was not only fortunate in its artist but its lithographer, and Mr. Haghe and assistants, by whom the drawings were placed on the stone, left nothing undone which the most fastidious could desire. In consequence of this combination, as well as the grandeur and importance of the scenes delineated, the four massive volumes acquired immense popularity in England and over the Continent, where they are acknowledged as holding one of the foremost places among all such artistic productions.

After his election as member of the Royal Academy, the paintings of Roberts for successive years adorned the walls of its annual exhibitions, and found ready purchasers at high prices, while their number and their merit as works of art attested his rare genius and unflagging industry. They were chiefly subjects connected with his eastern tour, but the principal of these we can only afford space to indicate by their names. In the exhibition of 1840 appeared "The Outer Court of the Temple at Edfou in Upper Egypt;" "Statues of the Vocal Mennon, on the Plain of Thebes;" and "the Greek Church of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem," during the resort of the pilgrims at Easter. In 1841 was "The Temple of Denderah;" and "Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives." In 1842, "Thebes, looking across the Great Hall;" "Petra;" and "Interior of the Church of St. Miguel, Xeres, Spain." In 1843, "Gateway of the Great Temple at Baalbec;" "Ruins on the Island of Philæ;" and "Entrance to the Crypt, Roslin Chapel." In 1844, "Pyramids of Ghizeh;" and "Chapel in Church of St. Jean, at Caen, Normandy." In 1845 he exhibited two pictures of large size and ambitious character, that struck by the grandeur of their style: these were "Ruins of the Great Temple of Karnak, looking towards the Lybian Hills—sunset;" and "Jerusalem from the South-east—the Mount of Olives." Passing over his productions of the two following years, we come to 1848, when he exhibited "Chancel of the Collegiate Church of St. Paul, Antwerp," which has now become the property of the nation; and after that period Roberts chiefly devoted his pencil to the interiors of ecclesiastical buildings, and the picturesque features of public worship in the churches and cathedrals of the Continent. In 1849 appeared his large and widely known painting of "The Destruction of Jerusalem," which has since been copied in the largest chromo-lithograph yet published. In 1850-51 his chief contributions were the interiors of Belgian churches; and from 1852 to 1854 these were exchanged for the architecture of Vienna, Verona, and Venice. In 1853 also he painted, by command of her majesty Queen Victoria, his picture of "The Inauguration of the Exhibition of All Nations;" and in 1855 his noble and striking "Rome," one of his best productions, in which the "Niobe of Nations" is represented in the stern sombre glow of a setting sun. In 1856 were ex-

hibited his more varied and popular productions: "Christmas-day in St. Peter's at Rome;" "St. Peter's—looking back upon Rome;" "Venice—approach to the Grand Canal;" "Italy—a composition;" and "Monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice." In 1857, "Interior of the Duomo at Milan;" "The Piazza Novana at Rome;" and the "Interior of the Church of St. Gommaire at Lierre, in Brabant." After Venice and Rome had supplied their subjects, the mind of Roberts, as if weary of its long career of foreign travel, reverted to home-scenes, and he seemed content to find within and around London subjects worthy of his delineation. He was engaged by an eminent picture-dealer to furnish a series of metropolitan views, and of these some appeared at the exhibitions of the Royal Academy, while others were sketched out and in progress at the time of his death. That closing event was sudden and unexpected. While walking in Berners Street on the afternoon of Friday, the 25th of November, 1864, he fell down in a fit of apoplexy. To those who went to his assistance he could only utter the words, "Fitzroy Street" (the place of his residence), and never spoke afterwards. He died at seven o'clock in the evening of the same day.

The private character of David Roberts was in many respects a contrast to his manner and appearance. A dry exterior covered an affectionate genial heart, and while he painted with such fire and rapidity, his conversation was slow, inanimate, and sparing. Such peculiarities could easily be forgiven by those who knew his kindly disposition, and how eloquent he was with his pencil. He delighted in private acts of benevolence, especially to old friends in reduced circumstances, and often his bounty was conveyed to them under the strictest injunctions of secrecy. While thus liberal, however, his early life had also taught him the value of economy; his business dealings were conducted with most mercantile exactness, and he died more wealthy than the generality of successful artists. Although so short a period of his life had been spent in Scotland, his love of country had never decayed, and scarcely a year elapsed, while he was in England, without his paying a visit to Edinburgh, to renew old friendships and his love of old localities. Edinburgh also appreciated her distinguished son, and in 1858 the freedom of the city was conferred upon him; while in the evening of the same day himself and his old friend Stanfield were entertained at a banquet given by the Royal Scottish Academy. It only remains to be added, that, according to his own request, the remains of David Roberts were buried in a private unostentatious manner in the Norwood Cemetery.

In affectionately describing him as "a kindly canny Scot, well-to-do, amazingly clever in his own sphere of art, and liked by all who knew him," the *Times* thus specifies his qualities as an artist:—"He was certainly the best architectural painter that our country has yet produced. In this department of art, indeed, he stands almost alone among us, the artist who comes next to him being Samuel Prout, the water-colour painter, who died in 1852. Probably the chief reason why he stands so nearly alone is, that the artist who has an eye for the picturesque in architecture naturally becomes an architect, and will not be content to make pictures of architecture. Mr. Roberts had a wonderfully quick eye for all striking effects of architecture, and transferred them to his canvas with great ease. Nothing can be more effective than his views of cathedral interiors lit up with the magnificent pageants of Roman Catholic religion. He gave a grand broad effect, a truthful general result, and did not much trouble himself with minute-

ness of workmanship. In this respect one is apt now and then while looking at his pictures to remember the scene-painter; but, in point of fact, minuteness of work would be misplaced in an architectural painting, and there if anywhere the artist may be allowed to generalize. In this broad style of treatment Mr. David Roberts was particularly happy, and he could be very prolific. He painted quickly, and he painted much. . . . Apart from the interest which attaches to him as an artist, and which is to be measured by the amount of his actual achievement, there is another interest which belongs to his career, and which is to be measured by the amount of difficulties he had to overcome. He who began as a humble house-painter, and ended as a royal academician, has not a little to boast of. He too belongs to that proud phalanx of men whose biographies touch most keenly all young ambition—the self-made men who from small beginnings have fought their way upwards to fame, to wealth, and to station."

ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER, of Strowan, a distinguished Highland chief and poet, was the second son of the preceding laird of Strowan, who bore the same name, by Marion, daughter of General Baillie of Letham, and was born about the year 1670. He was educated, with the design of his becoming a clergyman, under John Menzies, regent in the university of St. Andrews, who aided the influence of hereditary associations in inspiring him with a zealous attachment to the persons and principles of the Stuarts. His father died in 1688, after having enjoined upon him, with his latest breath, that he should never forget the loyal example of his ancestors; and as his elder brother only survived his father a few months, he fell into the family inheritance at a very early age, immediately before the Revolution. When Dundee raised the clans in the ensuing year on behalf of the exiled King James, young Strowan joined him with his men, but does not appear to have been present at the battle of Killiecrankie. He was taken prisoner in September, and put under honourable confinement at Perth; but was soon after liberated, in exchange for the laird of Pollock.

Being now attainted and deprived of his estate, he joined the court of the expatriated monarch at St. Germain, where he lived for several years, chiefly supported by remittances from his friends in Scotland. He also served one or two campaigns in the French army. In 1703, Queen Anne having promised him a remission of his attainder and forfeiture, he returned to Scotland; and though, from some unexplained cause, the remission never passed the seals, he does not appear to have found any difficulty in obtaining possession of his estates, or any danger to his person in a residence within the seas of Britain. Unwarned by the misfortunes which had flowed from his first military enterprise, he joined the Earl of Mar in 1715, with between 400 and 500 men, and took a very active part in the whole enterprise. He seized the castle of Weem, belonging to a Whig gentleman, Menzies of Weem; was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he was taken prisoner but rescued; and with great reluctance yielded to the order for the dispersion of his clan, which was issued to him, in common with the other chiefs, at the departure of the unfortunate Chevalier and his generalissimo from the country. Strowan was soon after taken prisoner in the Highlands, but making his escape from a party of soldiers who were escorting him to Edinburgh Castle, again proceeded to France, to spend another period of poverty and

exile. Long ere this time he had gained the esteem of his party both at home and abroad by his poetical effusions, which were chiefly of the class of political pasquils, and also by his pleasing and facetious manners. Having received an excellent education, and seen much of the world, he exhibits in his writings no trace of the rudeness which prevailed in his native land. He shows nothing of even that kind of homeliness which then existed in Lowland Scotland. His language is pure English; and his ideas, though abundantly licentious in some instances, bear a general resemblance to those of the Drydens, the Roscommons, and the Priors of the southern part of the island. Ker of Kersland, who saw him at Rotterdam in 1716, speaks of him "as a considerable man among the Highlanders, a man of excellent sense, and every way a complete gentleman." He seems to have also been held in great esteem by both James II. and his unfortunate son, whom he had served in succession. By the intercessions of his sister with the reigning sovereign, he was permitted to return home in 1720, and in 1731 had his attainder reversed. The estates had in the meantime been restored to the sister in liferent, and to his own heirs male in fee, but passing over himself. He nevertheless entered upon possession; and hence, in 1745, was able a third time to lend his territorial and hereditary influence to the aid of a Stuart. He met Prince Charles on his way through Perthshire; and on being presented, said, "Sir, I devoted my youth to the service of your grandfather, and my manhood to that of your father; and now I am come to devote my old age to your royal highness." Charles, well acquainted with his history, folded the old man in his arms, and wept. The ancient chief was unable, on this occasion, to take a personal concern in the enterprise, and as his clan was led by other gentlemen, he escaped the vengeance of the government. He died in peace at his house of Carie, in Rannoch, April 18, 1749, in the eighty-first year of his age.

A volume of poems by Strowan was subsequently published surreptitiously, by means of a menial servant, who had possessed himself of his papers. It contains many pieces characterized by the licentious levity which then prevailed in the discourse of gentlemen, and only designed by their author as another kind of conversation with his friends. While he is chargeable, then, in common with his contemporaries, with having given expression to impure ideas, he stands clear of the fault of having disseminated them by means of the press.

ROBERTSON, JOSEPH, LL.D. This distinguished leader in the march of Scottish antiquarianism, by whose labours so much light has been thrown upon the early history of our country, was born at Aberdeen in 1810. His parents, however, were settled in the parish of Leochel Cushnie, in Aberdeenshire, where his father, who was a small farmer, died while Joseph was still in childhood. His mother, however, on whom devolved a double duty by the death of her partner, had both capacity and means to attend to the education of her son, and was rewarded by living long enough to witness the result of her cares, and rejoice in his literary distinction. His education as a school-boy was at Udney, where he had for his teacher Mr. Bisset, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Bisset, minister of Bourtree, and one of the moderators of the Church of Scotland. But although he enjoyed the benefit of such learned tuition, Joseph Robertson as a schoolboy was not distinguished either by remarkable diligence or great classical attainments. His *forte* rather lay in feats

of activity and daring, in which he acquired such renown at the school of Udney that his name was only second among the two heroes with which the traditions of the school-boys were associated. The one was James Outram, who had attended the school a few years previous, and who afterwards became the mighty tiger-hunter, statesman, general, and "Bayard of India." The other was the subject of this memoir, who also afterwards won distinction, but in a more peaceful and less distinguished sphere. After the usual education of a school-boy, Joseph Robertson became a student of Marischal College; and through life he always spoke warmly of the advantages enjoyed by his countrymen in having the means of a university education within the reach of all who sought it. At college he put away boyish things, and soon acquired among the students the character of a painstaking and accomplished scholar. Happily, also, he became a proficient in Latin, an acquirement more necessary for the antiquary than even for the physician or the lawyer. How, indeed, could the mysteries of the dark or the mediæval periods be deciphered without a complete knowledge of the language in which they are inscribed?

After leaving Marischal College, Joseph Robertson was apprenticed to a writer in Aberdeen, but it was soon evident that his inclinations did not tend towards the study of the law; and so early as 1831 he was detected in the unprofessional practice of writing articles which appeared in the *Aberdeen Magazine*. In 1835 he published a drolling production entitled *A Guide to Deeside*, under the name of "John Brown," a well-known car-driver of the period. About a year afterwards he showed his antiquarian bent by publishing a *History of Bon-Accord*, the old name of his native city; a work which, besides being a guide-book to Aberdeen, abounded in archaeological, historical, anecdotal interest—such a work as Mr. Murray has often projected, and sometimes accomplished. This publication, however, notwithstanding its merits, is now little read or remembered. Something more serious than this was necessary for one who depended on his own industry, and had chosen authorship for his profession, and antiquarianism for its department; and in 1839 he published a volume of selections from some of the least-known authors, under the title of *Delicia Literaria*. In the same year, in connection with a few gentlemen of the county, he founded the Spalding Club publications, a series by which the antiquarian history of our country has been so greatly benefited, and into this enterprise, so congenial to his tastes and so new in a county town, he threw himself with ardour. As editor of the Spalding Club, his chief contributions consisted of many volumes of charters arranged parochially; a work suggested, and in part paid, by that distinguished statesman the Earl of Aberdeen, and forming the nearest approach we possess to the valuable county histories of England. Besides these he edited the *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, the favourite soldier of Peter the Great of Russia, which he has illustrated with valuable historical annotations—and in conjunction with his friend Dr. Grub of Aberdeen, *Gordon of Rothiemay's History of Scottish Affairs*. Such was the care and ability with which Mr. Robertson edited these publications, that his aid was eagerly sought by the Maitland Club, and readily accorded.

But let him labour as he might, he soon discovered that literature was not a remunerative profession in Aberdeen; and he passed to Edinburgh, for the purpose of finding occupation there in connection with his antiquarian studies. But being disappointed he

returned to Aberdeen, and began to contribute to the *Aberdeen Observer*, a Conservative journal afterwards merged in the *Aberdeen Constitutional*, of which Mr. Robertson was editor for about a year. He then went to Glasgow, where he undertook the editorship of the *Glasgow Constitutional*, also a Conservative newspaper. Thus he continued until 1849, when the editorship of the *Courant* Edinburgh newspaper, which had been in commission for two years, was conferred upon Mr. Robertson, who was selected from a numerous list of candidates. During the interregnum the *Courant* had been losing in its popularity, but on his assuming the editorship the case was altered, and a new life was imparted to the newspaper. "The *Courant*," thus declares a contemporary journal, "under Mr. Robertson's management became a great deal more pronounced in its opinions, Mr. Robertson being an Episcopalian rather of the High-church school, and a great friend of Mr. Forbes of Brechin. Many of his articles were very vigorous, and those which he wrote on the question of double-sheriffships attracted a good deal of attention at the time. Mr. Robertson was in favour of having only one sheriff, and making him resident, and advocated his opinion with much force, indulging occasionally, at the same time, in philippics against the late lord-advocate." Still, however, he was not in his right place and occupation. It was to antiquarianism, not politics, that he was devoted; the great national questions of the middle ages, rather than the civic brawls of the nineteenth century; and he felt greater interest in the progress of Malcolm Canmore, or the exploits of the early Stuarts, than the passing of a turnpike-road bill or discussions of an Edinburgh town-council. The labour also of conducting a thrice-a-week newspaper was telling upon his health as well as hindering him in his more congenial studies. At length the desirable change occurred which transferred him into his proper sphere of action. In 1853 he was appointed superintendent of searches in the Register House, Edinburgh. No one was thought so well fitted to take charge of the valuable national muniments that were stored within its walls; and the appointment was made by the government of Lord Aberdeen, his lordship having already known Mr. Robertson's fitness by his literary labours in the Spalding Club publications. It was also owing to the liberality of the then lord-advocate, Moncrieff, of whom he had been a sharp antagonist during his late political journalism. The lord-advocate believed Mr. Robertson to have been the author (although erroneously) of a particularly stinging article against himself, and to this he smilingly alluded when he handed to him the appointment. It is well that hard words break no bones; but it is better still when they break no friendships, and produce no breach in the mutual esteem of generous enemies.

Thus Mr. Robertson found himself in the right place at last. His labours were transferred to that noble hall of historical records which perhaps has no equal in Britain, and he renounced for it the editorship of the *Courant*, although the salary of the latter was considerably larger. As superintendent of searches his salary at first was only £200 a year; but as his services became better appreciated, it was raised to £300, and during his last year of office to £600. The Register House was now not only his home but his world, and vast and varied though its stores were, they were not too great or too complicated for his large antiquarian knowledge, his genius, his patience, and industry. "Mr. Robertson," writes one of the journals of the day, "had attained a wonderful facility—we would not say in

deciphering, for effort in it there was none—in reading old manuscripts, and he was often able to leap upon truths which other antiquaries were with slow effort endeavouring to reach. He had a surprising power of penetration, and with that decision of character which specially marked him, he always hit the point of inquiry at once. He had a love of his labours which was thoroughly chivalrous. He altogether scorned the inglorious ease of the sinecurist, and his only desire was that his useful, earnest, and active life should be spent and ended, as it had been, in harness. The office which he filled was in a great measure created for him, and we gravely doubt whether it will ever be again filled with so much vigour and success." Not only also were the tasks of his office directly, but indirectly, abundant. Having under his especial care the great repertory of our national history, and being supposed to be fully cognizant of its contents, he naturally became the referee of every inquirer into our ancient records. Of these persons his reception was kind and courteous; to them his communications were always ready, and often invaluable; and much light has been thrown upon various departments of our annals which was derived from such applications.

It was not, however, merely as a *cicerone* of the Register House that Mr. Robertson was to perform the duties of his office. He was now in charge of the archives of his country, and desirous that these should be known to the world, he proceeded to classify and arrange the more important of them for the purpose of publication. The first result of his preparations was the publication of an *Inventory of Queen Mary's Jewels and Furniture*, as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, to which he prefixed a historical dissertation remarkable for its erudition and research; and it is mainly perhaps upon the ground he has thus cleared that the long-continued controversy of Mary's innocence or guilt must be waged over again. His next undertaking was still more toilsome and important: it was a collection and digest of the councils and canons of the Scotch church—a difficult and laborious work, which was only finished at his death, and published under the title of *Statuta Ecclesie Scoticonæ*. In conjunction with Sir William Gibson-Craig, when he came to the Register House as lord-register, Mr. Robertson organized and worked out that system of record publications which promises to throw such light upon the more obscure periods of Scottish history. Of the less important literary achievements with which he occupied his leisure time, we might refer to many elaborate antiquarian articles written for the *Quarterly Review* and the *British Archaeological Journal*—his investigations among the cranogues or lake-houses of ancient Europe, so much the wonder and study of our modern antiquaries—and his services to the Scottish Antiquarian Society, of which he was one of the vice-presidents. Mr. Robertson had now acquired such a European reputation in his own department, that in April, 1864, the university of Edinburgh conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.; and on introducing him on this occasion to the vice-chancellor, Professor Cosmo Innes, after stating his various literary performances, thus summed up his claims to academical honours: "But more than all these Mr. Robertson's fame will rest permanently on two books on which he has been recently engaged. In one, he has with curious felicity made a collection of inventories of the jewels and personal property of Queen Mary, which tell—truly and pathetically tell—the story of that passionate and most unhappy life. Another undertaking, of which we watch the completion anxiously, is an

authoritative collection of the canons and councils of the ancient Scottish church—a work of immense importance for history, and which, with some means of knowledge, I predict will repay the expectation of the lawyer and the historian. The appointment of Mr. Robertson to his office in the Record Office has begun a new era in our literature. The Scotch scholar will no longer be reproached for ignorance of records. The difficulties of reference—the puzzles of old-hand and cramp Latin—disappear with such a guide as Mr. Robertson.”

While he was thus esteemed and honoured by society not only for his talents and learning, but his genial disposition and personal worth, a long period of exertion still seemed to stretch before him—and this vista he had filled with those anticipated literary achievements by which all that he had already done should be surpassed. Among these he had contemplated a series of lives of the eminent divines of the seventeenth century who figured in the Scottish Episcopal church—the bishops William, John, and Patrick Forbes, Lindsay, Maxwell, Barron, and the “Aberdeen doctors.” But the darkness of night descended upon this bright noon, and his work was abruptly closed. His eldest surviving son, a youth of great promise, lost his life owing to a railway accident; and this calamity inflicted such a shock to the paternal feeling of Joseph Robertson, that he never recovered from the blow. Only two months after, his own death occurred at his residence, Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh, on the 13th December, 1866, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, the historian of Scotland and Charles V., was born in the manse of the parish of Borthwick, Mid-Lothian, in the year 1721. His father, also named William, was at first minister of that parish, and finally of the Old Grayfriars’ Church, Edinburgh; his mother was Eleanor Pitcairne, daughter of David Pitcairne, Esq., of Dreg-horn. By his father he was descended from the Robertsons of Gladney, in the county of Fife, a branch of the ancient house of Strowan. Dr. Robertson received the first rudiments of his education at the school of Dalkeith, under the tuition of Mr. Leslie, then a celebrated teacher. In 1733 he removed with his father’s family to Edinburgh, and towards the end of that year commenced his course of academical study. From this period till 1759, when he published his Scottish history, there occurred nothing beyond the natural progress of events in the life of a young man devoted to the Scottish church as a profession. During this long space of time he was silently pursuing his studies, and labouring in retirement and obscurity on that work which was afterwards to bring both fame and fortune to his humble door. Yet though he thus permitted so large a portion of his life to pass without making any effort to distinguish himself, it was not because he was not desirous of an honourable distinction amongst men; but because he had wisely determined to do something worthy of a lasting reputation, and to do it deliberately, to secure, in short, a firm footing before he stretched out his hand to seize the golden fruit of popular applause. That he was early imbued with literary ambition, and that of the most ardent kind, is, notwithstanding the long obscurity to which he was content to submit, sufficiently evident from the motto which he was in the habit of prefixing to his commonplace books, while only in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age. The motto was, *Vita sine literis mors est*; a sentiment which adhered to him through life.

Having completed his studies at the university,

he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Dalkeith in 1741, and in 1743 he was presented to the living of Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, by the Earl of Hopetoun. This appointment came opportunely; for soon after he obtained it, his father and mother died within a few hours of each other, leaving a family of six daughters and a younger brother almost wholly dependent upon him for support. He instantly invited his father’s family to his humble residence at Gladsmuir, where, we are credibly informed, his professional income hardly exceeded £60 a year. Nor did his benevolence stop here. He undertook the education of his sisters, and on their account delayed a matrimonial union which he had long desired, but which he did not carry into effect until he saw them all respectably settled in the world. This accomplished, he, in 1751, married his cousin, Miss Mary Nisbet, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Nisbet, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. Previously to this, a remarkable instance of the enthusiasm of his disposition, and of the warmth of his patriotic feelings, occurred. When the capital of Scotland was threatened by the Highland army in 1745, Dr. Robertson hastened into the city, and joined the ranks of the volunteers, who had been called up for its defence; and when it was resolved to surrender the town without resistance, he was one of a small band who proceeded to Haddington, where General Cope then lay, and made offer of their services to that commander. The general, fortunately for Dr. Robertson and his party, declined to admit them into his disciplined ranks, alleging that their want of that essential qualification might throw his men into disorder; and they thus escaped the dangers and disgrace which afterwards befell his army at Prestonpans. This rebuff terminated the historian’s experience of military life. He returned to the discharge of the sacred duties of his calling, and to the peaceful enjoyment of his literary pursuits. In his parish he was exceedingly beloved. The amenity of his manners, the purity and uprightness of his conduct, had secured him the esteem and veneration of all; while the eloquence and elegant taste which he displayed in his sermons procured him a high degree of respect from the neighbouring clergy. These qualifications as a preacher he had been at much pains to acquire, and he had early aimed at introducing a more refined taste and a more persuasive eloquence into pulpit oratory, than were then generally to be found. With this view he had, during the last two or three years of his attendance in college, maintained a connection with a society whose objects were to cultivate the arts of elocution, and to acquire the habit of extemporary debate. Dr. Robertson himself had the principal share in forming this society, and he was fortunate in the selection of its members, the greater part of them having afterwards arrived at distinction in their different walks of life.

The first of Dr. Robertson’s publications was a sermon which he preached in the year 1755 before the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.

This sermon possesses a singular degree of merit, and exhibits all the felicities of composition and strength of reasoning for which his after productions are so remarkable. That he himself had a favourable opinion of this sermon appears from a letter written by him to his son-in-law, Mr. John Russell, on June 16, 1788, along with which he had sent him, “as a monument of his friendship and attachment,” a very handsomely bound copy of his works, as “I wish you to possess them in their most perfect form, as I purpose they should be transmitted to

posterity;" and he adds, "my solitary sermon, naked as it came into the world, accompanies its well-dressed brothers, but though the least of my works, I would not have you esteem it the last in merit."

A few years afterwards he made his appearance in the debates of the General Assembly, where his eloquence acquired for him the ascendancy which he long maintained as a leader in the church courts. It is remarkable that one of the first uses he made of his influence in the General Assembly, was to defend his co-presbyter Home from the censures of the church for his having written the tragedy of *Douglas*. Dr. Robertson could, indeed, scarcely have done less, after having himself taken part in the rehearsal of the piece in common with Blair and Carlyle, as has already been narrated in our memoir of HOME. He exerted himself warmly in behalf of his peccant brother; and it is allowed that his arguments and eloquence had a great effect in softening the vengeance of the General Assembly. As the play-going portion of the public sympathized but little in the feelings of the clergy on this subject, and felt besides a strong prejudice in favour of Mr. Home, these efforts of Dr. Robertson were exceedingly grateful to that party, amongst whom his defence had the effect of acquiring for him an extensive popularity.

In the meantime his *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Mary and James VI.*, which, in the midst of all his other avocations, he had been noiselessly but assiduously bringing forward, approached a close, and he was about to commit to the caprice of popular taste and opinion the labours and the hope of years. On the final completion of that work he proceeded to London to make arrangements regarding its publication; and in February, 1759, it appeared. The effect which it produced was instantaneous and extraordinary. Letters of congratulation, of admiration, and of praise, poured in upon its author from all quarters, and many of them from the most eminent men of the time, all outvying each other in the language of panegyric and compliment. Nor was it praise alone that attended his literary success; the work cleared to its author no less a sum than £600; preferment also immediately followed, and changed at once the whole complexion of his fortunes. While his work was going through the press he had received a presentation to one of the churches of Edinburgh, to which he removed with his family; and in the same year in which the work was published he was appointed chaplain of Stirling Castle; in two years afterwards he was nominated one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary for Scotland; in the following year he was elected principal of the university of Edinburgh; and in two years more appointed by the king as historiographer for Scotland, with a salary of £200 a year. From being an obscure country clergyman he was now become one of the most conspicuous men in the kingdom. His society and correspondence were courted by the noble and the wealthy, and his self-love was flattered by encomiums and eulogiums from the dignified and learned.¹

¹ His friend Dr. Carlyle thus sarcastically remarks the rush of honours with which his merits were rewarded, in a letter to the Rev. Thomas Hepburn (author of a curious and clever *jeu d'esprit*, entitled *Mago-Pico*), dated Musselburgh, Sept. 5, 1763:—"Robertson has managed with great address. He is principal, chaplain, minister, historiographer, and historian; that is to say, he has £50 a-year and a house certain, besides what he can make by his books. It was taken for granted that he was to resign his charge on being appointed historiographer with £200 salary; but that he will do at his leisure. It is also supposed by his patrons that he is to write the history of Britain in ten volumes quarto. This also, I presume (dreadful task!), he will execute at his leisure.

Some of his advisers, in the warmth of their zeal, thinking that the Scottish church was too limited a field for a man of his talents, proposed to him to seek in the English church for rewards befitting his high merits. Into this proposal, however, Dr. Robertson did not enter, but continued to abide by both the country and the religion of his fathers; a line of conduct consistent with the purity and dignity of his character.

The success of his *History of Scotland* now urged him on to further efforts, and he lost no time in looking out for another subject to work upon. After some deliberation, and carefully weighing the merits of several, he at length fixed upon a *History of the Reign of Charles V.* This work, which appeared in 1769, in three volumes quarto, still further increased the reputation of its author,² and was received with equally flattering marks of approbation as his Scottish history. Hume, his contemporary and intimate friend, and who, superior to the low jealousy which would have seized upon a mean mind on witnessing the success of a rival historian, had always been among the first to come forward and acknowledge his merits, thus speaks of the work as it passed through his hands in sheets direct from the printing-office: "They even excel, and I think in a sensible degree, your *History of Scotland*. I propose to myself great pleasure in being the only man in England, during some months, who will be in the situation of doing you justice; after which you may certainly expect that my voice will be drowned in that of the public." Mr. Hume was not mistaken in this anticipation. Congratulatory and complimentary letters again flowed in upon the historian from all quarters, and his fame not only spread rapidly wherever the language in which he wrote was understood, but by a felicitous translation of his *Charles V.*, by M. Suard, he became equally well known throughout all France.

Previously to his undertaking the *Life of Charles V.*, Dr. Robertson had been urgently entreated by his friends, and had even the wishes of the monarch conveyed to him on the subject, to undertake a history of England. This, though promised the support of government while he should be engaged in the work, he declined from motives of delicacy towards his friend Mr. Hume, who was already employed on a history of that kingdom. He was afterwards, however, prevailed upon to entertain the idea, from the consideration that his work would not appear for many years after Mr. Hume's, and that it would necessarily be so different as to have an entirely separate and distinct claim on public favour, without any encroachment on the portion due to the merits of Mr. Hume. The work, however, was never undertaken, nor is it now known what were the causes which prevented it. His biographer, Mr. Dugald Stewart, conjectures that the resignation of Lord Bute, who had always been a

"Honest David Home [Hume], with the heart of all others that rejoices most at the prosperity of his friends, was certainly a little hurt with this last honour conferred on Robertson. A lucky accident has given him relief. The Earl of Hertford is appointed ambassador to France; not very capable himself, they have loaded him with an insignificant secretary, one Charles Bunbury, who, for the sake of pleasure, more than the thousand a year, solicited for the office. Hertford knew David, and some good genius prompted to ask him to go along and manage the business. It is an honourable character—he will see his friends in France; if he tires he can return when he pleases. Bunbury will probably tire first, and then David will become secretary!"—Thorpe's *Catalogue of Autographs*, 1833.

² In consequence of the great success of his *History of Scotland*, Dr. Robertson received for *Charles V.* from the booksellers no less than £4500, then supposed to be the largest sum ever paid for the copyright of a single book.

warm and steady friend of Dr. Robertson, might have contributed to alter his views with regard to the writing a history of England; but he acknowledges his inability to discover any certain or positive reason for the interruption of its execution.

Eight years after the publication of *Charles V.* (1777) Dr. Robertson produced the *History of America*, a work which fully maintained the author's high reputation, and procured him a repetition of all those gratifying marks of both public and private approbation which had attended his former works. One of these was his election as an honorary member by the Royal Academy of History in Madrid. This learned body at the same time appointed one of its members to translate the work into Spanish, and a considerable progress was made in the translation when the jealousy of the Spanish government interfered to prevent it from proceeding any further.

The reputation of Dr. Robertson, however, did not rest alone upon his writings. His powerful and persuasive eloquence had gained him an influence in the General Assembly, which intimately and conspicuously associated his name with the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. He introduced and established a system of subordination throughout the various gradations of ecclesiastical judicatories, which had not been before exerted, and the neglect of which had given rise to many unbecoming scenes in the settling of ministers—scenes deemed at once highly derogatory to the dignity of the supreme court, and subversive of all order in the church government of the kingdom.

Of his eloquence, a part of his fame, as his biographer remarks, which must soon rest on tradition only, the latter thus speaks: "I shall not be accused of exaggeration when I say, that in *some* of the most essential qualifications of a speaker, he was entitled to rank with the first names which have in our times adorned the British senate." This is high praise, but when it is recollected who he is that bestows it, there is little reason to doubt its justice.

In his preface to his *History of America*, Dr. Robertson had mentioned his intention of resuming the subject; and it is known that, but for the colonial war which was now raging, he would have commenced a history of the British empire in that continent. Having abandoned this design, he looked out for some other subject worthy of his pen. Mr. Gibbon recommended to him a history of the Protestants in France, a subject which has since been illustrated by Dr. McCrie; and several other persons suggested the history of Great Britain from the Revolution to the accession of the house of Hanover. It appears from a letter to Dr. Waddilour, Dean of Ripon, dated July, 1778, that he had made up his mind to encounter the responsibilities of such a task: but he very early abandoned it, in consequence of a correspondence with his friend Mr. James Macpherson, who, three years before, had published a history of the same reigns, and whose feelings, he found, must be severely injured by his attempting a rival work. As he was now approaching his sixtieth year, it is probable that he was by no means eager to commence a new subject of study. His circumstances, too, were independent; he had acquired fame sufficient to gratify his most ambitious hopes: and thus were removed two of the greatest incentives to literary exertion. His constitution, besides, was considerably impaired by a long, sedentary, and studious life; and he probably conceived that, after having devoted so large a portion of his existence to the instruction and entertainment of others, he had a right to appropriate what remained to himself.

In the year 1780 he retired from the business of

the ecclesiastical court of which he had been so long an ornament, but still continued to discharge the duties of his pastoral office, and that with a diligence always exemplary, which increased rather than diminished with his growing infirmities. As long as his health permitted he preached every Sunday, and continued to do so occasionally till within a few months of his death. In regard to his style of preaching, his nephew, Lord Brougham, in his life of the principal, contained in his *Lives of Men of Letters and Science who Flourished in the Time of George III.*, gives a very interesting account of it from his own personal knowledge; and in particular of a sermon which he heard Dr. Robertson preach on November 5, 1788, the celebration of the centenary of the Revolution.

Notwithstanding his resolution to write no more for the public, the principal was accidentally led to the composition of another work. In perusing Major Rennel's *Memoirs of a Map of Hindostan*, he began to inquire into the knowledge which the ancients had of that country, solely for his own amusement and information. His ideas, as he himself remarks, gradually extended, and became more interesting, till he at length imagined that the result of his researches might prove amusing and instructive to others. In this way he was led to publish his "*Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*, and the Progress of Trade with that Country prior to the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope," which appeared in 1791 in quarto. He had in the meanwhile enjoyed several years of good health and honoured leisure, dividing the time which he could spare from his clerical duties between the amusement of reading and the enjoyment of the society of his friends. Immediately, however, on the termination of the above self-imposed labour, his health became materially affected. Strong symptoms of jaundice showed themselves, and laid the foundation of a lingering and fatal illness. At an early stage of this disease, he was impressed with the belief that his death was not far distant; but, like his great contemporary Hume, he contemplated its approach, not only without terror, but with cheerfulness and complacency. In the latter part of his illness he was removed to Grange House, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in the vain hope that he might be benefited by the free air of the country. He was still, however, able to enjoy the beauties of the rural scenery around him, and that with all the relish of his better days. Early in June, 1793, his increasing weakness confined him to his couch; his articulation began to fail, and on the 11th he died, in the seventy-first year of his age.

Dr. Robertson's talents were not precocious. The early part of his career was wholly undistinguished by any remarkable pre-eminence over his contemporaries; but his mind, though silently and unobtrusively, was yet gradually advancing towards that high intellectual station in which it first attracted the attention of the world. He did not, with that ill-judged precipitancy by which authors have often seriously suffered in their reputation and fortunes, come unfledged before the world. As already remarked, he wisely refrained from stepping into the arena of literary competition until he was completely accoutred for the contest, and the success he met with was one result of this prudence and forethought.

The friendship which subsisted between Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume is, perhaps, next to the genius of these great men, the circumstance connected with them most deserving of our admiration. Though both struggling forward in the same path of historical composition, there were not only no mean

jealousies in the race, but each might be seen in turn helping forward the other, and a more interesting sight than this cannot readily be conceived. The letters of Mr. Hume to Dr. Robertson are full of amiable feeling, and of that light, cheerful railery, in which the historian of England so much delighted to indulge, and which contrasted so pleasingly with the gravity and dignity of his writings. "Next week," he says, in one of these letters, "I am published, and then I expect a constant comparison will be made between Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume. I shall tell you in a few weeks which of these heroes is likely to prevail. Meanwhile, I can inform both of them for their comforts, that their combat is not likely to make half so much noise as that between Broughton and the one-eyed coachman."

Dr. Robertson in person was rather above the middle size, with an apparently ordinary degree of physical strength. His eye was intelligent, and his features regular and manly. "He appeared," says his biographer, "to greatest advantage in his complete clerical dress, and was more remarkable for gravity and dignity in discharging the functions of his public stations, than for ease or grace in private society." His moral character was unimpeachable. His manners were mild and conciliating, and all his dispositions amiable. "He was," says Dr. Erskine, "temperate, without austerity; condescending and affable, without meanness; and in expense, neither sordid nor prodigal. He could feel an injury, yet bridle his passion; was grave, not sullen; steady, not obstinate; friendly, not officious; prudent and cautious, not timid."

He left behind him three sons and two daughters. The eldest son adopted the profession of the law, and passed through its highest honours. His two younger sons entered the army. His elder daughter was married to Mr. Brydone, author of the *Tour in Sicily and Malta*; the youngest, to John Russell, Esq., clerk to the signet. His two younger sons rose to high rank in the army, and the elder of the two especially distinguished himself in India under Lord Cornwallis.¹

In the year 1781 Dr. Robertson was elected one of the foreign members of the Academy of Sciences at Padua, and in 1783 one of the foreign members of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. The Empress Catherine was so much delighted with his works, that she presented him, through Dr. Rogerson, with a handsome gold enamelled snuff-box, richly set with diamonds. He was the founder of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and exerted himself with his usual zeal, not only in forming the plan of that institution, but in carrying it on after it was established.

ROBISON, DR. JOHN, an eminent mechanical philosopher, and professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, was the son of John Robison, a merchant in Glasgow, and was born there in the year 1739.² The first part of his education he received at the grammar-school of Glasgow, whence he entered as a student of the university of Glasgow so early as the year 1750, and took the degree of

Master of Arts in 1756. What progress he made in his early studies is not known, and in after-life he used to speak lightly of his early proficiency, and accuse himself of want of application. In the year following his graduation he made a proposal to be appointed assistant to Mr. Dick, professor of natural philosophy, in place of the son of that gentleman, who had just died; but was considered too young for the important duty. At that time his friends had wished him to study for the church; but preferring some employment in which his mechanical pursuits might be indulged, he turned his eyes towards London. Professor Dick and Dr. Simson sent along with him recommendations to Dr. Blair, prebendary of Westminster, who might have had influence to procure for him the situation of tutor in mathematics and navigation to the Duke of York, younger son of Frederick Prince of Wales, whom there was then some intention of educating for the navy. The plan was given up, and Robison received a severe disappointment, but the event served as his introduction to an excellent friend, Admiral Knowles, a gentleman whose son was to have attended the duke on his voyage. Young Mr. Knowles' nautical education was not to be given up with that of the duke; and his father, perceiving Robison's knowledge of mechanical philosophy, employed him to take charge of the instruction of his son while at sea. Mr. Robison sailed from Spithead in 1759 with the fleet which assisted the land forces in the taking of Quebec. His pupil was a midshipman in the admiral's ship, in which he was himself rated of the same rank. Two years of such active service as followed this expedition enabled Robison to make many observations, and collect a fund of practical knowledge, while he was sometimes usefully employed in making surveys. On his return on the 3d of August, he was a sufferer from the sea-scurvy, which had disabled the greater part of the crew. At this time Mr. Robison seems to have had a surfeit of a sailor's life, one which, however pleasing for a limited time, as serving to exemplify his favourite studies, possessed perhaps few charms as a profession to a man of studious habits. He intended to resume the discarded study of theology; but an invitation from Admiral Knowles to live with him in the country, and assist in his experiments, prevailed. "What these experiments were," says Mr. Robison's biographer, "is not mentioned; but they probably related to ship-building, a subject which the admiral had studied with great attention." He had not been thus situated many months when his young friend and pupil Lieutenant Knowles was appointed to the command of the *Peregrine* sloop of war of 20 guns, and probably from a passion for the sea recurring, after recovery from his disorder, and a residence in the country, Robison accompanied him. At this period his ambition seems to have been limited to the situation of purser to his friend's vessel. On his return from a voyage, during which he visited Lisbon before the traces of the great earthquake had been effaced, he again took up his residence with Admiral Knowles. By his patron he was soon afterwards recommended to Lord Anson, then first lord of the admiralty, who conceived him a fit person to take charge of the chronometer constructed, after many years of patient labour, by Mr. Harrison, on a trial voyage to the West Indies, in which its accuracy was to be tried, at the suggestion of the Board of Longitude. On the return, which was hastened by the dread of a Spanish invasion of St. Domingo, Mr. Robison suffered all the hardships of the most adventurous voyage, from the rudder being broken in a gale of wind, to the ship's catching fire, and being with diffi-

¹ It may further be mentioned, that his niece, Miss Eleanor Syme, the daughter of one of his sisters, was the mother of one of the greatest men of the passing age, Lord Brougham, who wrote the life of his uncle above alluded to; and that Mr. Brydone's eldest daughter having married the late Earl of Minto, their second daughter became the wife of Lord John (now Earl) Russell, the eminent constitutional statesman, whose name stands honourably associated with all the great political reforms of the present day.

² Memoir by Professor Playfair: *Trans. Royal Society, Edinburgh*, vii. 495.

culty extinguished. The result of the observation was satisfactory, the whole error from first setting sail, on a comparison with observations at Portsmouth, being only $1^{\circ} 53\frac{1}{2}''$, a difference which would produce very little effect in calculations of longitude for ordinary practical purposes. For the reward of his services Mr. Robison had made no stipulation, trusting to the consideration of government; but he was disappointed. Lord Anson was in his last illness, Admiral Knowles was disgusted with the admiralty and the ministry, and the personal applications which he was obliged to make, unaided by interest, were met with a cold silence which irritated his mind. It appears that at this period the reward he sought was the comparatively humble appointment of purser to a ship. In 1763 such a situation was offered to him by Lord Sandwich, then first lord of the admiralty, in a vessel of 40 guns, which it is probable that a dawning of brighter prospects prompted him, certainly not to the regret of his admirers, to decline. Notwithstanding his having been connected with a branch of society not generally esteemed propitious to clerical pursuits, he is said to have still felt a lingering regard for the church, and to have adhered to his friends in the navy, solely from the better chance of advancement, because, as his biographer with unquestionable truth observes, "it lay more in the way of the Board of Longitude to help one to promotion in the navy than in the church." He returned to Glasgow, and renewing an acquaintance long since commenced with Dr. Black, entered with ardour on the new views in chemistry connected with the existence of latent heat, which his eminent friend was beginning to divulge to the world. He at the same time commenced an intimacy with Mr. Watt, and was so far acquainted with his proceedings as to be able to certify the justice of his claim to those vast improvements in the steam-engine, which a singular accident had been the means of suggesting to his genius. At the recommendation of Dr. Black, Robison was appointed his successor in the chemical chair of Glasgow, which in 1766 he had relinquished for that of Edinburgh. After continuing four years in this situation, one of a novel and uncommon character presented itself for his acceptance. The Empress of Russia had made a request to the government of Britain, for the service of some able and experienced naval officers to superintend the reformation of her marine. With more liberality than generally characterizes the intercourse of nations, the request was agreed to, and Mr. Robison's tried friend, Admiral Knowles, was appointed president of the Russian Board of Admiralty. It had been his intention to recommend Robison for the situation of official secretary to the board, but finding such an office incompatible with the constitution of the Russian board, he contrived to engage his services to the public in the capacity of his private secretary, and in the end of December, 1770, both proceeded overland to St. Petersburg. For a year after his arrival he assisted the admiral in forcing on the attention of the Russians such improvements in ship-building, rigging, and navigation, as their prejudices would allow them to be taught by foreigners, backed by the influence of government. Meanwhile he had sedulously studied the Russian language, and in the summer of 1772 the reputation of his accomplishments induced the offer of the vacant mathematical chair attached to the sea-cadet corps of nobles at Cronstadt. On his acceptance of the appointment, the salary attached to it was doubled, and he was raised to the rank of colonel, an elevation to which he could not step with proper Russian grace, without producing such documents as bore

the appearance of evidence to the nobility of his birth. Besides his duties as mathematical professor, he acted in the room of General Politika, who had retired, as inspector-general of the corps; a duty in which he had to inspect the conduct and labours of about forty teachers. He did not long remain in this situation.

In 1773, from the death of Dr. Russel, a vacancy occurred in the natural philosophy chair of Edinburgh, which the patrons, at the instigation of Principal Robertson, invited Mr. Robison to fill. On hearing of this invitation, prospects of a still more brilliant nature were held out to him by the empress: he hesitated for some time, but, being apart from such society as even the more enlightened parts of Russia afforded, he finally preferred the less brilliant but more pleasing offer from his native country, and in June, 1771, he set sail from Cronstadt to Leith. The empress, on his departure, requested that he would undertake the care of two or three of the cadets who were to be elected in succession, and promised him a pension of 400 rubles or £80 a year. The pension was paid for three years, and is supposed to have been discontinued because Robison had not communicated to the Russian government the progressive improvements in British marine education. In the winter of 1774 he commenced his lectures in Edinburgh. "The sciences of mechanics," says his biographer, "hydrodynamics, astronomy, and optics, together with electricity and magnetism, were the subjects which his lectures embraced. These were given with great fluency and precision of language, and with the introduction of a good deal of mathematical demonstration. His manner was grave and dignified. His views, always ingenious and comprehensive, were full of information, and never more interesting and instructive than when they touched upon the history of science. His lectures, however, were often complained of as difficult and hard to be followed; and this did not, in my opinion, arise from the depth of the mathematical demonstrations, as was sometimes said, but rather from the rapidity of his discourse, which was generally beyond the rate at which accurate reasoning can be easily followed. The singular facility of his own apprehension made him judge too favourably of the same power in others. To understand his lectures completely, was, on account of the rapidity and the uniform flow of his discourse, not a very easy task, even for men tolerably familiar with the subject. On this account his lectures were less popular than might have been expected from such a combination of rare talents as the author of them possessed." Mr. Robison had exerted himself with zeal in the revival of that association of philosophers which merged itself into the Royal Society of Edinburgh; and on its being incorporated by royal charter in 1783 he was appointed secretary; an office in which he signalized himself, by attention to the interests of the society. In March, 1786, he read to the society a paper entitled *Determination of the Orbit and Motion of the Georgium Sidus, directly from Observations*. In this paper, he is generally understood by scientific men to have with some haste drawn conclusions for which the limited time during which Herschel's newly discovered planet had been observed by philosophers, did not afford data. His next paper to the society, *On the Motion of Light, as affected by Refracting and Reflecting Substances, which are themselves in Motion*, was of more utility to science. In December, 1785, he began to be attacked by a chronic disease, which gradually undermined his health, but did not for some time interrupt his ordinary labours. Twelve volumes of the third and much

enlarged edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* had been published, when the editor turned his eyes on Mr. Robison, as a person likely to give it lustre from his scientific knowledge. He commenced his contributions with the article "Optics," in 1793, and contributed a variety of useful treatises, till the completion of the work in 1801. His biographer remarks, that "he was the first contributor who was professedly a man of science; and from that time the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ceased to be a mere compilation." The observation must be received with limitations in both its branches. To the *Supplement* he contributed the articles "Electricity" and "Magnetism." At the period while he was acquiring fame by his physical researches, he chose to stretch his studies into a branch of knowledge which he handled with scarcely so much effect. Along with many people, among whom we regret to find a philosopher, a panic that the whole "system," as it was termed, of society, was in progress of demolition by the French revolution, seized on his mind. He strayed from more accordant subjects to look for the causes of all the confusion, and had the merit of attracting some of the maddened attention of the period, by finding an untrodden path, which led him farther from the highway than any other speculator had ventured. In 1797 he published *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe*. This work is now forgotten; and it will serve for little more than amusement to know, that the crimes, so evidently prompted by forcibly carrying the usages and exclusions of a dark age, when the people respected them, into an age when they were not respected, were traced to the machinations of the illuminati and freemasons. Professor Robison had the merit of quoting authorities not much read, and in the inflamed feelings of the period the secrecy of the sources, instead of proving a *prima facie* objection to the probability that a tissue of open national outrages, prompted by passion, and unguided by prearranged motive, could be the consequence of what was so carefully concealed, or rather overlooked, served to inflame the spirit of mystery which other branches of literature were then fostering; and the book was rapidly sold to the extent of four editions, and was greedily read. In an age which has acquired the power of influencing masses of men by public opinions, secret tenets or intentions do not acquire numerous followers. That there were some grounds in opinion, and even in intention, for many of the statements of Mr. Robison, may be granted; but a few German enthusiasts, pleased with mysticism, were the only conspirators, and the appalling statements in the works which he used as authorities were from men still more given to credulity than the persons of whom they spoke were to mystery.

In 1799 Professor Robison was employed in the difficult task of preparing for the press the manuscript lectures and notes of Dr. Black, who had just died. "Dr. Black," says Robison's biographer, "had used to read his lectures from notes, and these often but very imperfect, and ranged in order by marks and signs only known to himself. The task of editing them was therefore difficult, and required a great deal both of time and labour; but was at last accomplished in a manner to give great satisfaction." Meanwhile, however, the discoveries of Dr. Black had produced many alterations in chemistry, and the science had assumed a new aspect. Among other things, the new nomenclature of Lavoisier had been almost universally received, and rendered any work which did not adopt it antiquated and comparatively useless. It was supposed that Robison, with some

labour, but without any injustice to the labours of his friend, might have adopted it; but he preferred the system in the original: a choice attributed by some to respect for the memory of his friend, and by others to prejudice. He sent a copy of his publication to the Emperor of Russia, and received in return a box set in diamonds, and a letter of thanks.

Professor Robison had long intended to digest his researches into a work, to be entitled "*Elements of Mechanical Philosophy*," being the Substance of a Course of Lectures on that Science." The first volume of this work, containing "Dynamics" and "Astronomy," he published in 1804; but he did not live to complete it. In the end of January, 1805, he yielded to the lingering disorder which had long oppressed his body, before it enervated his mind. His biographer gives the following account of his character:—"He possessed many accomplishments rarely to be met with in a scholar or a man of science. He had great skill and taste in music, and was a performer on several instruments. He was an excellent draughtsman, and could make his pencil a valuable instrument, either of record or invention. When a young man, he was gay, convivial, and facetious, and his *vers de société* flowed, I have been told, easily and with great effect. His appearance and manner were in a high degree favourable and imposing; his figure handsome, and his face expressive of talent, thought, gentleness, and good temper. When I had first the pleasure to become acquainted with him, the youthful turn of his countenance and manners was beginning to give place to the grave and serious cast which he early assumed; and certainly I have never met with any one whose appearance and conversation were more impressive than his were at that period. Indeed, his powers of conversation were very extraordinary, and, when exerted, never failed of producing a great effect. An extensive and accurate information of particular facts, and a facility of combining them into general and original views, were united in a degree of which I am persuaded there have been few examples. Accordingly, he would go over the most difficult subjects, and bring out the most profound remarks, with an ease and readiness which was quite singular. The depth of his observations seemed to cost him nothing: and when he said anything particularly striking, you never could discover any appearance of the self-satisfaction so common on such occasions. He was disposed to pass quite readily from one subject to another; the transition was a matter of course, and he had perfectly, and apparently without seeking after it, that light and easy turn of conversation, even on scientific and profound subjects, in which we of this island are charged by our neighbours with being so extremely deficient. The same facility, and the same general tone, were to be seen in his lectures and his writings. He composed with singular facility and correctness, but was sometimes, when he had leisure to be so, very fastidious about his own compositions. In the intercourse of his life he was benevolent, disinterested, and friendly, and of sincere and unaffected piety. In his interpretation of the conduct of others he was fair and liberal while his mind retained its natural tone, and had not yielded to the alarms of the French revolution, and to the bias which it produced."

Mr. Robison's various works, printed and unprinted, were, after his death, put into the hands of Professor Playfair; but that gentleman finding that he could not devote his time sufficiently to them, they were afterwards published, with notes, by Dr. Brewster, in four volumes octavo, 1822. This work consists of some manuscript papers on "Projectiles"

and "Corpuscular Action," and the papers which the author prepared for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, abridged of some of their digressions.

ROLLOCK, ROBERT, an early and zealous promoter of Scottish literature, was born in the year 1555. He was nearly related through his mother to the noble family of Livingston. Discovering an early aptitude for letters, he was sent by his father, Mr. David Rollock, to the grammar-school of Stirling, at that time taught by Mr. Thomas Buchanan, nephew to the author of the *History of Scotland*. Under the care of this teacher he continued till he was fit for entering the university, when he was sent to the college of St. Salvador, St. Andrews. By his docility, modesty, and sweetness of disposition, young Rollock had already engaged the affections of his preceptor, and laid the foundation of a friendship which continued till his death. The possession of these virtues also procured him, in a short time, the particular and favourable notice of the whole university. Having gone through the regular course of four years' study, which was at that time the prescribed period in all the Scottish colleges, and taken out his degree, he was immediately elected professor of philosophy, being then only in the twenty-third year of his age. Here he continued for four years, discharging the duties of his office with singular diligence, and with a success almost without example in Scottish colleges. It was at this time, and long after this, the practice in the Scottish universities for the same professor to conduct the studies of the same set of students through the whole course; and the remarkable progress of his pupils, with the public applause he received at their laureation, induced the magistrates of Edinburgh to fix upon Mr. Rollock as a fit person to open their university, for which they had obtained a charter from King James the previous year. This invitation Mr. Rollock was persuaded to accept, and in the beginning of winter 1583 he entered with all his accustomed zeal upon his laborious office, being the sole teacher, and in his own person comprising the character of principal and professors to the infant establishment. The fame, however, of so celebrated a teacher as Mr. Rollock opening a class for philosophy in the newly erected seminary, operated as a charm, and multitudes from all corners of the kingdom hastened to the capital to take the benefit of his prelections. Having no assistant, Mr. Rollock joined all his students at first into one class, which, from the want of preparation on the part of the students, rendered his labours at first of little utility. All the books used, all the lectures delivered, and the whole business of the class, was transacted in Latin, without some competent knowledge of which the student could not possibly make any progress. From a defective knowledge in this respect among the students, Mr. Rollock was soon under the necessity of dividing his class into two, with one of which he found it the most profitable mode of proceeding to begin them anew in the rudimental parts of humanity. At the recommendation of Mr. Rollock, however, the patrons of the college elected a young man of the name of Duncan Nairn a second master of the college, who undertook the charge of this first class in the month of November, 1583. Mr. Nairn, who was the second professor in the college of Edinburgh, taught his class Latin the first year, Greek the second, there being properly no humanity professor in the university till a number of years after this. The emoluments of office in the new university must have been very moderate, for the students paid no fees, and any funds which had yet been provided were altogether

trifling. The town-council, however, seem to have been careful of the comfort of the new professors, as they allowed Mr. Rollock, on the 17th of September, 1583, twenty pounds Scots for his expenses in coming from St. Andrews to Edinburgh at the commencement of his regency, and on the 25th of the succeeding month of October, thirty pounds Scots for his services. They also, in the month of November, ordered Robert Rollock, first regent, and Duncan Nairn, second, twenty pounds Scots each for boarding till Candlemas, and in the succeeding year a committee was appointed to confer with the former "anent taking up house." It no doubt required all the patronage the city of Edinburgh could bestow, and all the exertions of Rollock and his associate, to carry on the seminary successfully with so little means, and in an age of so much ignorance and poverty. Circumstances, too, were greatly against it. In the year 1585 the plague made its appearance in Edinburgh on the 4th day of May, and raged till the succeeding month of January, during which time the city was abandoned by all who had the means of leaving it. The university was thus wholly deserted at a time when the students were in the very middle of their course, a circumstance which, considering that it was but the third year of the establishment, must have been highly prejudicial to its interests. The professors, however, returned about the middle of January, and the students, by an order of council, were ordered to be in their places upon the 3d of February. In this same year the national covenant, or confession of faith, was introduced into the college, and tendered to every student. Mr. Rollock was also created principal, though he still continued to teach his class. His associate, Duncan Nairn, died the succeeding year, and the council having resolved to have three classes taught, Messrs. Adam Colt and Alexander Scrimger were elected in his place.

Mr. Rollock continued to teach his private class till the first laureation, which was public, and attended by all the nobility in town. The number graduated, and who of course signed the covenant, was forty-eight. As soon as this ceremony was concluded Mr. Rollock resigned his regency, retaining the principalship, to which was now annexed the professorship of theology, for which, and preaching regularly on the Sabbath, he was allowed four hundred merks yearly. It was the practice of Mr. Rollock to pray in public with the students every morning, and on one day of the week to explain to them some passage of Scripture, which he never failed to conclude with most pertinent and practical exhortations. With the more advanced students he was particularly careful that they might enter upon the work of the ministry, not only in some measure prepared for, but with a deep feeling of, its important duties. With all this diligence among his pupils he was a faithful and acceptable minister of the gospel. With literary ardour, however, almost boundless, and the warmest piety, Mr. Rollock's simplicity of character degenerated into, or rather originally possessed, a natural imbecility, not at all uncommon in minds of this description, which disqualified him from acting a consistent or a profitable part in the conduct of the public affairs of the church, which at this period were of paramount importance, involving at once the civil and the religious rights of the community. This facile disposition was at once seen and appreciated by King James, who, having now matured his plans for reducing the church to an entire dependence upon himself, was sedulously employed in carrying them into effect. For advancing this purpose he had procured a meeting of

the clergy at Perth in the month of February, 1597, which by threatenings, flatteries, and bribes, and by preventing some individuals from giving their opinion in the matter, he managed to have set down for a General Assembly, whose conclusions were to be considered as binding upon the whole church. Naturally endowed, however, with a more than ordinary share of cunning, he proceeded with the utmost caution. Disclaiming all intention of introducing anything like change in any part of either the worship, government, or discipline of the church, and professing the utmost reverence for religion and respect for its ministers, he submitted to this assembly only thirteen articles to be reasoned upon; all of them worded in a manner so gentle, and so ambiguous, as to conceal from all but acute and narrow observers their real spirit and true meaning; which was, in the first place, to lay open the present established order of the church to be called in question, though it was supposed to have been set at rest by the solemn oaths of his majesty, his council, his household, and by all who had any concern in the matter; secondly, to circumscribe the liberty of the pulpit, so that no warning might, through that medium, be given to the people of the designs of the king and his courtiers, when they should come to be discovered; and thirdly, that a commission of a few of the most prudent and orderly of the ministers should be appointed to confer with his majesty and council upon all these or other questions, as opportunity or necessity might call for, subject to the after consideration of a General Assembly, to be indicted only by his majesty, which was in the above articles not unequivocally claimed as one of the prerogatives of his crown. With all the diligence he exerted, however, he carried his purpose no very great length; some of his articles being answered doubtfully, some of them disallowed, and some of them not answered at all. Still greater diligence was therefore necessary to prepare matters for the assembly that was to meet at Dundee in the month of May the same year, where there was not only danger of gaining nothing further in his advances towards Episcopacy, but of all that had been gained in the last assembly being lost. Care was taken to prevent the regular meeting of the assembly which should have been held at St. Andrews in the month of April. Only a very few of the commissioners ventured to appear, who, along with the moderator, made humble confession of their sins, formed or constituted the assembly, and took protestations for the liberty of the kirk, continuing all summonses, references, and appellations to the assembly following. In the following month the assembly met at Dundee, but it was in the new fashion; the difference between which and those that had been held previously to that at Perth, of which we have spoken above, is thus stated by a writer of that period of the highest respectability. "1st. Christ by his spiritual office having convoked and appointed times and places before; now times and places are appointed by the king, claiming this as his only due. 2d. The moderator and brethren were directed by the word of God, and his Spirit; now and hereafter they are to be directed by the king, his laws, and state policy. 3d. Matters were before proposed simply, and the brethren sent to seek light out of the word by reasoning, conference, meditation, and prayer; now means are devised before in the king's cabinet to bring his purposes to pass, and heed is taken in public and private what may hinder his course. He that goeth his way is an honest man, a good peaceable minister; those that mean or reason in the contrary are seditious, troublesome, coffered, factious! 4th. In reasoning, the word

was alleged, the reason weighed, and if of weight yielded unto willingly; now the word is passed by, or posted over and shifted, and if the reason be insisted upon, the reasoner is borne down and put to silence. 5th. The fear of God, the care of the kirk, learning, the power of preaching, motion and force of prayer, and other gifts shining in those who were present, procured before estimation, reverence, and good order; now the person, presence, and regard to the prince's favour and purpose swayeth all. If any had a gift or measure of learning, utterance, zeal, or power in exhortation beyond others, it was employed at these assemblies; now plots are laid how none shall have place but such as serve for their purpose. 6th. The assemblies of old aimed at the standing of Christ's kingdom in holiness and freedom; now the aim is how the kirk and religion may be framed conform to the political state of a monarch, and to advance his supreme and absolute authority in all causes. In a word, where Christ ruled before, the court now beginneth to govern. The king's man may stand at the king's chair, use what countenance, gesture, or language he pleaseth, but good men must be taunted, checked," &c. Such, according to Calderwood, was the assembly held at Dundee, 1597. According to the same authority, "After exhortation made by the last moderator, the assembly was delayed, and the commissioners wearied till the coming of Mr. Robert Rollock, whom the king, and such as were to further his course, intended to have moderator. He was a godly man, but simple in the matters of the church government, credulous, easily led by counsel, and tutored in a manner by his old master Thomas Buchanan, who was now gained to the king's course. Many means were used to have him chosen, and the king and his followers prepared him for the purpose. Sir Patrick Murray (brother to the laird of Balvaire, the same who had been his majesty's agent for corrupting the assembly at Perth), and such ministers as were already won, travailed with others of chief note, and brought them to be acquaint with the king, which was their exercise morning and evening." Mr. Rollock having been appointed moderator, the assembly proceeded to pass several acts strongly tending to support the whole superstructure of Episcopacy. This was effected chiefly by a representation of his majesty "anent a solid order to be taken anent a constant and perpetual provision for the sustentation of the whole ministry within this realme, to the end that they be not, as in time bygone, forced to depend and await upon the commissioners appointed for modifying of their stipends, and so to absent themselves the most part of the year from their flocks, to the great disgrace of their calling, disheartening of the congregation, discontentment of his majesty, whose care ever hath been, and earnest desire continueth as yet, that every congregation have a special pastor, honestly sustained for the better awaiting upon his cure, and discharging his dutiful office in the same. Therefore, his majesty desired the brethren to consider whether it were expedient that a general commission should be granted to a certain number of the most wise and discreet of the brethren to convene with his majesty for effectuating of the premises. This, his majesty's advice, the assembly judged to be necessary and expedient, and therefore gave and granted their full power and commission to the brethren," &c. &c. These brethren, fourteen in number, seven of whom with his majesty were to be a quorum, were unhappily, with the exception of one or two that were named to save appearances, already captivated with the hopes, some of them with the express promise, of

preferment, and the assembly was scarcely risen when they began to display all the arrogance of a bench of bishops or a high commission court. In the month of June they convened at Falkland, called before them the presbytery of St. Andrews, upon a complaint by Mr. John Rutherford, who had been deposed from the ministry of Kinnocher by that presbytery, and reduced the sentence. The culprit had purchased the favour of the court by forging calumnies upon Mr. David Black, "who was a great eyesore," says Calderwood, "to negligent, loose, and unfaithful ministers, of which number this Mr. John Rutherford was one, but he lived in disgrace ever after, and was condemned by the bishops themselves, because he could serve them to no further use." Proceeding to St. Andrews they cast out Mr. Wallace and Mr. Black, who had but lately been restored; banishing the latter to Angus, whence they brought Mr. George Gladstones, soon after created a bishop, to fill his place.

While they thus broke down the hedge of the church, by thrusting out two of her most faithful ministers, and bringing in Mr. Gladstones without the consent of either presbytery or people, they also interfered with the laws of the university; obliging Andrew Melville to demit his rectorship, and forbidding all professors within the university, especially professors of divinity, to sit in the presbytery upon any matter of discipline. Robert Rollock, moderator of the last assembly, and consequently of the meetings of the commissioners with the king, betrayed, according to Calderwood, "great weakness, which many that loved him before construed to be simplicity." By the aid of Mr. Rollock and his friends the commissioners, however, his majesty was enabled to restore the Popish Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, with whose assistance he carried in parliament an act for ministers of the gospel to have a place and a vote in that assembly. This act declared, "that such pastors and ministers within the same, as at any time his majesty shall please to provide to the office, place, title, and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, shall at any time hereafter have vote in parliament seditious and as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had at any time bygone. It also declared that all or whatsoever bishoprics presently vaiking in his majesty's hands, which are yet undisposed to any person, or which shall happen at any time hereafter to vaik, shall be only disposed by his majesty to actual preachers and ministers in the kirk," &c.

Soon after this, Mr. Rollock was seized with an illness which confined him to his house, and finally terminated his existence. While on his death-bed he requested two friends, who called upon him, to go from him, as a dying man, to the king, and exhort him to cherish religion and the church, and to protect and comfort its pastors, and to proceed with these good works with an unflinching step till the last hour of life; and not allow himself to be drawn from it, either by the hope of enlarging his authority, or by the evil advices of wicked men. To the same persons he added, "You will remember that I was chosen by the assembly at Dundee to watch for the interest of this church. In this I had the glory of God and the safety of the church, miserably tossed with tempests and shaking, before mine eyes; and I can now declare that my conscience does not smite me with any wicked departure from duty, in doubling the number of the ministers of Edinburgh; and particularly, in my activity to bring in two (Messrs. Robertson & Stewart) who studied under me, when I thought I saw in them gifts suitable to such a trust, and hoped God would bless their

labours. I am so far from repenting any share I had in this, that to this hour it is satisfying to me. I am persuaded the wise Maker of the world has tied the church and state together with a brotherly and adamant chain; and it hath been my great care to advance the good of both: and yet the love of peace hath not so far bewitched me, that I could not distinguish between genuine and adulterous peace; neither hath my affection to my sovereign carried me that length, that to please him I should submit to the least stain on my conscience. I hope the integrity and candour of my conduct shall appear when I am dead. In a word, brethren, join together with the most intimate love and concord in the work of the Lord. Let me put you in mind to pay every obedience to the king. You live in happy times and enjoy a singular felicity. You are blessed with a prince who drank in religion with his milk; who hath guarded your doctrine with a right discipline, and covers both the doctrine and discipline of religion with his protection; who hath taken the church so much into his care, as by open and plain unanswerable documents, to make it evident that he will never desert her while he breathes. Therefore, what you may easily and pleasantly enjoy, it will be folly to seek after by harsh methods. You will, then, take particular care that the church be not ruined by a fall from such high happiness." Mr. Rollock died on the 8th of January, 1598, in the forty-third year of his age. His remains were attended to the place of interment by nearly the whole population of Edinburgh, who considered him as their spiritual father, and regarded his death as a public calamity. The town-council had paid his house-rent for many years, and they allowed his widow the one half of his salary for five years, and to his posthumous daughter they gave, from the city funds, 1000 merks, by way of dowry. He published several works, chiefly commentaries on parts of Scripture, several of which were printed at Geneva, and obtained the warm approbation of the learned and judicious Beza. These works are still to be met with, and though tinged with the scholastic theology of the times, discover great natural acuteness, a full acquaintance with his subject, and very extensive learning. His whole life seems, indeed, to have been devoted to literature.

ROSE, GEORGE, an eminent modern political character, was born at Brechin, June 11, 1744. He was the son of a poor non-jurant clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal communion, who, through the persecution which his order endured from the government after the insurrection of 1745, seems to have lost the means of supporting his family. Under these unfortunate circumstances, George Rose was received by an uncle who kept an academy near Hampstead, by whom he was, at a very early period of life, placed in a surgeon's shop. Not liking this employment, he had the good fortune to attract the attention of the Earl of Marchmont, who, from sympathy for the cause of his father's distresses and other considerations, procured him a situation on board a ship of war. Here the office of purser, to which George soon attained, enabled him to display his qualities of activity, industry, and punctuality in so extraordinary a manner as to attract the notice of the Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the admiralty. After occupying several subordinate situations in the public offices, he was appointed keeper of the records, for which his qualifications were entirely suited. The confused mass of papers which filled this office were by him arranged and classed in such a manner, that any one could be found immediately when wanted. This achievement

was attended with such extreme convenience to the ministry, that it attracted the particular attention of Lord North, and established Mr. Rose as the man whose services were to be resorted to for all such systematic and laborious work.

In 1767 he was appointed to complete the Journals of the House of Lords in thirty-one folio volumes; a laborious and creditable duty, for which he received a very handsome sum. Mr. Rose from this time found regular employment in the public offices; but it was not till the Pitt and Dundas administration that he was raised to any eminent station in the public service. He was then appointed joint-secretary to the treasury, and introduced into that department his habits of order, of regularity, and of careful attention to details. Mr. Rose's qualifications were not of that class which make a great display; but which, nevertheless, are so necessary, that the want of them soon becomes conspicuous. In the business of every administration there is a great deal of laborious second-rate work, which cannot be conveniently executed by the highest order of statesmen. The bold and comprehensive plans which they are called upon to form, require talents and habits which are very seldom found united with the power of minute calculation and patient inquiry. A laborious man, therefore, whose diligence and accuracy can be depended on, is an important acquisition to every administration. Such a one, who does not venture into the high and uncertain ground of political contention, may survive many ministerial shocks, and may recommend himself without discredit to cabinets differing considerably in their political aspect. Such an assistant was found by Mr. Pitt in the subject of the present memoir, who, with the exception of two short intervals, continued during half a century a sort of ministerial fixture, carrying on the routine of public offices, with many useful plans and objects of a subordinate nature. While superintending the business of the treasury, his vigilance was unremitted in inspecting and keeping on the alert every department of the widely ramified system. Trade also occupied a considerable share of his attention; and no man was more intimately acquainted with its facts and details; though he does not seem to have reached those sound and comprehensive views which were familiar to Mr. Pitt. Amid a variety of delicate employments, no charge was ever made against his integrity, except one, which turned out quite groundless.

On the accession of the Addington administration in 1801, and afterwards on the formation of that of the Talents in 1806, Mr. Rose retired along with Mr. Pitt, but resumed the public service in both cases on the restoration of the Tories. On Mr. Pitt's return to power he was made vice-president, and soon after president of the Board of Trade, with a salary of £4000 a year; in which situation, excepting during the Talents administration, he continued till his death. As a matter of course, Mr. Rose was in parliament during the greater part of his public career. His speeches in that assembly were generally on subjects connected with trade, and were confined chiefly to details of facts, which he stated in a manner that aimed at nothing like ornament. He deserves particular praise for the zeal with which he engaged in plans no way connected with ministerial influence, and having for their sole object to improve the condition of the indigent classes of society. He gave his full support to friendly societies and savings-banks; and introduced laws to encourage, and to secure the property of those establishments. In questions relating to the corn-laws he usually took part with the people against the landed interest. The plans

for taking a census of the population were conducted under his auspices.

Early in life Mr. Rose married a lady connected with the island of Dominica, by whom he had a large family. He purchased the estate of Cuffnells, in the New Forest, which he spent a large sum in ornamenting. His regular and temperate life was prolonged to a greater extent than might have been expected from the laborious way in which he had spent it. He died at Cuffnells, January 13, 1818, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. It was the singular fortune of Mr. Rose, that he could declare in his last moments, in reference to his family, that "they had been a blessing to him during a long series of years, and had never caused him one hour's pain."

Mr. Rose was the author of a considerable number of fugitive political writings, and of a respectable historical treatise, which he published with his name, under the title of *Observations on the Historical Work of Mr. Fox*. These *Observations* were prompted partly by a dissent from some of the political views in the *History of James II.*, and partly by a wish to clear some charges brought against Sir Patrick Hume, the ancestor of his patron and friend the Earl of Marchmont, whose executor he was. The political opinions in the work, though opposed in some points to those of Mr. Fox, are considered liberal, considering the general strain of the author's political life. Mr. Rose also superintended, under the direction of the House of Lords, the publication of a superb engraved edition of *Doomsday Book*.

ROSS, ALEXANDER, a very voluminous writer, but remembered less for his numerous works, than for a celebrated couplet in *Hudibras*:—

"There was an ancient sage philosopher,
Who had read Alexander Ross over."

He was born in Aberdeen in the year 1590; but his parentage has not been ascertained, nor have the circumstances of his early life been recorded. He has been generally confounded with a contemporary of the same name, of whom some account will be found in the next memoir. At what time he quitted Scotland is unknown; but it is supposed that not long after his arrival in England he was appointed master of the grammar-school of Southampton, and chaplain to Charles I. These appointments were probably procured through the influence of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he expresses his obligations in the dedication of his *Commentum de Terræ Motu Circulari Refutatum*. This work appeared at London in 1634; and though professedly written against Lansbergius and Carpentarius, two advocates of the Copernican theory, contains, in fact, an epitome of all the arguments that have been adduced against that system. The Latinity is respectable, and the argument is managed with considerable skill. During the struggles of the great civil war Ross espoused the royal cause, and his writings are filled with praises of the king and denunciations of the parliament. It has been remarked by Echard, however, that he "so managed his affairs, that in the midst of these storms he died very rich, as appears from the several benefactions he made." His death took place early in 1654. We learn from the MSS. of Sir Robert Sibbald, that by his will, dated 21st February, 1653, and probated 19th April, 1654, among numerous other benefactions, he left £200 to the town-council of Aberdeen, for the foundation of two bursaries; £50 to the poor of Southampton; £50 to the poor of the parish of All-Saints; and £50 to the Bodleian Library. There is scarcely a subject in the wide range of literature on which Ross has not left a work. His first publication

appears to have been poetical: *Rerum Judaicarum Libri Duo*, London, 1617. To these he added a third book in 1619, and a fourth in 1632. The rarest of his poetical effusions bears no date, but is entitled "Three Decads of Divine Meditations, whereof each one containeth three parts: 1. History. 2. An Allegory. 3. A Prayer. With a Commendation of a Private Country Life." This work has been priced so high as £8, 8s. *Four Books of Epigrams in Latin Elegiacs* also appeared without a date; and in 1642 he published "*Mel Ihdicentum*;" or Poetical Honey Gathered out of the Weeds of Parnassus. The first book is divided into vii chapters, according to the first vii letters of the alphabet, containing 48 fictions, out of which are extracted many historicall, naturall, morall, politicall, and theological observations, both delightful and useful; with 48 Meditations in Verse." But his most celebrated work in the department of poetry, is his *Virgillii Evangelisantis Christiados Libri xiii.*, which was published at London in 1634, and again in 1638 and 1659. This is a cento from Virgil, giving a view of the leading features of sacred history, from the murder of Abel to the ascension of Christ. It excited considerable notice in its day, and was more lately brought before the public attention by Lauder, who accused Milton of having plagiarized it. Lauder says, that by many Ross's *Christiad* is esteemed equal with the *Æneid*. The opening lines may serve as a specimen:—

"Acta, Deumque cano, cœli qui primus ab oris
Virginis in læte gremium descendit et orbem
Terrarum invisit profugis, Chanaanæque venit
Littora, multum ille et terra jactatus et alto
In superum, sævi memorem Plutonis ob iram."

His chief works in the department of history are, "*Animadversions and Observations upon Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, wherein his Mistakes are noted, and some Doubtful Passages noted," London, 1653; and the "*History of the World*, the Second Part, in Six Books, being a Continuation of Sir Walter Raleigh's," London 1652. "This," says Granger (3d edit. vol. iii. p. 32), "is like a piece of bad Gothic tacked to a magnificent pile of Roman architecture, which serves to heighten the effect of it, while it exposes its own deficiency in strength and beauty." In 1652 was published, with a portrait of the author, "*Pansebia*, or View of all the Religions in the World, with the Lives of Certain Notorious Hereticks." Afterwards reprinted in 1672, 1675, 1683, &c. Ross entered into controversy with Hobbes, Sir Thomas Browne, Hervey, and Sir Kenelm Digby; and has left, among others, the following controversial writings: "*Observations upon Hobbes' Leviathan*, 1653; "*Arcana Microcosmi*, or the Hid Secrets of Man's Body Discovered, in Anatomical Duel between Aristotle and Galen, with a Refutation of Thomas Browne's Vulgar Errors, from Bacon's *Natural History* and Hervey's book *De Generatione*," 1651; the *Philosophical Touchstone*, or Observations on Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse on the Nature of Bodies and of the Reasonable Soul, and Spinoza's Opinion of the Mortality of the Soul, briefly Confuted," 1645. This does not exhaust the catalogue of Ross's writings. Besides many ascribed to him on doubtful authority, there remain to be mentioned: the "*New Planet no Planet*, or the Earth no Wandering Star, against Galilæus and Copernicus," 1640; "*Mystagogus Poeticus*, or the Muses' Interpreter," 1647, which went through six editions; "*Enchiridium Oratorium et Poeticum*, 1650; "*Medicus Medicatus*, or the Physician's Religion Cured," 1645; "*Melismachia*;" "*Colloquia Plantina*;" "*Chrenology in English*;" "*Chymera Pythagorica*," no date; "*Tonsor ad*

Cutem Rasus, 1629; "*Questions and Answers on the First Six Chapters of Genesis*, 1620; "*The Picture of the Conscience*, 1646; "*God's House*, or "*the House of Prayer*, Vindicated from Profaneness, 1642; "*God's House made a Den of Thieves*, 1642. These two last pieces are sermons.

ROSS, ALEXANDER, frequently confounded with the former, was the son of James Ross, minister at Strachan, in Kincardineshire, and afterwards at Aberdeen. The date of his birth has not been ascertained, but it was probably between 1570 and 1580. He was for some time minister of the parish of Insch, in 1631 he was appointed minister of Footdee, a catechetical charge in the close vicinity of Aberdeen; and in 1636 was chosen one of the ministers of St. Nicholas' Church in that city. Ross, like his colleagues, supported the Episcopal form of government, and subscribed the *Generall Demands* propounded to the commissioners appointed by the Tables to enforce the subscription of the covenant in Aberdeen. The day before their arrival he thundered from the pulpit against their proceedings, and exhorted his hearers to resist their threats. He appears also to have been in correspondence with Laud. In March, 1639, the Covenanting forces approached Aberdeen, and the chiefs of the Episcopal party fled. Ross was unable to quit the town from a sickness, from which he seems never to have recovered; he died on 11th August, 1639. His only publication appears to be the following, which is extant in Bishop Forbes' *Funerals* (p. 149-178): "A Consolatorie Sermon, preached upon the Death of the R. R. Father in God Patrick Forbes, late Bishop of Aberdene. By Alexander Rosse, Doctour of Divinitie, and Minister of the Evangell in Aberdene, in Saynt Nicholas Church there. Anno 1635, the xv of Aprill."

ROSS, ALEXANDER, a poet of some eminence, was born in the parish of Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeenshire, on the 13th April, 1699. His father was Andrew Ross, a farmer in easy circumstances. Ross received the first elements of his education at the parochial school, under a teacher of considerable local celebrity; and after four years study of the Latin language, succeeded in gaining a bursary at the competition in Marischal College in November, 1714. Having gone through the usual curriculum of the university, he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1718, and shortly after was engaged as a tutor to the family of Sir William Forbes of Craigievar and Fintray; a gentleman who appears to have possessed considerable taste and learning. How long the poet remained in this situation has not been ascertained; but he seems to have earned the good opinion of his patron, who recommended him to study divinity, with the assurance that his interest should not be wanting to procure a comfortable settlement in the church. Favourable as this offer was, from a gentleman who had no fewer than fourteen patronages in his gift, Ross declined it, on a ground which evinces extraordinary modesty—"that he could never entertain such an opinion of his own goodness or capacity as to think himself worthy of the office of a clergyman." On leaving the family of Sir William Forbes, Ross for some time taught, apparently as an assistant, the parochial school of Aboyne in his native county, and afterwards that of Laurencekirk in Kincardineshire. While in this last situation he became acquainted with the father of Dr. Beattie; a man who, in our poet's opinion, "only wanted education to have made him perhaps as much distinguished in the literary world as his son. He knew something of

natural philosophy, and particularly of astronomy, and used to amuse himself in calculating eclipses. He was likewise a poetical genius, and showed our author some rhymes of considerable merit."¹ In 1726, Ross married Jane Catanach, the daughter of a farmer in Aberdeenshire, and descended by the mother from the ancient family of Duguid of Auchinhove. In 1732, by the influence of his friend Mr. Garden of Troup, he was appointed schoolmaster of Lochlee in Angus; and the rest of his life was spent in the discharge of the duties of this humble office. There are perhaps few pieces of scenery in Scotland of a more wild and poetical character than that in which Ross's lot was cast. Lochlee is a thinly peopled parish, lying in the very centre of the Grampians, at the head of the valley of the North Esk. The population is almost entirely confined to one solitary glen, the green fields and smoking cottages of which are singularly refreshing to the eye of the traveller after the weary extent of bleak moor and mountain which hem in the spot on all sides. On a mound in the centre stands the ruin of an ancient fortalice, built by the powerful family of the Lindsays of Edzel as a place of retreat, where they could defy those dangers which they could not cope with in their Lowland domains, in the How of the Mearns. The loch, which gives its name to the parish, is a very beautiful sheet of water, imbedded deep among steep and craggy mountains. The Lee, the stream which feeds it, flows through a very wild glen, and over a rocky channel, in several picturesque waterfalls. On one of the tall precipices that form its sides an eagle has built its nest, secure from molestation in the inaccessible nature of the cliff. The remains of Ross's house still exist, situated near the eastern extremity of the loch, and only a few feet from the water's edge. Near at hand, surrounded by a few aged trees, is the little burying-ground of the parish, the tombstones of which bear some epitaphs from Ross's pen, and there his own ashes are deposited. The poet's house in now occupied as a sheepfold; and the garden, on which it is said he bestowed much of his time, can still be traced by the rank luxuriance of the weeds and grass, and the fragments of a rude wall. It is impossible to look on the ruins of this humble hut without interest; its dimensions are thirty feet in length and twelve in breadth; and this narrow space was all that was allotted to the school-room and the residence of its master. The walls seem to have contained but two apartments, each about twelve square feet in size, and the eastern was that occupied by Ross, from whom one of the windows, now built up, is still named the poet's window. He had trained to cluster around it honeysuckle and sweet-briar; and here, looking forth on the waters of the loch, is said to have been his favourite seat when engaged in composition. So deep and confined is the glen at this spot, that for thirty days of the winter the sun never shines on the poet's dwelling. The emoluments of Ross's office were small, but perhaps more lucrative than the majority of parochial schools in the same quarter, from his being entitled to a sort of glebe, and some other small perquisites. One of his biographers has quoted some lines of the introduction to *Helenore* as a proof of Ross's poverty and want:—

"Pity anes mair, for I'm out-through as clung,
 'Twas that grim gossip, chandler-chafed want
 Wi' thread-bare claehting, and an ambry scant," &c.

It is consoling to be satisfied that these lines are not to be understood in a literal sense. We are assured

by his grandson, that "no person in his station, or perhaps in any station, enjoyed a greater share of personal and domestic happiness. His living was indeed but small, not exceeding twenty pounds a year, exclusive of the profits of his glebe; but he had no desire beyond what was necessary to support himself and family in a way suitable to his station; and, considering the strict economy observed in his house, and the simple though neat mode of living to which he was accustomed, the emoluments of his office, as well as the profits arising from his publications, rendered him in some degree comfortable and independent." It also appears that he joined to his avocations as schoolmaster, session-clerk, and precursor, the duties of a notary-public, his name occurring in the register in 1730. It was not until he had resided here for thirty-six years, that, in the year 1768, when he was nearly seventy, Ross appeared before the public as an author. So early as his sixteenth year he had commenced writing verse; a translation from the Latin of Buchanan, composed at that age, having been published by his grandson in the memoir we have just quoted. From that time he seems to have cultivated his poetical talents with ceaseless assiduity: Dr. Beattie, who appears to have advised him in the selection of his works for publication, writes in a letter to Dr. Blacklock, "He put into my hands a great number of manuscripts in verse, chiefly on religious subjects: I believe Sir Richard Blackmore is not a more voluminous author. He told me that he had never written a single line with a view to publication, but only to amuse a solitary hour."² The poems which by Dr. Beattie's advice were chosen for publication consisted of "*Helenore*, or the Fortunate Shepherdess," and some songs, among which were "*The Rock and the Wee Pickle Tow*," "*To the Begging we will go*," and "*Wood'd and married and a'*." They appeared at Aberdeen in 1768,³ in one volume 8vo, and a considerable number of subscribers having been procured, the profits of the publication amounted to about twenty pounds; "a sum," says Beattie, "far exceeding his most sanguine expectations, for I believe he would thankfully have sold his whole works for five." To promote the sale, Beattie (whose interest in Ross was excited by the latter's acquaintance with the doctor's father) addressed a letter to the editor of the *Aberdeen Journal*, together with some verses inscribed to Ross, which are remarkable from being their author's only composition in the Scottish dialect; they have been prefixed to all the subsequent editions of *Helenore*, and possess much merit. The success of the volume does not seem to have been very rapid, for ten years elapsed before the publication of the second edition. While this was going through the press, Dr. Beattie wrote to Ross from Gordon Castle, with an invitation from the noble owners to pay them a visit. Though now eighty years of age, the poet at once accepted the invitation, and took that opportunity of presenting a copy of the second edition of his work, dedicated to the Duchess of Gordon. He remained at the castle for some days, says his grandson, and "was honoured with much attention and kindness both by the duke and duchess, and was presented by the latter with an elegant pocket-book, containing a handsome present, when he returned to Lochlee in good health, and with great satisfaction."

² Forbes' *Life of Beattie*, i. 119. We may add Dr Beattie's description of Ross at this date: "He is a good-humoured, social, happy old man; modest without clownishness, and lively without petulance."

³ *The Fortunate Shepherdess*, a Pastoral Tale in the Scottish Dialect, by Alexander Ross, Schoolmaster at Lochlee, to which are added a few Songs by the Author. Aberdeen, printed by and for Francis Douglas—1768." Pp. 150.

¹ Life of Ross, by his grandson, the Rev Alexander Thomson of Lentrathen—prefixed to an edition of the *Fortunate Shepherdess*, printed at Dundee, 1812.

The next year he experienced the loss of his wife, who died at the advanced age of eighty-two, and to whose memory he erected a tombstone with a poetical epitaph. He himself did not long survive: on the 20th of May, 1784, "worn out with age and infirmity, being in his eighty-sixth year, he breathed his last, with the composure, resignation, and hope becoming a Christian." Of Ross's numerous family two sons and a daughter died in early youth, and four daughters survived him. Such are the few facts that constitute the biography of Alexander Ross. His character appears to have been marked by much cheerfulness and simplicity; lowly as was his lot, he found tranquillity and content in it, and the picture of his household piety which has come down to us is singularly affecting. Regrets have been expressed that a man of his merits should have been allowed to toil on in the humble situation of a parish school-master; but it should be remembered that he was nearly seventy years old before he gave the public proof of his talents, and it may be very doubtful if at that advanced age he would have found in a higher sphere the same peace and happiness which he had so long enjoyed in his Highland glen. It is also gratifying to think that the profits of his publications, trifling as they would now be viewed, were still sufficient to afford him many additional luxuries; and that the fame which his poems received from the world reached his retired home, and secured to him honour from his neighbours, and marks of attention from the few strangers of rank that found their way to Lochlee. Neither should it be forgotten that his songs became even in his own day, as they still continue, the favourite ditties of his neighbourhood, and that the poet's ears were gratified by hearing his own verses chanted on the hill-sides in summer and by the cottage ingle in winter. This is the incense to his genius prized by the poet beyond other earthly rewards, and which cheers him even when stricken by the poverty which is "the badge of all his tribe." Ross left eight volumes of unpublished works, of which an account has been preserved in Campbell's *Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland* (p. 272-284). The chief of these is a tale in the same measure with the *Fortunate Shepherdess*, entitled the *Fortunate Shepherd, or the Orphan*. The specimens which are given are too unsatisfactory to permit us to judge if we ought to regret its suppression, which we are informed was owing to the advice of Dr. Beattie. "A Dream, in Imitation of the Cherry and Slat," and composed in 1753, seems to possess some stanzas of considerable merit. "Religious Dialogues," written in 1754, are characterized by Beattie as unfit for publication; and Mr. Campbell, certainly a favourable critic, can find no word of commendation for the six pieces which bear the following titles: "A Paraphrase on the Song of Solomon;" "A View of King David's Afflictions;" "The Shunamite, from 2 Kings iv.;" "Moses exposed in the Ark of Bulrushes;" "An Incitement to Temperance, from a Thought of the Nice Construction of the Human Body;" and "Moses' Story Continued." This long catalogue seems to have been the origin of Beattie's comparison of Ross with Sir Richard Blackmore. In addition to these there are in the same strain, "The Book of Job rendered into English Verse," 1751, and "A Description of the Flood of Noah." A translation of Andrew Ramsay's beautiful poem on the *Creation* seems to possess more merit; and from the specimens given is at least fully equal to that of the notorious Lander, whose attack on Milton had the effect of attracting attention to Ramsay's works. The list of Ross's unpublished works is closed by a dramatic piece, called "The

Shaver," founded on an incident which occurred in Montrose; and by a prose composition, "A Dialogue of the Right of Government among the Scots, the Persons George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland." "There are ninety sections in this tract," says Campbell, "and from the slight look I have taken through it I am of opinion it might be rendered a very valuable performance." The specimen given does not indicate the direction of Ross's political sentiments, nor does Campbell supply that information; his grandson tells us that "he was best pleased with such religious discourses as were strictly Calvinistic."

From the information thus preserved regarding Ross's unpublished writings, there seems little reason to regret their loss. His reputation must be founded on his *Fortunate Shepherdess*, and the songs which were published along with it. With all its faults, this poem is possessed of a high degree of merit; and, in addition to its local fame, will continue to be esteemed by the student of Scottish poetry. Burns has written of him, "Our true brother Ross of Lochlee was a wild warlock;" and "the celebrated Dr. Blacklock," says Dr. Irving, "as I have learned from one of his pupils, regarded it as equal to the pastoral of Ramsay." This last opinion, it is to be feared, will be shared by few; nor is it any strong evidence of its soundness to say that it was adopted by John Pinkerton, who writes:—"Some of the descriptions are exquisitely natural and fine; the language and thoughts are more truly pastoral than any I have yet found in any poet, save Theocritus." Ross, indeed, is far inferior to Ramsay in delicacy of feeling, in taste, and in the management of his story. In reading the *Fortunate Shepherdess* we constantly meet with expressions and allusions of the most unworthy nature. Dr. Irving has quoted two lines of this description:—

"And now the priest to join the pair is come,
But first is welcom'd with a glass o' rum."

And it were easy to fill a page with similar instances:—

"Now Mary was as modest as a fawn,
And at their jeering wist na how to laugh."

Nor can the reader easily overlook Ross's absurd nomenclature. Thus the hero is honoured with the female name of Rosalind, and Scottish glens are clothed with the classic appellations of Flaviana and Sevitia; which last name, intended by the author to be expressive of fierceness, was, by a typographical error in the first edition, converted into Sevilia. But the most forcible objection undoubtedly lies in the plot, than which it were difficult to conceive anything more unpoetical. The early part of the poem is devoted to the description of the love of the hero and heroine, which is beautifully painted in its various stages, growing up from their infancy to their youth, and strengthened by all the love-inspiring incidents and situations of a pastoral life. And at the very moment when the poet has succeeded in completing this beautiful picture of simple affection and guileless innocence, he sets himself to undo the charm, weds the heroine to a richer lover, and sacrifices the hero to a marriage which his heart cannot approve, and of which the chief object is the recovery of certain sheep and horned cattle. Ross seems to have been aware of the objections which are chargeable against this *dénouement*, and endeavours to obviate them in the preface prefixed to the first edition, by pleading that it is productive of a salutary moral:—"This important lesson is inculcated, that when two young people have come under engagements to one another, no consideration whatever should induce them to break faith, or to promise

things incompatible with keeping it entire." It is certainly difficult to see the force of this apology; and Ross's error on this head is the more noteworthy from his taking objection in his invocation to the plot of his model, the *Gentle Shepherd*:—

"Allan bears
The gree himself, an' the green laurels wears;
We'el mat he brook them, for tho' ye had spair'd
The task to me, Pate might na been a laird."

It is singular how Ross could have overlooked the circumstance that Ramsay, in elevating his hero, sacrifices no long-cherished feeling or former affection; while not only is the *Fortunate Shepherdess* raised to a similar rank, but this upon the very ruins of an affection which had twined itself round her heart-strings from her earliest years. We have perhaps dwelt too long upon the ungracious task of fault-finding. Ross's chief talent lies, as was remarked by Beattie, in his descriptions of scenery, and of the habits of a rude and pastoral life. Many of these will cope with the best passages in the *Gentle Shepherd*, or in any of our Scottish poets. We may refer to the description of a valley at noon (at page 28 of the second edition); to the picture of Flaviana, which has been quoted by Sir Walter Scott in the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*; and to the numerous descriptions of morning, evening, and night, scattered through the poem. It must not be concealed, however, that few of the delineations possess that consistency in their parts, completeness, and nice finish, which are to be found in the *Gentle Shepherd*. Ross's songs, though certainly of a very high order of merit, have unfortunately been omitted in the more popular editions of his works. This is to be regretted, as they are disfigured by none of the faults of his larger work, and, notwithstanding their length, would be valuable additions to the Scottish song-book. It has been already mentioned that two editions of his work appeared in the author's lifetime; a third was printed at Aberdeen in 1789; a fourth in 1791, a fifth in 1796, a sixth in 1804 at Edinburgh, in the same volume with Macneill's "Will and Jean," and some other poems; a seventh in Aberdeen in 1811; and an eighth appeared at Dundee in 1812. This last has a life prefixed by his grandson; and it is to be regretted that the liberties taken with the text, the omission of the preface, songs, and glossary, should have rendered it so defective. A later edition, supplying these deficiencies, and preceded by "A Sketch of Glenesk, a Life of the Author, and an Account of his Unedited Works, by John Longmuir, LL.D.," was published at Edinburgh in 1866. Besides these, there have appeared numerous editions on coarse paper, and at a low price, to be hawked through the north of Scotland, where they ever find a ready sale. Of the number of these reprints it is not easy to obtain an account; we believe the last is that published at Aberdeen in 1826. In Aberdeenshire, and in Angus, the Mearns, and Moray, there is no work more popular than the *Fortunate Shepherdess*. It disputes popularity with Burns and the *Pilgrim's Progress*; is read, in his idle hours, by the shepherd in the glens, and wiles away the weariness of the long winter night at the crofter's fireside. On its first appearance Beattie predicted—

"And ilka Mearns and Angus bairn
Thy tales and songs by heart shall learn."

The prediction has been amply verified, and a hope which Ross expressed in one of his unpublished poems has been realized:—

"Hence lang, perhaps, lang hence may quoted be
My hamely proverbs lined wi' bythesome glee;
Some reader then may say, 'Fair fa' ye, Ross,
When, aiblins, I'll be lang, lang dead and gane,
An' few remember there was sic a anc."

ROSS, REAR-ADMIRAL SIR JOHN. This bold explorer of the Arctic regions, like many of his distinguished countrymen, was born in a manse, and was the fourth son of the Rev. Andrew Ross, minister of Inch, a parish in the western division of Wigtownshire. His mother was Elizabeth Corsan, of the family of the Corsans, who, for seventeen generations, were provosts of Dumfries. The subject of this memoir was born on the 24th June, 1777. His birth-place of Inch, an isthmus between Loch Ryan and Luce Bay, and his consequent early familiarity with the sea, probably decided his choice of a profession, and he entered the navy as a first-class volunteer, November 11, 1786. He commenced his naval career on board the *Pearl*, of 32 guns, and served in the Mediterranean until 1789; from November 7, 1790, till 1791 he served on board the *Impregnable*, 98 guns, in the English Channel; and after some years spent in the merchant service, he in 1799 became a midshipman on board the *Wasel*, sloop of war, in that year forming part of an expedition employed on the coast of Holland. His promotion had thus been unusually slow, but the years which he had spent at sea, as well as the weariness of waiting, were fit preparations for his future life of enterprise, where both professional skill and patience were severely tested. After serving in other ships of the royal navy besides the *Wasel*, he was promoted, on March 13, 1805, to the rank of lieutenant; and in the following year, while lieutenant of the *Surinam*, he was severely wounded in four places while cutting out a Spanish vessel under the batteries of Bilbao—for which in 1808 he was granted a pension of £98 per annum, which in 1815 was increased to £150. In 1812 he was appointed commander of the *Brisis*, sloop of war, on the Baltic station, where he signalized himself by the recapture of an English merchant ship, armed with six guns, and defended by a body of French troops, while his own party only consisted of his lieutenant, a midshipman, and eighteen men. After this he captured a French privateer, and drove three other vessels of the same class on shore. In 1814 he was appointed to the *Acteon*, of 16 guns, and in 1815 to the *Driver* sloop. The war being ended, and having little prospect of further active service, Captain Ross in 1816 married his first wife, with the prospect of enjoying domestic life on shore.

But whatever might have been his expectations of repose after this happy change, they were soon disappointed, and he found that the most important of his services, instead of having come to an end, were only about to commence. They were also to be of a more difficult and dangerous kind than the boarding of hostile ships and the storming of batteries. The attention of our government had been roused by reports of extraordinary changes that had taken place in the state of the Polar Sea; and it was thought that our good ships and their brave skilful commanders might be usefully employed during this long interval of peace in voyages of scientific discovery. The chief of these was to "ascertain the existence or non-existence of a north-west passage," and to Captain Ross was assigned the honour of the attempt. Accordingly, in December, 1817, while in command of the *Driver* sloop of war in Loch Ryan, he received a letter from Sir George Hope, one of the lords of the admiralty, informing him that two ships were to be sent out in quest of a north-west passage, and asking him if he would undertake the command of the expedition. Captain Ross closed at once with the proposal, on which he was directed to repair to London, where, on arriving, he found that two vessels were fitted out for the expedition,

one called the *Isabella*, of 385 tons, of which he was appointed commander, and the other the *Alexander*, of 252 tons, commanded by Lieutenant W. E. Parry. These two ships commenced their expedition in April 25, 1818. The directions given to Captain Ross were, to explore Baffin's Bay, and search for a north-west passage from it into the Frozen Ocean, and thence into the Pacific; and to stimulate the spirit of enterprise, parliament offered a reward of £20,000 to the first vessel which should reach the north pole and pass it.

In this voyage Ross and Parry sailed up the eastern side of Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay, and returned by the western side. They entered Lancaster Sound, up which they proceeded a considerable way, until Ross and the officer of the watch thought they saw "land round the bottom of the bay, forming a chain of mountains connected with those which extended along the north and south sides; and under this impression, conceiving it useless to proceed further, the *Isabella's* course was turned eastwards, and a signal made for her consort to follow. But the *Alexander*, which was a slow-sailing vessel, was considerably behind the *Isabella*; Parry could see no mountains, or tokens of their existence; and it was with wonder and disappointment that he beheld the signal of his superior officer, and was obliged to return. So fully, however, was Captain Ross impressed with the idea that Lancaster Sound was in this way closed, that he laid down the fancied high land, which he called the Croker Mountains, in a chart. He returned to England in November, 1818, and in the following month he was advanced to the rank of post-captain. In 1819 he published "*A Voyage of Discovery*, made under the orders of the Admiralty, in his Majesty's Ships *Isabella* and *Alexander*, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring into the Probability of a North-west Passage," 4to.

It will thus be seen that the enterprise was a failure, but Lieutenant Parry was of opinion that the failure had been occasioned by a mistake. Although this opinion was privately expressed, it soon reached the ears of the admiralty; and as the lieutenant's knowledge of nautical science was deservedly high, his remarks compelled attention. The result was a second attempt for the discovery of a north-west passage, under the command of Parry himself, and two ships, the *Hecla* and *Griper*, were repaired and strengthened at Deptford for this especial service. The expedition set sail on the 11th of May, 1819, and on reaching the entrance to Lancaster Sound, the ships were boldly pushed through the masses of ice that nearly blocked it up, forced into the sound, and even through the place of the Croker Mountains, which were found to have no existence; and on the 4th of September, 1819, having crossed the meridian of 110° W. long. in 74° 44' 20" N. lat., the bold enterprisers were entitled to the reward of £5000 offered by our government to any of his majesty's subjects who should go thus far to the westward within the Arctic circle. Lieutenant Parry gave the name of Barrow's Strait to the continuation of Lancaster Sound, and discovered the north side of Melville Island, the north side of Baring Island, Prince Regent's Inlet, and the Wellington Channel; and after many hardships, dangers, and delays, returned to England in November, 1820. His success was distinguished by honours and rewards, and his account, entitled the *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage*, 4to, 1821, with maps and engravings, was published by authority of the lords-commissioners of the admiralty.

This success of another in an enterprise for which

he had prepared the way only strengthened the emulation of Captain Ross, and after three subsequent voyages of discovery by Captain Parry—the last of which, an attempt in 1827 to reach the north pole, proved a failure—our navigator of the frozen seas presented to the admiralty the plan of another voyage of Arctic discovery. But the recent failures of such attempts had cooled the enthusiasm of their lordships, and his proposal was not accepted. But what government refused, a friend of Captain Ross was willing to undertake in supplying the means of such an adventure: this was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Felix Booth, at that time Sheriff of London. This munificent citizen procured and fitted up a steamship, the *Victory*; and to make success more assured, it was provided with a newly invented and patented engine, which could waft a ship with double ease and speed, and carry her anywhere. But when this "execrable machinery," as Ross justly called it, was put to the test, the sailors wished it at the bottom of the Thames, and an ordinary steam-engine in its place. Captain Ross had for his lieutenant Commander Clark Ross, his nephew, who had accompanied his uncle in his first expedition, and afterwards sailed with Sir Edward Parry in all his voyages to the Polar Seas. The particular attempt of the present undertaking was to decide the practicability of a new passage which had been confidently said to exist by Prince Regent Inlet. To the *Victory* was joined an attendant vessel of sixteen tons supplied by government, and named the *Krusenstern*. On the 24th of May, 1829, the *Victory*, and its little attendant the *Krusenstern*, left the Thames to proceed upon their voyage.

And truly this was one of the most hazardous voyages ever undertaken since the ship *Argo* was launched with its crew of demigods. Captain Ross had calculated that it would occupy at least two years, and had fixed upon 1832 as the year of his return; but when that time had elapsed he did not reappear, no tidings had been heard of him, and it was mournfully concluded that he and all his brave company had fallen victims to the inclemency of the Arctic region. But they were alive the while, and struggling against nature itself to effect the desired discovery, and return home that they might make it known to the world. Of this long and dismal four years' exploration our limits can only afford a very few notices; but this is the less to be regretted, as Captain Ross published in 1835 a full account of the whole, under the title of a "*Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-west Passage*, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833; by Sir John Ross, C.B., &c., Captain in the Royal Navy; including the Reports of Commander (now Captain) James Clark Ross, R.N., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., and the Discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole," 4to, with maps and plates.

Using partly her sails, and partly her all but useless machinery, the *Victory*, accompanied by the *Krusenstern*, entered Davis' Straits on July 5, 1829, after a voyage of six weeks. Expecting to find a north-west passage through Prince Regent Inlet, Captain Ross entered the inlet on the 12th of August, and discovered the wreck of the *Fury*, one of Captain Parry's vessels that had been abandoned in his Arctic voyage of 1824. Taking from the wreck such stores as were necessary, Captain Ross proceeded further down the inlet, until, on the 8th of October, his ships were frozen up in Felix Harbour, on the west side of the Gulf of Boothia. Here they remained ice-bound until the 17th of Septem-

ber, 1830, when they were able to emerge from their prison, and proceed on their voyage; but their deliverance was brief, as they were again frozen up on the 31st of October. Ten months of dreary captivity were endured by the navigators, from which they were not set free until the 29th of August, 1831; but the *Victory*, on the 25th of September, in consequence of the pressure of the ice, was forced into another harbour, where she remained land-locked. A dismal sojourn among the ice again awaited them until April, 1832, when it was resolved to abandon the *Victory* to her fate. Two boats were accordingly carried northward by the sailors, with sledges and provisions, and on the 29th of May they commenced their precarious route of land-and-water travel with such scanty means as they possessed. Grieving over his forsaken ships as only a sailor can lament such a disaster—for he had served in thirty-six vessels and never been obliged to abandon one—Captain Ross abandoned the *Victory* to the northern elements that had seized and secured her in their death-grip, and with a crew diminished by death and enfeebled with sickness, proceeded on his journey through ice and fog. Thus they struggled on until July—a march of nearly 300 miles—when they reached Fury Beach. But the toils and sufferings of that land-route, if thus it may be termed, were such as may well make us proud of the endurance of our brave countrymen. During the journey they had to carry not only their provisions and the sick, but also a supply of fuel, and without melting the snow they could not procure a drop of water to drink. Winter set in upon this unequal struggle, and no choice was left them but to retrace their steps, and spend another dismal season in their canvas tents beneath the snow. On the 15th of August, 1833, the ice broke, so that they were enabled to set sail in their boats; and on the 26th of August, when near the entrance of Lancaster Sound, they espied the prospect of relief in a whaling-ship looming in the distance. A boat was sent to them from the whaler, and on the mate, who commanded the boat, being asked the name of his ship, he replied that it was the *Isabella* of Hull, once commanded by Captain Ross. How strange that the captain's own old ship should thus have been brought for his rescue! He told the mate that he was the identical man who had commanded the *Isabella*, and that his company was the crew of the *Victory*; but the other disbelieved the assertion, and declared that Captain Ross had been dead two years. His scepticism was pardonable not only on account of the general report at home, but the wretched appearance of the strange crew, for they were dirty, unshaven, and worn almost to skeletons, and clothed in tattered skins of the Polar animals. Sailors, however, have a free-masonry of their own that soon brings them to a right understanding with each other, and the mate was quickly convinced that this ghostly figure was no other than Captain Ross still in the body. The yards and rigging of the *Isabella* were manned, and Ross and his crew were welcomed into his old vessel with three hearty cheers. The *Isabella* arrived at Hull on the 18th of September, 1833, and Captain Ross, on reaching London next day by steamer, was welcomed as one who had returned from the dead. Among the many affectionate tokens which showed him how he was valued, not the least must have been the public solicitude about his long absence, or lamentations for his supposed fate. When he failed to reappear at the appointed period, there was a general stir, and after hope had been long deferred, there was a sickness of heart that intensified the solicitude, which was manifested by the sum of £7000 being raised to fit out

an expedition either to relieve him or ascertain his fate. The ship fitted for this purpose, under the command of the experienced Captain Buck, set sail in the spring of 1833, but happily had not got beyond reach of the tidings of Captain Ross's return, and was accordingly recalled.

The honours which were now conferred upon the bold Arctic navigator were neither few nor trivial. In 1834 he was knighted, and made a companion of the order of the Bath. He was honoured with the freedom of the cities of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and other towns. He was presented with gold medals from the Geographical Society of London, the Geographical Institute of Paris, and the Royal Societies of Sweden, Austria, Denmark, &c. Nor were foreign titles conferring rank withheld, for he was appointed a commander of the Sword of Sweden, a knight of the second class of St. Anne of Russia, of the second class of the Legion of Honour of France, of the second class of the Red Eagle of Prussia, and of the second class of Leopold of Belgium. He also got six gold snuff-boxes from Russia, Holland, Denmark, Austria, London, and Baden; a sword of the value of £100 from the Patriotic Fund, and one of the value of £200 from the King of Sweden for service in the Baltic and White Seas.

We have already mentioned the *Narrative* of his second voyage published by Sir John Ross in 1835. During the same year he published an *Appendix to the Narrative*, &c., also in 4to, chiefly containing accounts of the Esquimaux, and of the zoology, the meteorology, and similar matters. On the 8th of March, 1839, he was appointed British consul at Stockholm, where he remained till February, 1845.

Still desirous of discovering a navigable north-west passage, and haunted by extravagant hopes of the advantages it would secure for our commerce, the admiralty fitted out for the purpose a fresh expedition, the command of which was given to Rear-admiral Sir John Franklin. His ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, left England for the purpose in May, 1845; and too well aware of the dangers of such an undertaking, Sir John Ross made him a promise that if he should be lost or frozen up in the Arctic regions, he would go out in search of him. When year after year had elapsed, and the hope of Franklin's return was becoming desperate, Ross, although now at the age of seventy-three, resolved to prosecute the promised search or perish in the attempt. Although he had already achieved such a reputation as a skilful Arctic navigator, and notwithstanding the nature of the attempt itself, in which the national honour might be said to be at stake, he received no assistance from government, so that he was obliged to fit out the *Felix*, a small vessel of ninety tons, at his own expense, having relinquished his half-pay and pensions for the purpose. In 1850 he set out upon the quest, remained a winter in the ice, and would have stayed there another year had his means permitted. He was thus obliged to return home unsuccessful, and his disappointment was embittered by the neglect with which his generous enterprise had been treated. This, and the other fruitless attempts that followed for the discovery of Franklin or his remains, tasked the remaining strength of Sir John Ross in authorship, and he published in 1855 a pamphlet, entitled a "Narrative of the Circumstances and Causes which led to the Failure of the Searching Expeditions sent by Government and others for Rescue of Sir John Franklin," &c.

His first wife having died in 1822, Sir John Ross married a second in October 21, 1834. By his first wife he had one son, who went to India, and became a magistrate in Cawnpore. Besides the works we

have already mentioned, Sir John published *Letters to Sea-officers, Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, a Treatise on Navigation by Steam*, and several smaller works. He succeeded to the rank of rear-admiral July 8, 1851, and died in London, August 30, 1856.

Although the discovery of a navigable north-west passage was made by Sir John Franklin, it has failed to lead to the advantages originally contemplated. But the indirect advantages of the search, in enlarging the bounds of science, as well as the acquisition of hitherto unknown territories that can be turned to good account, may be presented as a set-off to the expense, sufferings, and losses of our successive Arctic expeditions. In his second voyage Sir John discovered Boothia Felix, which he so named in honour of Sir Felix Booth, who had been at the expense of fitting out the enterprise. His nephew, Sir James Clark Ross, who accompanied him as second in command, among other valuable services, made the important discovery of the northern magnetic pole. The worth and advantages of the series of Arctic discoveries, which to the common mind appeared so useless and so abortive, were thus comprised by Rear-admiral F. W. Beachey in his address delivered to the Royal Geographical Society in 1856:

"It is now nearly forty years since the revival of our Polar voyages, during which period they have been prosecuted with more or less success, until, at length, the great problem has been solved. Besides this grand solution of the question, these voyages have, in various ways, been beneficial, and science at least has reaped her harvest. They have brought us acquainted with a portion of the globe before unknown. They have acquired for us a vast addition to our stores of knowledge—in magnetism, so important an element in the safe-conduct of our ships; in meteorology, in geography, natural and physical; and which has led to the prosecution of like discoveries in the regions of the Antarctic pole. They have shown us what the human frame is capable of undergoing and of accomplishing under great severity of climate and privations. They have opened out various sources of curious inquiry as to the existence, at some remote period, of tropical plants and tropical animals in those now icy regions, and of other matters interesting and useful to man. They have, in short, expunged the blot of obscurity which would otherwise have hung over and disfigured the page of the history of this enlightened age; and, if we except the lamentable fate which befell the expedition under Sir John Franklin, we shall find that they have been attended with as little, if not less, average loss of life than that of the ordinary course of mankind. And if any one should be disposed to weigh their advantages in the scale of pecuniary profit, they will find that there also they have yielded fruit, if not to us, at least to a sister nation in whose welfare we are greatly interested, and whose generous sympathy in the fate of our countrymen endears her to us, and would render it impossible that we should begrudge her this portion of the advantage of our labours. I need scarcely remind you of the report from the secretary of the United States navy to the senate, to the effect that, in consequence of information derived from one of our Arctic expeditions to Behring's Straits, a trade had sprung up in America by the capture of whales, to the north of that strait, of more value to the states than all the commerce with what is called the East; and that in two years there had been added to the national wealth of America, from this source alone, more than eight millions of dollars."

On this concluding fact we would only observe,

that if our country was too inert to reap the benefits of her own discoveries, it was well that there were others to make amends for the remissness—that if the advantages were lost to Britain, they were still secured for the world at large.

ROSSLYN, EARL OF. *See* WEDDERBURN (ALEXANDER).

ROW, JOHN, a celebrated divine, was descended from a family of some note for the part they had borne in the ecclesiastical history of their country. His grandfather, John Row, had gone abroad in early youth, and the fame of his talents and learning having reached the Vatican, he was in 1559 selected by the pope as an emissary to watch over the dawning Reformation in Scotland. But in a short time after his return to his native country, he embraced the principles of the Reformed religion, and advocated them with much zeal and ability. He was in 1560 appointed minister of Perth, and from that time enjoyed considerable influence in the councils of the Reformed clergy, sharing the friendship of Knox and other distinguished men of that age. His eldest son was for fifty-two years minister of Carnock in Fife, and died at the advanced age of seventy-eight. He was partly author of the "*Historie of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August in Anno 1637*," written by Mr. John Row, late Minister at Carnock, in the Province of Fife and Presbyterie of Dunfermline." This is preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library, and has been pronounced by one well fitted to judge, "a very valuable but rather prolix work."¹ The date of the birth of John Row, his second son, the subject of the present memoir, has not been preserved, but it may be referred to the latter years of the sixteenth, or more probably to the beginning of the seventeenth century.² At a very early period of life he was appointed rector of the grammar-school at Perth, and for many years discharged that office with much reputation. He was the first Hebrew scholar of that day, an accomplishment which seems to have been hereditary in the family; his father, it is reported, having "discovered some genius for Hebrew when he was only a child of four or five years old;" and his grandfather having been, it is said, the first who publicly taught Hebrew in Scotland. While rector of the Perth school, Row composed his *Hebræe Lingue Institutiones Compendiosissimæ et Facillimæ in Discipulorum Gratiam Primum Concinnatæ*, which was published at Glasgow in 1644. This work was dedicated to Lord-chancellor Hay of Kinnoul, to whom he expresses himself obliged for benefits conferred on his father, and for having procured for himself the situation he held. After the fashion of the day, the book was prefaced by several commendatory verses; and of these some are from the pen of the celebrated Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, and John Adamson. The work also bore the record of the unanimous approbation of the faculty of the College of St. Leonard in the university of St. Andrews. Three years previous to the publication of the *Hebræe Lingue Institutiones*, Row was, by the influence of the famous Andrew Cant, appointed one of the ministers of Aberdeen. In 1643 he published a *Vocabulary of the Hebrew Language*, which he dedicated to his new patrons, the town-council of Aberdeen. This mark of respect was rewarded by the following ordinance of that

¹ This *History*, with a continuation written by his son, John Row, principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was published in 1842 by the Wodrow Society.

² The learned editor of *Memoirs of the Family of Row* a work to which we are indebted for much of the information given in the following memoir erroneously calls John Row the eldest son of his father.

body: "20th September, 1643, the counsell considering the panes taken be Mr. John Row in teaching the Hebrew tongue, and for setting forth ane Hebrew dictionar, and dedicating the same to the counsell, ordanes the thesaurar to deliver to the said Mr. John Row for his paines four hundred merk Scotts money."¹ In his office of minister of Aberdeen, Row supported the principles of his coadjutor Andrew Cant, and was with him highly obnoxious to the more moderate party of the Presbyterians, and to those who still favoured Episcopacy. The amusing annalist Spalding, who attended his prelections, loses no opportunity of holding him up to ridicule or detestation; and language seems sometimes to fail him for the expression of his horror at Row's innovations. "One of the town's officers," he relates, "caused bring a bairn to the lecture lesson, where Mr. John Row had taught, to be baptized; but because this bairn was not brought to him when he was baptizing some other bairns, he would not give baptism; whereupon the simple man was forced to bring back this child unbaptized. The wife lying in child-bed, hearing the child was not baptized, was so angry, that she turned her face to the wall, and deceased immediately through plain displeasure, and the bairn also ere the morn; and the mother and her bairn in her oter were both buried together. Lamentable to see," writes the indignant chronicler, "how the people are thus abused!" In 1644 Row was chosen moderator of the provincial assembly at Aberdeen; and the next year, on the approach of Montrose at the head of the royalist forces, he, with Cant and other "prime Covenanters," sought refuge with the earl-marischal in the castle of Dunnottar. In 1649 the Scottish parliament appointed a committee to remonstrate against the contemplated murder of Charles I., and Row was one of six clergymen nominated to act with the committee. In 1651 a commission, consisting of five colonels from the army of Monk, visited the King's College of Aberdeen, and among other acts deposed the principal, Dr. Guild; and the next year Row was chosen his successor. He seems to have filled the principal's chair with much credit; he maintained strict discipline, and added to the buildings of the college, while his own learning extended the reputation of the university. On the 8th October, 1656, being a day appointed for a public thanksgiving, he preached in Westminster Abbey before the parliament, and his sermon was afterwards printed by their orders, under the title of *Man's Duty in Magnifying God's Work*. On the restoration, Principal Row lost no time in paying his court to the new authorities. In 1660 he published at Aberdeen, "*Εὐχαριστία Βασιλική*, ad Carolum II. Carmen;" a work which was laudatory of the king, and abusive of Cromwell, who is styled "Trux vilis vermes," being the anagram of "O vile cruel worm" (Oliver Cromwell) latinized. This panegyric, however, availed him little. Some of his works, which contained reflections on the royal family, were taken from the college and burned at the cross of Aberdeen by the hands of the hangman; and in 1661 Row resigned his office of principal. He soon after established a school at Aberdeen, and lived for some years on the scanty emoluments derived from this source, eked out by charitable donations. Thereafter he retired to the family of a son-in-law and daughter in the parish of Kinellar, about eight miles from Aberdeen, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was interred in the churchyard of the parish, but no monument marks his grave. Besides the works we have mentioned, and some

others which seem to be lost, Principal Row wrote a continuation of his father's *History of the Church*, which is extant in the Advocates' Library, under the title of "*Supplement to the Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, from August Anno 1637 and thenceforward to July, 1639; or Ane Handful of Goates Haire for the Furthering of the Building of the Tabernacle: a Short Table of Principall Things for the Promoving of the Most Excellent Historie of this late Blessed Work of Reformation, in the Hands of such as are employed therein by the General Assemblie; written by Mr. John Row, Minister at Aberdene." Mr. James Row, minister of Monivaird and Strowan, a younger brother of Principal Row, is well known to the curious in Scottish literature as the author of the celebrated *Pockmanty Sermon*, preached in Saint Giles', in 1638, and which was subsequently reprinted under the titles of the *Red-Shank's Sermon*; and *A Cupp of Bon-Accord*.

ROXBURGH, WILLIAM, a physician and eminent botanist, was born at Underwood in the parish of Craigie, on the 29th June, 1759. His family was not in affluent circumstances, but they nevertheless contrived to give him a liberal education. On acquiring all the learning which the place of his nativity afforded, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his studies, which were exclusively directed to the medical profession. After attending for some time the various classes at the university necessary to qualify him for this pursuit, he received, while yet but seventeen years of age, the appointment of surgeon's mate on board of an East Indiaman, and completed two voyages to the East in that capacity before he had attained his twenty-first year. An offer having been now made to him of an advantageous settlement at Madras, he accepted of it, and accordingly established himself there. Shortly after taking up his residence at Madras, Mr. Roxburgh turned his attention to botany, and particularly to the study of the indigenous plants and other vegetable productions of the East; and in this he made such progress, and acquired so much reputation, that he was in a short time invited by the government of Bengal to take charge of the botanical gardens established there. In this situation he rapidly extended his fame as a botanist, and introduced to notice, and directed to useful purposes, many previously unknown and neglected vegetable productions of the country. Mr. Roxburgh now also became a member of the Asiatic Society, to whose *Transactions* he contributed, from time to time, many valuable papers, and amongst these one of singular interest on the lacca insect, from which a colour called lac lake is made, which is largely used as a substitute for cochineal. This paper, which was written in 1789, excited much attention at the time, at once from the ability it displayed, and from the circumstance of its containing some hints which led to a great improvement on the colour yielded by the lacca insect.

In 1797 Mr. Roxburgh paid a visit to his native country, and returned (having been in the meantime married) to Bengal in 1799, when he resumed his botanical studies with increased ardour and increasing success. In 1805 he received the gold-medal of the Society for the Promotion of Arts, for a series of highly interesting and valuable communications on the subject of the productions of the East. He had again, in this year, returned to England, and was now residing at Chelsea, but in very indifferent health; he, however, once more proceeded to Bengal, and continued in his curatorship of the botanical gardens there till 1803, when, broken down in

¹ Council Register of Aberdeen, vol. lii. p. 771.

constitution, he finally returned to his native country. In this year he received a second gold medal, for a communication on the growth of trees in India; and, on the 31st of May, 1814, was presented with a third in the presence of a large assembly which he personally attended, by the Duke of Norfolk, who was then president of the Society of Arts.

Soon after receiving this last honourable testimony of the high respect in which his talents were held, Mr. Roxburgh repaired to Edinburgh, where he died on the 10th of April in the following year, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, leaving behind him a reputation of no ordinary character for ability, and for a laudable ambition to confer benefits on mankind, by adding to their comforts and conveniences; which objects he effected to no inconsiderable extent by many original and ingenious suggestions.

ROY, MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM, a distinguished practical mathematician and antiquary, was born in Carluke parish, May 4, 1726. John, the father, who was born April 15, 1697, at Milton-head, must have been an active and intelligent man, if we may judge from the many references made to him by the heritors of the parish. He is variously designated as gardener, factor, &c., to Sir William Gordon, and to Charles Hamilton Gordon, of Hallcraig. John, the grandfather, seems to have been succeeded in office by his son John. The earliest notice of the elder John Roy is in the "Roll of Polleable Persons in Carluke Parish, 1695," and the entry there is in these terms:—"Jo roy, servitor to my Lord hallcraig, oo. 19. 04." The general, and his brother James, afterwards minister of Prestonpans, were educated partly at the school of their native parish, and partly at the grammar-school of Lanark, the latter having been a bursar in Glasgow College on the foundation of the Countess of Forfar, from 1737 till 1751. A characteristic anecdote of Roy is still current. An old woman, a native of Carluke, who had all her life been a servant at Lee, used to relate with pride that, in her young days, Roy came to Lee as attendant on great men; shortly afterwards he came again, but in a higher office; after the lapse of years he came a third time, and now he sat at the right hand of the laird!

The birth-place of General Roy is accidentally marked in a singular manner. The buildings of Milton-head have long been cleared away. An old willow that grew near the end of the steading, no longer able to bear the weight of its own arms, bent under the burden, and now represents an arch of fair proportions. The tree in this position continues to grow, and is itself an object of interest; but, marking as it does the birth-place of an eminent man, it is doubly worthy of notice and preservation.

No record has been discovered of the early career of General Roy. He was first brought into notice in 1746, when he was employed by government to make an actual survey of Scotland. This arduous and difficult duty he performed in a meritorious manner, and gave the world the result in what goes under the name of the "Duke of Cumberland's Map." Upon this map, which is a very large sheet, the sites of all ascertainable Roman camps or stations were accurately and distinctly laid down. It was afterwards reduced by the general to a smaller size, under the title of "Mappa Britanniae Septentrionalis," &c.

The first geodesic survey executed in England was undertaken with the immediate object of establishing a trigonometrical connection between the observatories of Paris and Greenwich, in order to determine the difference of longitude. This was executed by

General Roy, who began his operations by measuring a base of 27,404 feet on Hounslow Heath, in the summer of 1784. Amongst the numerous and valuable papers contributed to the *Transactions* of the Royal Society by General Roy, was an account of these operations, which obtained for him the Copley medal. To this paper was appended an account of the mode proposed to be followed in determining the relative situations of the Greenwich and Paris observatories, which led to the author's being employed by royal command to ascertain this point by the method thus suggested, from actual experiment. In obedience to his majesty's mandate, the general completed an exceedingly curious, accurate, and elaborate set of trigonometrical experiments and observations, to determine the true and exact latitude and longitude of the two observatories, illustrated by tables computed from actual measurement; to enable him to accomplish which he was furnished by the king with several costly trigonometrical instruments. General Roy presented an account of these interesting proceedings to the Royal Society, and was employed in superintending its publication in the society's *Transactions*, when he was seized with an illness which carried him off in two hours. He died at his house, Argyle Street, London, July 1, 1790. General Roy's investigations laid the groundwork of the trigonometrical survey of the three kingdoms, which is (1869) still in progress. In the *History of the Royal Society* by Weld, 1848, it is expressly stated that this survey was commenced by General Roy in 1784. It was subsequently conducted, under the direction of the master-general of the ordnance, by Colonel Williams and Captain (afterwards General) Mudge, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr. Dalby, who had previously assisted General Roy. Three years after his death, General Roy's elaborate antiquarian work was published at the expense of the Antiquarian Society of London, under the title of *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*. General Roy was deputy quartermaster-general of his majesty's forces, surveyor of the coasts and batteries, colonel of the 30th regiment of foot, F.R.S., &c.

RUDDIMAN, THOMAS, a celebrated philologist and Latin grammarian, was born in the month of October, 1674, in the parish of Boyndie, county of Banff. His father, James Ruddiman, was a respectable farmer, and was at the period of his son's birth tenant of the farm of Raggel, in Banffshire. He was esteemed by his neighbours as a man profoundly skilled in agricultural matters, and was besides greatly respected for the benevolence of his disposition. He was strongly attached to monarchy—an attachment which he evinced in a remarkable manner by bursting into tears on first hearing of the death of Charles II. This ebullition of loyal feeling made a strong impression on his son, who witnessed it, and although he was then only in the tenth year of his age, it is thought to have influenced the opinions of his after-life on similar subjects. Young Ruddiman commenced his initiatory course of learning at the parish grammar-school of Boyndie, which was then taught by a Mr. George Morrison, of whose attention and skill in his profession his pupil ever after retained a grateful and respectful recollection. In this seminary the subject of this memoir rapidly outstripped his fellows in classical learning. The *Metamorphoses* of Ovid early struck his fancy, and had the effect of inducing such a degree of application to the acquisition of the language in which they are written, as carried him far in advance of all the other scholars in the school. His master, per-

ceiving his arduous, allowed him to press on, abandoning all idea of restraining so forward a spirit to the slow march of those associated with him in the study of classical learning.

The consequence of this assiduity and enthusiastic devotion to Roman literature, was an early and singular proficiency in its language. Of this young Ruddiman himself felt so conscious, that when only sixteen years of age he left his father's house without giving any previous intimation of his departure, or of its object, to any of the family excepting one sister, and proceeded to Aberdeen to compete for the annual prize given at King's College of that city for proficiency in classical learning. Previously to his setting out, his sister, to whom he had confided his secret, slipped a guinea into his pocket; but of this, and of nearly all his apparel, he was robbed by the way, having been met and assailed, at a place called Starbrigs, by a band of gipsies, who first plundered and then stripped him. This mishap, however, did not deter the young enthusiast from proceeding on his mission. He reached Aberdeen, though in a miserable plight, competed for the prize, and carried it off. Having obtained a bursary in the college by this success, he now took up his residence in Aberdeen, and commenced his academical studies in November, 1690, under Professor William Black. His father, in the meantime, having heard whither his son had gone, and for what purpose, hastened after him, and had the satisfaction, on meeting with him, to find him surrounded with friends, whom his youth and singular acquirements had already procured for him.

At the college of Aberdeen Mr. Ruddiman pursued his studies with an arduous and devotion which daily increased, and which at the end of four years procured him the degree of Master of Arts. This honour, of which the young scholar was extremely proud, was conferred on him on the 21st June, 1694. Amongst Mr. Ruddiman's fellow-students at this period was the well-known Lord Lovat, whose earthly career was terminated on Tower Hill by the axe of the executioner, at the distance of more than half a century afterwards. Of this nobleman, the biographer of Ruddiman remarks, that, when at college, "he was at the head of every mischief."

On completing his academical course, Mr. Ruddiman was engaged by Mr. Robert Young of Auldbar, in the county of Forfar, to assist the studies of his son. He was still under twenty years of age, but his acquirements in classical literature were far in advance of this period of life, as compared with the ordinary progress of proficiency in others. While advancing the knowledge of his pupil, Mr. Ruddiman did not permit his own to remain stationary. He continued to study assiduously, and every day added to his acquirements in classic lore.

During his residence at Auldbar, Mr. Ruddiman heard of the death of the incumbent schoolmaster of Lawrencerkirk, in Kincardineshire, and thinking this a favourable opportunity for advancing his fortunes, applied for and obtained the situation, partly through the interest of Mr. Young, and partly through the influence of his own reputation for extraordinary learning. In this situation, a sufficiently obscure one, he remained, still applying himself with unabated zeal to the study of the classics, till the year 1699, when a rather singular occurrence opened up a wider field to his ambition and his merits. The celebrated Dr. Pitcairne of Edinburgh, happening to be detained for a day in the village of Lawrencerkirk by the inclemency of the weather, asked the hostess of the inn where he put up, whether she could not find him some intelligent person who would partake of his

dinner, and help, by his conversation, to divert the tedium of the evening. His landlady immediately suggested the schoolmaster, Mr. Ruddiman. He was accordingly sent for, and in the course of the conversation which followed made so favourable an impression on the doctor, by the extent of his acquirements and the judiciousness of his remarks, that the latter, before they parted, invited him to come to Edinburgh, and promised him his patronage. Mr. Ruddiman gratefully closed with the proposal, and repaired to the metropolis in the beginning of the year 1700. On his arrival his patron procured him employment in the Advocates' Library as a sort of assistant librarian, though for upwards of a year he had no regular or formal engagement in that capacity. During this interval he employed himself in arranging books, copying papers, and making extracts from interesting works. In 1701 Mr. Ruddiman married Barbara Scollay, the daughter of a gentleman of small estate in Orkney, and in the year following he was formally admitted, on the 2d of May, assistant librarian, with a salary of £8, 6s. 8d. sterling per annum. His diligence, learning, and steadiness of character had already attracted the notice and called forth the approbation of his employers, who, as a token of their sense of these merits, presented him with an extra allowance of fifty pounds Scots at the end of the year succeeding that of his appointment. Mr. Ruddiman now set himself seriously and earnestly to the task of improving his circumstances by literary industry and diligence, and his situation eminently favoured such a design. He copied chronicles and chartularies for the Glasgow university, which gave him constant and regular employment in this way. He formed connections with booksellers, and revised, corrected, and added to the works which they were publishing, particularly those of a learned character, and to all this he added the expedient of keeping boarders, whom he also instructed in classical learning. The first work to which he is known to have lent his assistance was Sir Robert Sibbald's *Introductio ad Historiam Rerum a Romanis Gestarum in ea Boreali Britanniae Parte que ultra Murum Picticum est*. He was next employed to revise *The Practiques of the Law of Scotland*, by Sir Robert Spottiswood, for which he received £5 sterling. Mr. Ruddiman's active mind, and laudable desire of independence, suggested to him still another means of increasing his emoluments. This was to commence book-auctioneer, a calling for which his habits and pursuits peculiarly qualified him, and he accordingly added it, in the year 1707, to his other avocations, but confined himself, in the exercise of it, principally to learned works and school-books.

In the same year in which he commenced auctioneer, he published an edition of Wilson's *Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus*. To this work he added a new preface, and subjoined a sketch of the life of Wilson, besides correcting the numerous typographical errors of Gryphus of Leyden, by whom it was first published in 1543. His extraordinary and unwearied diligence enabled Mr. Ruddiman to present the world, in 1709, with a new edition, with notes, of another learned work. This was *Johnstoni Cantici Solomonis Paraphrasis Poetica*, which he dedicated, in a copy of verses, to his patron Dr. Pitcairne, a compliment which the latter acknowledged by presenting the learned editor with a silver cup, inscribed with the following couplet from Horace:

"Narratur et prisci Catonis.
Sæpe mero incluisse virtus."

Mr. Ruddiman, however, was not permitted long to rejoice in the possession of this elegant testimony

of his patron's esteem for him. His house was shortly after broken into by robbers, and the silver cup, with many other articles, carried off.

The reputation which the learned and acute grammarian had acquired by the new editions of the works just named, was still farther increased by that in which he next engaged. This was an edition of Virgil's *Æneid*, as translated into Scottish verse by the celebrated Gavin Douglas. To this work, which was published by Freebairn of Edinburgh, besides superintending and correcting the press, he contributed a glossary, explaining difficult and obsolete words; a performance which bespeaks great depth of research, soundness of judgment, and singular acuteness of perception. Mr. Ruddiman's modesty (for he was as modest as learned) prevented him from associating with the glossary any kind of notice which should point out to the public that he was the author of it: but after some time this fact transpired, and compliments poured in upon him from the most eminent and learned men of the day.

A vacancy happening to occur about this period in the grammar-school of Dundee, Mr. Ruddiman, whose fame as a scholar was now rapidly spreading abroad, was invited to become rector of that seminary; but an advance of salary having been tendered him by the faculty of advocates to induce him to remain, he accepted it, and declined the offer of the magistrates of Dundee, although he thereby sacrificed his pecuniary interests to a considerable amount, for the additional salary which was conferred upon him was still short of that of the rectorship of the Dundee grammar-school.

Still pursuing his literary labours with unremitting industry, he in 1711 assisted in preparing a new edition of the works of Drummond of Hawthornden, printed by Watson of Edinburgh, and immediately after lent his aid to Abercromby, to publish his *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*. Mr. Ruddiman next devoted himself to philological pursuits; and in 1713 published a new edition of the *Latin Vocabulary* of John Forrest, with improvements. In the year following he published that work which filled up the measure of his fame. This was his *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*, a work which he lived to see go through no less than fifteen editions. It is almost unnecessary to add, that it immediately supplanted all those of a similar kind which had been previously in use, every one of which was singularly defective; and that it has remained in extensive use throughout the grammar-schools of Scotland ever since.

Shortly after this Mr. Ruddiman was employed by Freebairn to edit *Buchanani Opera Omnia*, now collected for the first time. To this work, which was published in 1715, in two vols. folio, he contributed large annotations, in which he treated freely both the character and political principles of the author; a procedure which raised him a host of enemies, and involved him in a litigated and annoying controversy. This hostility assumed in one instance the formidable shape of a "Society of the Scholars of Edinburgh, to Vindicate that Incomparably Learned and Pious Author (Buchanan) from the Calumnie of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman." This association, however, though it included no less than four professors of the university, never made any progress in their proposed "vindication," and finally dissolved without accomplishing anything, although they frequently and confidently promised the world a new edition of Buchanan, with a *confutation* of Ruddiman.

In 1715 Mr. Ruddiman added to his other avocations that of printer, admitting a younger brother of his own, who had been bred to the business, as

a partner of the concern. The first production of his press was the second volume of Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*. Amongst the learned works of note which he printed subsequently, were, the first volume of *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, 1722, for which he wrote a preface; *Ovidii Excerpta ex Metamorphoseon Libris*, containing English Notes, by Willymot and himself, 1723; *Herodian*, 1724; "Pars Prima" of his own *Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones*, 1725, which brought him a great accession of fame and profit; and "Pars Secunda" of the same work. He also printed, in 1733, *A Dissertation upon the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue*.

In 1718 Mr. Ruddiman took an active part in forming a literary society—the first, it is believed, which was established in Edinburgh. It was originally composed of the masters of the high-school, but was soon joined by many of the most eminent persons in the city; amongst these was Mr. Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames. Of the proceedings of this society, however, nothing is known, as its records, if there ever were any, have all disappeared.

It had long been an object of Mr. Ruddiman's ambition, after he became a printer, to obtain the appointment of printer to the university, and he was at length gratified with the office. In 1728 he was nominated, conjunctly with James Davidson, printer to the college, during the lives of both (so their patent ran), and during the life of the longest liver. Previously to this, viz. in 1724, Mr. Ruddiman began to print the continuation of the *Caledonian Mercury* for Rolland, who was then its proprietor; but in 1729 he acquired the whole interest in that paper, which was transferred to him in March of the year just named, and continued in his family till 1772, when it was sold by the trustees of his grandchildren.

Notwithstanding the variety and importance of his numerous avocations, Mr. Ruddiman still retained the appointment of assistant-librarian in the Advocates' Library, and never allowed any of these avocations to interfere, in the smallest degree, with the faithful and diligent discharge of the duties of that office. He was still, however, up to the year 1730, but assistant-librarian, the situation of principal keeper being in the possession of Mr. John Spottiswood; but in the year named his long and faithful services in the library were rewarded by the chief appointment, on the death of Mr. Spottiswood. In Mr. Ruddiman's case, however, this promotion was entirely honorary, for it was unaccompanied by any additional salary.

Mr. Ruddiman's reputation as a Latinist now stood so high, that he was employed to translate public papers. Amongst these he translated the charter of the Royal Bank from English into Latin, before the seals were affixed to it; and also the city of Edinburgh's "Charter of Admiralty." His wealth, in the meantime, was improving apace. All his undertakings succeeded with him, and his diligence and economy turned them to the best account. He was in the habit of making periodical estimates of his riches, which he entered in his memorandum books. These show a gradual increase in his wealth, and discover that it had amounted in 1736 to £1985, 6s. 3d.

Amongst the last of his literary labours was an elaborate preface, or rather introduction, to Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*; an able and learned disquisition on various subjects of antiquity. Being now in the sixty-fifth year of his age, he ceased for a time, after the completion of the work just spoken of, from every

kind of literary employment; and, nearly at the same period, resigned his half of the printing concern to his son, allowing, however, his name to remain in the firm, in order to continue its credit.

During the summer of 1745 Mr. Ruddiman, to avoid the dangers of the rebellion, retired to the country, where he resided for several months, amusing himself by literary pursuits. He afterwards prepared a "*Pars Tertia*" to his *Grammaticæ Latine*, &c., but did not adventure on its publication, as he feared the sale would not pay the expense. He subsequently, however, published an abstract of this work, subjoined to what is called his *Shorter Grammar* of which he received in 1756 the royal privilege of being exclusive printer. In 1751 the venerable grammarian's sight began to fail him, and under this affliction, finding that he could no longer conscientiously retain the appointment of keeper of the Advocates' Library, he resigned it early in the year 1752, after a faithful discharge of the duties of librarian in that institution of nearly half a century. The latter years of Mr. Ruddiman's life were embittered by a political controversy, into which he was dragged by the vanity and pertinacity of Mr. George Logan, who persecuted him with unrelenting virulence in no less than six different treatises, which he wrote against the political principles avowed in Mr. Ruddiman's *Annotations on Buchanan*, particularly that which asserted the hereditary rights of the Scottish kings. Mr. Ruddiman died at Edinburgh on the 19th of January, 1757, in the eighty-third year of his age; and his remains were interred in the Grayfriars' Churchyard of that city. A handsome tablet to the memory of Ruddiman was erected in 1806, in the New Grayfriars' Church, at the expense of his relative Dr. William Ruddiman, late of India. It exhibits the following inscription:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THAT CELEBRATED SCHOLAR AND WORTHY MAN,
THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A.M.,

KEEPER OF THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY NEAR FIFTY YEARS.

Born, October, 1674, within three miles of the town of Banff;

Died at Edinburgh, 19th January, 1757,

In his eighty-third year.

Post obitum, benefacta manent, æternæque virtus,

Non metuit Stygiis ne rapiatur aquis.

RUNCIMAN, ALEXANDER, a painter of considerable note, was the son of a builder in Edinburgh, where he was born in the year 1736. Having shown in his earliest years a decided inclination for drawing, his father furnished him with the proper materials; and while a mere boy, he roved through the fields, taking sketches of every interesting piece of landscape which fell in his way. At fourteen he was placed under the care of Messrs. John and Robert Norrie, house-painters; the former of whom used to adorn the mantle-pieces of the houses which he was employed to paint with landscapes of his own, which were then deemed respectable productions, and of which many a specimen is still preserved in the houses of the old town of Edinburgh. The youth devoted himself entirely to his art. "Other artists," said one who had been his companion, "talked meat and drink; but Runciman talked landscape." About this time the academy for rearing young artists was commenced at Glasgow by the brothers Foulis, and Runciman became one of its pupils. He soon acquired considerable local fame for his landscapes, but failed entirely to make a living by them. Despairing of success in this branch of art, he commenced history-painting; and in 1766 visited Italy, where he met Fuseli, whose wild and distempered character matched aptly with his own. He spent five years in Rome assiduously studying

and copying the Italian masters; and in 1771 returned to his native country, with powers considerably increased, while his taste, formerly over-luxuriant and wild, had experienced a corresponding improvement. Just at that time a vacancy had occurred in the mastership of a public institution, called the Trustees' Academy; and the place, to which was attached a salary of £120, was offered to and accepted by Runciman. Being thus secured in the means of bare subsistence, he applied his vacant time to historical painting, and produced a considerable number of specimens, which, though not destitute of faults, were regarded with much favour, not only in his native country, where native talent of this kind was a novelty, but also in England, where several of them were exhibited. Among the productions of Runciman may be mentioned, "Macbeth and Banquo," in a landscape; "a Friar," in a landscape; "Job in Distress;" "Samson Strangling the Lion;" "Figure of Hope;" "St Margaret Landing in Scotland, and her Marriage to Malcolm Canmore in Dunfermline Abbey;" "Christ Talking to the Woman of Samaria;" "Agrippina Landing with the Ashes of Germanicus;" "the Princess Nausicaa surprised by Ulysses;" "Andromeda;" "Sigismunda Weeping over the Heart of Tancred;" "the Ascension (in the Cowgate Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh);" "the Prodigal Son (for which Ferguson the poet was the study);" and the paintings in Ossian's Hall at Pennycook. The work last mentioned was the *chef d'œuvre* of Runciman, and is allowed to be one of no small merit, though not exempt from his usual faults. The design was his own, but was only carried into effect through the liberality of Sir John Clerk of Pennycook, the representative of a family which has been remarkable throughout a century for talent, enlightened views, and patronage of men of genius. The principal paintings are twelve in number, referring to the most striking passages in the work called *Ossian's Poems*. The task was one of no small magnitude, but the painter dreamed of rivalling the famed Sistine Chapel, and laboured at his work with only too much enthusiasm. In consequence of having to paint so much in a recumbent posture, and perhaps denying himself that exercise which the physical powers demand, he contracted a malady which carried him slowly to the grave. He died, October 21, 1785, dropping down suddenly on the street, when about to enter his lodgings.

Runciman was remarkable for candour and simplicity of manners, and possessed a happy talent for conversation, which caused his company to be courted by some of the most eminent literary men of his time. Hume, Robertson, Kames, and Monboddo, were among the number of his frequent visitors. But his real worth and goodness of heart were best known to his most intimate friends, who had access to him at all times. Nor was he less remarkable for his readiness in communicating information and advice to young artists, in order to further their improvement in the arts. His pupil, John Brown, has passed the following judgment upon his merits as a painter:—"His fancy was fertile, his discernment of character keen, his taste truly elegant, and his conceptions always great. Though his genius seems to be best suited to the grand and serious, yet many of his works amply prove that he could move with equal success in the less elevated line of the gay and the pleasing. His chief excellence was composition, the noblest part of the art, in which it is doubtful whether he had any living superior. With regard to the truth, the harmony, the richness, and the gravity of colouring—in that style, in short, which is the peculiar characteristic of the ancient Venetian and

the direct contrast of the modern English school—he was unrivalled. His works, it must be granted, like all those of the present times, were far from being perfect; but it was Runciman's peculiar misfortune, that his defects were of such a nature as to be obvious to the most unskilful eye; whilst his beauties were of a kind which few have sufficient taste or knowledge of the art to discern, far less to appreciate.

JOHN RUNCIMAN, a brother of the above, was also a painter of some note, and produced, among other pieces, "Judith with the Head of Holofernes;" "Christ with his Disciples going to Emmaus;" "King Lear and Attendants in the Storm;" and the "Pulling Down of the Netherbow Port," usually attributed to Alexander, and which has the honour to be placed in the gallery of the Duke of Sutherland. Of most of the pictures of both artists, engravings and etchings have been executed, some of the latter by themselves.

RUSSELL, ALEXANDER, author of the *History of Aleppo*, was born in Edinburgh, and educated for the medical profession. After finishing his studies in the university of that city about the year 1734, he proceeded to London, and soon after went to Aleppo, where he settled as physician to the English factory in 1740. The influence of a noble and sagacious character was here soon felt, and Mr. Russell became in time the most influential character in the place: even the pasha hardly entered upon any proceeding of importance without consulting him. After residing there for a considerable time, during which he wrote his *History of Aleppo*, he returned to his native country, and, settling in London, soon acquired an extensive and lucrative practice. His work was published there in 1755. He also contributed several valuable papers to the Royal and Medical Societies. This excellent individual died in London, November 25, 1768.

Dr. Russell was one of a family of seven sons, all of whom acquired the respect of the world. His younger brother, Patrick, succeeded him as physician to the factory at Aleppo, and was the author of a *Treatise on the Plague*, published in 1791, and *Descriptions of Two Hundred Fishes collected on the Coast of Coromandel*, which appeared in 1803, in two volumes folio. Dr. Patrick Russell died July 2, 1805, in his seventy-ninth year.

RUSSELL, WILLIAM, a historical and miscellaneous writer, was the elder son of Alexander Russell and Christian Ballantyne, residing at Windydoors, in the county of Selkirk, where he was born in the year 1741. At the neighbouring school of Innerleithen he acquired a slender knowledge of Latin and Greek, and having removed in 1756 to Edinburgh, he there studied writing and arithmetic for about ten months. This completed the amount of his school education. He now commenced an apprenticeship of five years under Messrs. Martin & Wotherspoon, booksellers and printers, during which period he added considerably to his stock of knowledge by private study. At the end of his apprenticeship he published a selection of modern poetry, which was thought judicious, and helped to extend the reputation of Gray and Shenstone in his native country. In 1763, while working as a journeyman printer, he became a member of a literary association styled the Miscellaneous Society, of which Mr. Andrew Dalzell, afterwards Professor of Greek in the Edinburgh university, and Mr. Robert Liston, afterwards Sir Robert and ambassador at Constantinople, were also members. To these two gentlemen he sub-

mitted a translation of Crebillon's *Rhadamisthe et Zenobie*, which, after their revival, was presented to Garrick, but rejected. Not long after he seems to have formed an intimacy with Patrick Lord Elibank, who invited him to spend some time at his seat in East Lothian, and encouraged him in the prosecution of a literary career. He therefore relinquished his labours as a printer; and after spending a considerable time in study at his father's house in the country, set out, in May, 1767, for London. Here he was disappointed in his best hopes, and found it necessary to seek subsistence as corrector of the press to Mr. Strachan, the celebrated printer. While prosecuting this employment he published several essays in prose and verse, but without arresting popular attention. His *Sentimental Tales* appeared in 1770; his *Fables, Sentimental and Moral*, and translation of Thomas' *Essay on the Character of Women*, in 1772; and his *Julia*, a poetical romance, in 1774. Other pieces were scattered throughout the periodical works. His success was nevertheless such as to enable him to give up his office at the press, and depend upon his pen for subsistence. After an unsuccessful *History of America*, he produced in 1779 the first two volumes of the work by which alone his name has been rescued from oblivion—the *History of Modern Europe*: the three remaining volumes appeared in 1784.

This has ever since been reckoned a useful and most convenient work on the subject which it treats. "It possesses," says Dr. Irving, with whose opinion we entirely concur, "great merit, as a popular view of a very extensive period of history. The author displays no inconsiderable judgment in the selection of his leading incidents, and in the general arrangement of his materials; and he seems to have studied the philosophy of history with assiduity and success. His narrative is always free from languor; and his liberal reflections are conveyed in a lively and elegant style." Dr. Irving states that, in the composition of each volume of this book, the author spent twelve months. He closed the history with the peace of Paris in 1763; and it has been continued to the close of the reign of George IV. by Dr. Coote and other writers.

Mr. Russell's studies were interrupted for a while in 1780, by a voyage to Jamaica, which he undertook for the purpose of recovering some money left there by a deceased brother. In 1787 he married Miss Scott, and retired to a farm called Knottholm, near Langholm, where he spent the remainder of his days in an elegant cottage on the banks of the Esk. In 1792 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from St. Andrews, and in the ensuing year published the first two volumes of a *History of Ancient Europe*, which is characterized by nearly the same qualities as the former work. He did not live, however, to complete this undertaking, being cut off by a sudden stroke of palsy, December 25, 1793. He was buried in the churchyard of the parish of Westerkirk. This accomplished writer left a widow and a daughter.

Dr. Russell was a man of indefatigable industry. Before he had perfected one scheme another always presented itself to his mind. Besides two complete tragedies, entitled *Pyrrhus* and *Zenobia*, he left behind him an analysis of Bryant's *Mythology*, and the following unfinished productions: 1. *The Earl of Strafford*, a tragedy. 2. *Modern Life*, a comedy. 3. *The Love Marriage*, an opera. 4. *Human Happiness*, a poem intended to have been composed in four books. 5. *A Historical and Philosophical View of the Progress of Mankind in the Knowledge of the Terrestrial Globe*. 6. *The History of Modern Europe, Part III., from the Peace of Paris in 1763,*

to the *General Pacification* in 1783. 7. *The History of England from the Beginning of the Reign of George III. to the Conclusion of the American War.* In the composition of the last of these works he was engaged at the time of his death. It was to be composed in three volumes 8vo, for the copyright of which Mr. Cadell had stipulated to pay £750.

"Dr. Russell," says one who knew him,¹ "without exhibiting the graces of polished life, was an agreeable companion, and possessed a considerable fund of general knowledge, and a zeal for literature and genius which approached to enthusiasm. In all his undertakings he was strictly honourable, and deserved the confidence reposed in him by his employers."

RUTHERFORD, JOHN, a learned physician of the eighteenth century, was the son of the Rev. Mr. Rutherford, minister of the parish of Yarrow in Selkirkshire, and was born August 1, 1695. After going through a classical course at the school of Selkirk, and studying mathematics and natural philosophy at the Edinburgh university, he engaged himself as apprentice to a surgeon in that city, with whom he remained till 1716, when he went to London. He there attended the hospitals, and the lectures of Dr. Douglas on anatomy, André on surgery, and Strother on *materia medica*. He afterwards studied at Leyden under Boerhaave, and at Paris and Rheims; receiving from the university of the latter city his degree of M.D. in July, 1719.

Having in 1721 settled as a physician in Edinburgh, Dr. Rutherford was one of that fraternity of able and distinguished men—consisting, besides, of Monro, Sinclair, Plummer, and Innes—who established the medical school which still flourishes in the Scottish capital. Monro had been lecturing on anatomy for a few years, when, in 1725, the other gentlemen above-mentioned began to give lectures on the other departments of medical science. When the professorships were finally adjusted on the death of Dr. Innes, the chair of the practice of medicine fell to the share of Dr. Rutherford. He continued in that honourable station till the year 1765, delivering his lectures always in Latin, of which language it is said he had a greater command than of his own. About the year 1748 he began the system of clinical lectures; a most important improvement in the medical course of the university. After retiring, in 1765, from his professional duties, Dr. Rutherford lived, highly respected by all the eminent physicians who had been his pupils, till 1779, when he died in the eighty-fourth year of his age. This venerable person, by his daughter Anne Rutherford, was the grandfather of that eminent ornament of modern literature, Sir Walter Scott.

RUTHERFORD, SAMUEL, a celebrated divine, was born about the year 1600, in the parish of Nisbet (now annexed to Crailing), in Roxburghshire, where his parents seem to have been engaged in agricultural pursuits. The locality and circumstances of his early education are unknown. He entered in 1617 as a student at the university of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1621. Nothing has been recorded of the rank he held, or the appearances he made as a student, but they must have been at least respectable; for at the end of two years we find him elected one of the regents of the college. On this occasion he had three competitors; one of them of the same standing with himself, and

two of them older. Of these, Mr. Will, a master of the high-school, according to Crawford in his history of the university, "pleased the judges best, for his experience and actual knowledge; yet the whole regents, out of their particular knowledge of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, demonstrated to them his eminent abilities of mind and virtuous dispositions, wherewith the judges being satisfied, declared him successor in the profession of humanity." How he acted in this situation we have not been told; nor did he continue long enough to make his qualifications generally apparent, being forced to demit his charge, as asserted by Crawford, on account of some scandal in his marriage, towards the end of the year 1625, only two years after he had entered upon it. What that scandal in his marriage was has never been explained; but it is presumed to have been trifling, as it weighed so little in the estimation of the town-council of Edinburgh, the patrons of the university, that they granted him "ane honest gratification at his demission;" and at a subsequent period, in conjunction with the presbytery, warmly solicited him to become one of the ministers of the city, particularly with a view to his being appointed to the divinity chair in the university, so soon as a vacancy should take place; and they were disappointed in their views with regard to him, only by the voice of the General Assembly of the church, which appointed him to St. Andrews. Relieved from the duty of teaching others, Mr. Rutherford seems now to have devoted himself to the study of divinity under Mr. Andrew Ramsay, whose prelections, it is not improbable, he frequented during the time he acted as a regent in teaching humanity. Theology, indeed, in those days, was conjoined with every part of education. This was particularly the case in the college of Edinburgh, where the principal, every Wednesday at three o'clock, delivered a lecture upon a theological subject to the whole of the students, assembled in the common hall. The students were also regularly assembled every Sunday morning in their several class-rooms, along with their regents, where they were employed in reading the Scriptures; after which they attended with their regents the public services of religion; returned again to the college, and gave an analysis of the sermons they had heard, and of the portion of Scripture they had read in the morning. By these means their biblical knowledge kept pace with their other acquirements, and they were insensibly trained to habits of seriousness and devotion. In this manner were all our early reformers educated; and though they spent less time in the theological class, properly so called, than is generally done in modern times, judging by the effects that followed their administrations, as well as by the specimens of their works that yet remain, they were not less qualified for their work than any of those who have succeeded them. When, or by whom, Mr. Rutherford was licensed to preach the gospel has not been recorded; but in the year 1627 he was settled pastor of the parish of Anwoth, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Anwoth, before the Reformation, had been a dependency on the monastery of St. Mary's Isle; but was united *quoad sacra* to Kirkdale and Kirkmabreck, and the three parishes were under the ministry of one clergyman. In consequence of "this most inconvenient union," the people of Anwoth had sermon only every alternate Sabbath. It was now, however, disjoined from the other parishes, and a place of worship had been newly built for their accommodation; which, though the parish has erected a modern and more elegant church, is still preserved, and regarded, for the sake of the first occupant, the subject

¹ Mr. Alexander Chalmers, in his *General Biographical Dictionary*—art. "William Russell."

of this memoir, with a kind of religious veneration. The disjunction of the parishes had been principally effected by the exertions of John Gordon of Kenmure, afterwards created Viscount Kenmure, who had selected the celebrated Mr. John Livingstone to occupy it. Circumstances, however, prevented that arrangement from taking effect; and "the Lord," says Livingstone in his memoirs, "provided a great deal better for them, for they got that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Rutherford." Of the manner of his settlement we know no particulars; only that by some means or other he succeeded in being settled without acknowledging the bishops, which was no easy matter at that time. Perhaps no man ever undertook a pastoral charge with a more thorough conviction of its importance than Rutherford; and the way had been so well prepared before him that he entered upon it with great advantages, and his endeavours were followed by very singular effects. The powerful preaching of Mr. John Welsh, aided by his other labours of love, had diffused a spirit of religion through all that district, which was still vigorous, though he had left Kirkcudbright seventeen years before.

Rutherford was accustomed to rise every morning at three o'clock. The early part of the day he spent in prayer and meditation; the remainder he devoted to the more public duties of his calling, visiting the sick, catechising his flock, and instructing them, in a progress from house to house. "They were the cause and objects," he informs us, "of his tears, care, fear, and daily prayers. He laboured among them early and late; and my witness," he declares to them, "is above, that your heaven would be two heavens to me, and the salvation of you all as two salvations to me." Nor were his labours confined to Anwoth. "He was," says Livingstone, "a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country, who had been the fruits of the ministry of Mr. John Welsh, the time he had been at Kirkcudbright;" and the whole country, we are told by Mr. M'Ward, accounted themselves his particular flock.

In the month of June, 1630, Mr. Rutherford was bereaved of his wife, after an illness of upwards of thirteen months, when they had been yet scarcely five years married. Her death seems to have greatly distressed him, and though he nowhere in his correspondence ventures to introduce the subject directly, he frequently alludes to it in terms of the deepest tenderness. In the month of September, 1634, Mr. Rutherford lost his great patron, John Gordon, who had been created in the previous year Viscount of Kenmure, and a storm was now brooding over him which was soon to drive him from his station at Anwoth. The see of Galloway became vacant by the death of Lamb, who was succeeded by Sydserff, Bishop of Brechin, an Arminian, and a man of the most intolerant disposition. This appointment gave a new turn to affairs in that quarter. A person of sentiments altogether opposite to those of the people of Kirkcudbright was forced upon them, while their old and valuable pastor was forbidden the exercise of any part of his office. Nor did Rutherford escape. He had been summoned before the high commissioners in the year 1630, at the instance of a profligate person in his parish. Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway, had erected a high-commission court within his own diocese, before which Rutherford was called, and deprived of his office in 1636. This sentence was immediately confirmed by the high commission at Edinburgh, and he was sentenced before the 20th of August to confine himself within the town of Aberdeen till it should be the king's pleasure to relieve him. The crimes charged against him were,

preaching against the Articles of Perth, and writing against the Arminians. The time allowed him did not permit of his visiting his friends or his flock at Anwoth; but he paid a visit to David Dickson at Irvine, whence he wrote, "being on his journey to Christ's palace at Aberdeen." He arrived at his place of confinement within the time specified; being accompanied by a deputation from his parish of Anwoth. His reception in this great stronghold of Scottish Episcopacy was not very gratifying. The learned doctors, as the clergy of Aberdeen were called *par excellence*, hastened to let him feel their superiority, and to display the loyalty of their faith, by confuting the principles held by the persecuted stranger. The pulpits were everywhere made to ring against him, and Dr. Baron, their principal leader, did not scruple to attack him personally for his antipathy to the doctrines of Arminius and the ceremonies; "but three yokings," Rutherford afterwards wrote, "laid him by, and I have not been since troubled with him." Notwithstanding the coolness of his first reception, he soon became popular in Aberdeen, and his sentiments beginning to gain ground, the doctors were induced to petition the court that he might be removed still farther north, or banished from the kingdom. This last seems to have been determined on, and a warrant by the king was forwarded to Scotland to that effect, the execution of which was only prevented by the establishment of the Tables at Edinburgh, and the consequent downfall of Episcopacy. In consequence of these movements, Rutherford ventured to leave Aberdeen, and to return to his beloved people at Anwoth, in the month of February, 1638, having been absent from them rather more than a year and a half. His flock had, in the meantime, successfully resisted all the efforts of Sydserff to impose upon them a minister of his own choosing. It is not probable, however, that after this period they enjoyed much of the ministrations of Rutherford, as we soon after find him actively employed in the metropolis, in forwarding, by his powerful and impressive eloquence, the great work of reformation which was then going so successfully forward. On the renewal of the covenant he was deputed, along with Mr. Andrew Cant, to prepare the people of Glasgow for a concurrence in that celebrated instrument. He was also a delegate from the presbytery of Kirkcudbright to the General Assembly which met in that city in November, 1638, and was by that court honourably assiozied from the charges preferred against him by the bishops and the high commission. To the commission of this Assembly applications were made by the corporation of Edinburgh to have Mr. Rutherford transported from Anwoth, to be one of the ministers of that city, and by the university of St. Andrews to have him nominated professor of divinity to the new college there. To the latter situation he was appointed by the commission, greatly against his own mind, and to the no small grief of the people of Anwoth, who omitted no effort to retain him. The petitions of the parish of Anwoth and of the county of Galloway on this occasion are both preserved, and never were more honourable testimonies borne to the worth of an individual, or stronger evidence afforded of the high estimation in which his services were held. The public necessities of the church, however, were supposed to be such as to set aside all private considerations, and Rutherford proceeded to the scene of his new duties in October, 1639.

On the 19th of that month, having previously entered upon his labours in the college, he was inducted by the presbytery as colleague to Mr. Robert Blair in the church of St. Andrews, which seems

at this time to have been no very pleasing situation. In the days of Melville and Buchanan the university was the most flourishing in the kingdom; now it was become, under the care of the bishops, the very nursery of superstition in worship and error in doctrine: "but God," says one of Rutherford's pupils, "did so singularly second his indefatigable pains, both in teaching and preaching, that the university forthwith became a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars for building the house of God throughout the land." In the Assembly of 1640 Rutherford was involved in a dispute respecting private society meetings, which he defended, along with Messrs. Robert Blair and David Dickson, against the greater part of his brethren, who, under the terrors of Independency, which in a short time overspread the land, condemned them. It was probably owing to this dispute that two years afterwards he published his *Peaceable Plea for Paul's Presbytery*, an excellent and temperate treatise; equally remote from anarchy on the one hand, and that unbending tyranny which Presbytery has too often assumed on the other. In 1642 he received a call to the parish of West Calder, which he was not permitted to accept, though he seems to have been desirous of doing so. He was one of the commissioners from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, where his services were acknowledged by all parties to have been of great importance. The other commissioners from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland were permitted to visit their native country by turns, and to report the progress which was made in the great work; but Rutherford never quitted his post till his mission was accomplished. His wife (for he married the second time after entering upon his charge at St. Andrews) and all his family seem to have accompanied him. Two of his children, apparently all that he then had, died while he was in England. He had also along with him as his amanuensis, Mr. Robert M'Ward, afterwards minister of the Tron Church, Glasgow, and who was banished for non-conformity at the Restoration. Mr. Rutherford exerted himself to promote the common cause, not only in the Assembly, but by means of the press, in a variety of publications, bearing the impress of great learning and research, combined with clear and comprehensive views of the subjects of which they treated. The first of these was the "*Due Right of Presbytery*;" or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland," a work of great erudition, and which called forth a reply from Mr. Mather of New England; one of the best books that has yet been produced on that side of the question. The same year he published *Lex Rex*, a most rational reply to a piece of insane loyalty emitted by John Maxwell, the excommunicated Bishop of Ross. Next year, 1645, he published *The Trial and Triumph of Faith*, an admirable treatise of practical divinity; and in 1646, "*The Divine Right of Church Government*, in Opposition to the Erastians." In 1647 he published another excellent piece of practical theology, *Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners*; which was followed next year, though he had then returned to Scotland, by a *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*, written against Saltmarsh, Dee, Town, Crisp, Eaton, and the other Antinomians of that day. In 1649 he published at London a *Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, particularly directed against the Independents. All of these productions are highly honourable to the talents of the author, and place his industry and fertility of mind in a singularly favourable point of view.

Rutherford, in returning to the former scene of

his professorial and pastoral labours, must have felt agreeably relieved from the business and the bustle of a popular assembly, and hoped probably that now he might rest in his lot. Far otherwise, however, was the case. He was, in January, 1649, at the recommendation of the commission of the General Assembly, appointed principal of the new college, of which he was already professor of divinity; and not long after he was elevated to the rectorship of the university. An attempt had also been made in the General Assembly of 1649 to have him removed to the university of Edinburgh, which, Baillie says, "was thought to be absurd, and so was laid aside." He had an invitation at the same time to the chair of divinity and Hebrew in the university of Hardewyck in Holland, which he declined; and on the 20th of May, 1651, he was elected to fill the divinity chair in the university of Utrecht. This appointment was immediately transmitted to him by his brother, Mr. James Rutherford, then an officer in the Dutch service, who by the way fell into the power of an English cruiser, and was stripped of everything, and confined a prisoner in Leith, till he was, through the intervention of the States, set at liberty. As he had, in consequence of this disaster, nothing but a verbal invitation to offer, Rutherford refused to accept it. James Rutherford returned directly to Holland, and the magistrates of Utrecht, still hoping to succeed, sent him back with a formal invitation in the end of the same year. Rutherford seems now to have been in some degree of hesitation, and requested six months to advise upon the subject. At the end of this period he wrote to the patrons of the college, thanking them for the high honour they had done him, but informing them that he could not think of abandoning his own church in the perilous circumstances in which it then stood.

The whole of the subsequent life of Samuel Rutherford was one continued struggle with the open and concealed enemies of the Church of Scotland. After the Restoration, when, though infirm in body, his spirit was still alive to the cause of religion, he recommended that some of the protesters should be sent to the king, to give a true representation of the state of matters in the church, which he well knew would never be done by Sharp, whose the resolution party had employed, and in whom they had the most perfect confidence,—when the protesters applied to the resolution party to join them in such a necessary duty, they refused to have anything to do with their more zealous brethren; and when these met at Edinburgh to consult on the matter, they were dispersed by authority, their papers seized, and the principal persons among them imprisoned. This was the first act of the committee of estates after the Restoration; and it was composed of the same persons who had sworn to the covenant along with Charles ten years before. The next act of the committee was an order for burning *Lex Rex*, and punishing all who should afterwards be found in possession of a copy. The book was accordingly burned, with every mark of indignity, at the cross of Edinburgh; a ceremony which Sharp repeated in front of the new college, beneath Mr. Rutherford's windows, in St. Andrews. Rutherford was at the same time deprived of his situation in the college, his stipend confiscated, himself confined to his own house, and cited to appear before the ensuing parliament, on a charge of high treason. Before the meeting of parliament, however, he was beyond the reach of all his enemies. He had long been in bad health, and now the utter ruin that he saw coming on the church entirely broke his spirit. Sensible that he was dying, he published, on the 26th of February, 1661, a testimony to the

reformation in Great Britain and Ireland. This testimony occupies ten octavo pages, and is remarkably clear and particular. Of his last moments we can afford space only for a very brief account. He seemed to enjoy a singular rapture and elevation of spirit. "I shall shine," he said; "I shall see him as he is: I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him, and I shall have my share. Mine eyes shall see my Redeemer; these very eyes of mine, and none for me. I disclaim," he remarked at the same time, "all that ever God made me will or do, and I look upon it as defiled or imperfect, as coming from me. But Christ is to me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." Of the schisms that had rent the church, he remarked, "those whom ye call protesters are the witnesses of Jesus Christ. I hope never to depart from that cause, nor side with those of the opposite party who have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice. But I believe the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waste places of Jacob. Oh to obtain mercy to wrestle with God for their salvation!" To his only surviving child (a daughter) he said, "I have left you upon the Lord; it may be you will tell this to others, that the lines are fallen to me in pleasant places. I have got a goodly heritage. I bless the Lord that he gave me counsel." His last words were, "Glory, glory dwell-eth in Immanuel's land;" and he expired on the morning of the 20th of March, 1661, in the sixty-first year of his age.

Mr Rutherford was unquestionably one of the most able, learned, and consistent Presbyterians of his age; while in his *Familiar Letters*, published posthumously, he evinces a fervour of feeling and fancy, that, in other circumstances, and otherwise exerted, would have ranked him among the most successful cultivators of literature. Wodrow has observed, that those who knew him best were at a loss which to admire, his sublime genius in the school, or his familiar condescensions in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church.

RYMER, THOMAS, of Ercildon, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, and otherwise styled Thomas Learmont, was a distinguished person of the thirteenth century. So little is known respecting him, that even his name has become a matter of controversy. How the name of LEARMONT came to be given him is not known; but in none of the early authorities do we find it; and although it has long been received as the bard's patronymic, it is now, by inquiring antiquaries, considered a misnomer. In a charter granted by his son and heir to the convent of Soltra, he is called *Thomas Rymer de Erceldun*. Robert de Brunne, Fordun, Barbour, and Winton call him simply Thomas of Erceldoun; while Henry the Minstrel calls him Thomas Rymer.

Erceldoune, or, according to the modern corruption, Earlstoun, is a small village on the right bank of the Leader water, in Berwickshire. At the western extremity of this village stand, after a lapse of seven centuries, the ruins of the house which Thomas inhabited, called *Rhymer's Tower*; and in the front wall of the village church there is a stone with this inscription on it:—

"Auld Rymer's race
Lies in this place."

The poet must have lived during nearly the whole of the thirteenth century. His romance of *Sir Tristram* is quoted by Gottfried of Strasburg, who flourished about 1230; and it is known he was alive, and in the zenith of his prophetic reputation, in 1286, at the death of Alexander III. He must have been

dead, however, before 1299, as that is the date of the charter, in which his son calls himself *filius et hæres Thomæ Rymour de Erceldoun*. Henry the Minstrel makes him take a part in the adventures of Wallace, in 1296; so, if this authority is to be credited, he must have died between that year and 1299.

To this day the name of Thomas the Rhymer is popularly known in Scotland as a prophet; and it is only by a late discovery of the MS. of a metrical romance called *Sir Tristram* that he has acquired a less exceptional claim to remembrance. The *Prophecies of Thomas the Rhymer* were published, in Latin and English, at Edinburgh, in 1615, and have been repeatedly reprinted, copies of them being still to be found among the country people of Scotland. He is mentioned in his prophetic capacity by many of our early writers. Among the most noted of his predictions is the following, regarding the death of Alexander III., which is thus narrated by Boece, as translated by Ballenden:—"It is said, the day afore the kingis dethe, the erle of Marche demandit ane prophet namit Thomas Rhymour, otherwayis namit Ersiltoun, quhat wedder suld be on the morow. To quhome answert this Thomas, that on the morow afore none, sall blow the gretist wynd that ever was hard afore in Scotland. On the morow, quhen it was neir noon the lift appering loane, but ony din or tempest, the erle send for this prophet, and reprevit hym that he prognosticat sic wynd to be, and nae apperance thairof. This Thomas maid litel answer, bot said, noun is not yet gane. And incontinent ane man came to the yet, schawing the king was slain. Than said the prophet, yone is the wynd that sall blaw to the gret calamity and truble of all Scotland. Thomas wes ane man of gret admiration to the peple, and schaw sundry thingis as thay fell." The common-sense translation of this story is, that Thomas pre-saged to the Earl of March that the next day would be windy; the weather proved calm; but news arrived of the death of Alexander III., which gave an allegorical turn to the prediction, and saved the credit of the prophet.

Barbour, Winton, Henry the Minstrel, and others, all refer to the prophetic character of Thomas. In Barbour's *Bruce*, written about 1370, the Bishop of St Andrews is introduced as saying, after Bruce had slain the Red Cumyn:—

"I hop Thomas' prophecye
Off Hersildowne, weryfyd be
In him; for swa our Lord halp me,
I haiff gret hop he schall be king;
And haiff this land all in leding." —*Bruce*, ii. 26.

Winton's words are these:—

"Of this sycht quhilum spak Thomas
Of Erceldoune, that sayd in derne,
Thare suld meet stalwartly, stark, and sterne.
He sayd it in his prophecie,
But how he wist, it was ferly."

Henry the Minstrel represents him as saying, on being falsely told that Wallace was dead:—

"Forsuth, or he decess,
Many thousand on feild sall mak thar end.
And Scotland thriss he sall bring to the peess;
So gud of hand agayne sall nevir be kend."

—*Wallace*, b. ii. ch. 3.

How far Rymer himself made pretensions to the character of a prophet, and how far the reputation has been conferred upon him by the people in his own time and since, it is impossible to determine. It is certain, however, that in almost every subsequent age metrical productions came under public notice, and were attributed to him, though, it might be supposed, they were in general the mere coin of contemporary wits applied to passing events. There are nevertheless a considerable number of rhymes

and proverbial expressions of an antique and primitive character attributed to Thomas the Rhymer, and applicable to general circumstances: of some of these we deem it by no means unlikely that they sprung from the source to which they are ascribed, being in some instances only such exertions of foresight as a man of cultivated understanding might naturally make; and in others dreamy vaticinations of evil which never have been, and perhaps never will be, realized. Many of these may be found in the *Border Minstrelsy*, and in *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* and the *Picture of Scotland*. It may also be mentioned, as illustrative of the forceful character of this early and obscure genius, that he and his predictions are as well known in the Highlands and Hebrides as in our southern counties. The *Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine*, 1833, gives the two following *Gaelic* predictions, as imputed to him by the Highlanders:—

"Cuiridh fiacail nan caoraich an crann air an sparr."
The teeth of the sheep will lay the plough on the shelf.

"Bithidh muiltèan air gach allt, agus ath air gach enoc;
tombac aig na bunchailleàn, a's gruagachan gun naire;" i.e.
There shall be a mill on every brook, a kiln on every height;
herds shall use tobacco, and young women shall be without shame.

In the introduction to Robert de Brunne's *Annals*, written about 1238, Thomas of Erceldoune is commemorated as the author of the incomparable romance of *Sir Tristrem*. Gottfried of Strasburg, also, a German minstrel of the 13th century, already alluded to, says that many of his profession told the tale of *Sir Tristrem* imperfectly and incorrectly; but that he derived his authority from "Thomas of Britannia [evidently our Thomas], master of the art of romance, who had read the history in British books, and knew the lives of all the lords of the land and made them known to us." This work of our poet was considered to be lost, till a copy of it was discovered among the Auchinleck MSS. belonging to the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, and published, with introduction and notes, by Sir Walter Scott.

From the opening lines of this copy, viz.

"I was at Erceldoune;
With Tomas spak y thare;
Ther herd y rede in rounne,
Who Tristrem gat and bare," &c.

A doubt has arisen whether it be the identical romance composed by Thomas of Erceldoune which was pre-

ferred by his contemporaries to every minstrel tale of the time. But the celebrated editor very satisfactorily demonstrated, from the specific marks by which Robert de Brunne, a contemporary of Thomas, describes the work, that this must be the genuine *Sir Tristrem*, taken probably from the recitation of a minstrel who had heard and retained in his memory the words of Thomas. The date of the MS. does not seem to be much later than 1330, which makes an interval of about forty years between it and the author's time, a period in which some corruptions may have been introduced, but no material change in the formation of the language. Accordingly, the structure of the poem bears a peculiar character. The words are chiefly those of the fourteenth century; but the turn of phrase is, either from antiquity or the affectation of the time when it was written, close, nervous, and concise, even to obscurity. The stanza is very complicated, consisting of eleven lines, of which the 1st, 3d, 5th, and 7th rhyme together, as do the 2d, 4th, 6th, 8th, and 10th. A single stanza will serve to show its intricate and difficult structure. This one speaks of the education of Tristrem by Roland:

"Fiftene yere he gan him fed;
Sir Rohant the trewe;
He taught him ich alede,
Of ich maner of glewe;
And everich playing thede,
Old lawes and newe;
On hunting oft he yede,
To swiche alawe he drew,
Al thus;
More he couthe of veneri,
Than couthe Manerious."

It may be remarked that a complicated verse has been a favourite among the Scottish poets down to the present time. Burns, for instance, has injured some of his best pieces by adopting the jingling stanza of the *Cherry and the Slae*.

By the recovery of this work Scotland can lay an earlier claim to a poem than England; and, indeed, it would appear from what is said by Robert de Brunne, and other circumstances, that the *gests* of the northern minstrels were written in an ambitious and ornate style which the southern harpers marred in repeating, and which plebeian audiences were unable to comprehend; in other words, that the English language received its first rudiments of improvement in this corner of the island, where it is now supposed to be most corrupted.

S.

SAGE, THE RIGHT REV. JOHN, was born in 1652, in the parish of Creich, in the north-east part of the county of Fife, where his ancestors had lived with much respect, but little property, for seven generations; his father was a captain in Lord Duffus's regiment, which was engaged in the defence of Dundee when it was stormed and taken by the parliamentary general Monk, on the 30th August, 1651. Captain Sage's property was diminished in proportion to his loyalty, and all the fortune he had to bestow on his son was a liberal education and his own principles of loyalty and virtue. Young Sage received the rudiments of his education at the school of his native parish, and at a proper age was removed to the university of St. Andrews, where he remained during the usual course, performing the exercises required by the statutes of the Scottish

universities, and where he took the degree of Master of Arts in the year 1672. He made letters his profession; but his means being narrow, he was compelled to accept the office of parochial schoolmaster of Bingry in Fife, from which parish he was soon afterwards removed to the same office in Tippermuir, near Perth. Though in these humble stations he wanted many of the necessities and all the comforts of life, he prosecuted his studies with unwearied diligence; unfortunately, however, in increasing his stock of learning, he imbibed the seeds of several diseases, which afflicted him through the whole of his life, and, notwithstanding the native vigour of his constitution, tended ultimately to shorten his days. To the cultivated mind of such a man as Sage, the drudgery of a parish school must have been an almost intolerable slavery; he therefore

readily accepted the offer from Mr. Drummond of Cultmalundie, of a situation in his family, to superintend the education of his sons. He accompanied these young persons to the grammar-school of Perth, and afterwards attended them in the same capacity of tutor to the university of St. Andrews. At Perth he acquired the esteem of Dr. Rose, who was afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, and one of the most distinguished men of his age; and at St. Andrews he obtained the friendship and countenance of all the great literary characters of the period.

In 1684 the education of his pupils was completed, and he was again thrown on the world, without employment, without prospects, and without any means of subsistence. His friend Dr. Rose, however, having been promoted from the station of parish minister at Perth to the chair of divinity at St. Andrews, did not forget young Sage at this moment of indecision and helplessness, but recommended him so effectually to his uncle Dr. Rose, then Archbishop of Glasgow, that he was by that prelate admitted into priest's orders, and presented to one of the city churches. At the period of his advancement in the church he was about thirty-four years of age: his knowledge of the Scriptures was very great; and he had studied ecclesiastical history, with the writings of all the early fathers of the church: he was thorough master of school divinity, and had entered deeply into the modern controversies, especially those between the Romish and the Protestant churches, and also into the disputes among the rival churches of the Reformation. He was in consequence very highly esteemed by his brethren, and was soon after appointed clerk of the diocesan synod of Glasgow, an office of great responsibility.

During the establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland, from the restoration of Charles II. till the year 1690, the authority of the bishops in the government of the church was exceedingly limited; they possessed indeed the sole power of ordination, but their government was shared by presbyteries and diocesan synods, in which they presided as perpetual moderators, having only the insignificant prerogative of a negative voice over the deliberation of these assemblies. The bishop delivered also a charge to the presbyters at the opening of these meetings, which, with the acts of the synodal or presbyterial meetings, was registered by the clerk, who was always one of the most eminent of the diocesan clergy. In all this period there were neither liturgy, nor forms, nor ceremonies, nor surplices, nor black gowns, nor any mark whatever by which a stranger, on entering a parish church, could discover that any difference in worship or external appearance existed between the established Episcopal church and the tolerated Presbyterian chapel; and we believe it is an established fact, that so much were the minds of the moderate Presbyterians reconciled to Episcopacy, that almost all the indulged ministers, with their congregations, took the communion at the parish churches with the Episcopal clergy towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II.

Mr. Sage continued to officiate as clerk of the diocese, and as a parish minister in Glasgow, till the Revolution in 1688. In executing the duties of his pastoral office, he gained the esteem and affection not only of his own parishioners, but even of the Presbyterians; so much so, that when the common people took the reformation of the church into their own hands, and, with no gentle means, turned the Episcopal clergy of the western shires out of their churches and livings, he was treated in a manner which was considered as comparatively lenient and humane, being warned privately, "to shake off the

dust from his feet and withdraw from Glasgow, and never venture to appear there again." Many of his brethren were trimmers both in ecclesiastical as well as political affairs; they had been Presbyterians and republicans in the days of the covenant, and when, from the signs of the times in the short reign of the infatuated and ill-advised James, a change in the establishment seemed to be approaching, these overzealous converts to Episcopacy suddenly became all gentleness and condescension to the Presbyterians, whom they now courted and caressed. Sage's conduct was the reverse of this; he was heartily and from conviction an Episcopalian and a royalist; and in all his discourses in public and private he laboured to instil those principles into the minds of others. To the persecution of others for difference of opinion he was always steadily opposed, not from any indifference to all opinions, but from a spirit of perfect charity, for he never tamely betrayed through fear what he knew it was his duty to maintain, notwithstanding his indulgence to the prejudices of others.

Thus expelled from Glasgow, he sought shelter in Edinburgh, carrying with him the synodical books, which, it would appear, he had delivered to Bishop Rose, for, after the death of that venerable ecclesiastic, they were found in his possession, and delivered by his nephew to the presbytery of Glasgow. These books had been repeatedly demanded by the new presbytery, but had always been refused from a hope still lingering in Sage's mind that a second restoration should take place; but as the captivity of the Jews always increased in duration in proportion to their number, so has that of the Episcopal church of Scotland. Partly to contribute towards that restoration for which he ardently longed, and partly to support himself under that destitution to which he was now reduced, he commenced as polemical writer, to the infinite annoyance of his adversaries: the following is a list of his works, which are now scarce, and chiefly to be found in the libraries of those who are curious in such things:—1. The second and third letters concerning the "Persecution of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland," printed in London in 1689. The first letter was written by the Rev. Thomas Morer, and the fourth by Professor Monro.—2. "An Account of the Late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, in 1690." London, 1693.—3. *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*. London, 1695.—4. *The Principles of the Cyprianic Age with Regard to Episcopal Power and Jurisdiction*. London, 1695.—5. *A Vindication of the "Principles of the Cyprianic Age"*. London, 1701.—6. "Some Remarks on a Letter from a Gentleman in the City to a Minister in the Country, on Mr. David Williamson's Sermon before the General Assembly." Edinburgh, 1703.—7. "A Brief Examination of Some Things in Mr. Meldrum's Sermon preached on the 6th May, 1703, against a Toleration to those of the Episcopal Persuasion." Edinburgh, 1703.—8. "The Reasonableness of a Toleration of those of the Episcopal Persuasion, inquired into purely on Church Principles," 1704.—9. *The Life of Gavin Douglas*, 1710.—10. "An Introduction to Drummond's History of the Five Jameses." Edinburgh, 1711.

He left, besides, several manuscripts on various subjects that are mentioned in his life by Bishop Gillan, and which were published at London in 1714.

On his retirement to the metropolis he began to officiate to a small body who still adhered to the displaced church; but, peremptorily refusing to take the oaths to the revolution government, such was then the rigour of the officers of state, and the viol-

ence of the populace, that he was ere long compelled at once to demit his charge, and to leave the city, his person being no longer deemed safe. In this extremity he was received into the family, and enjoyed the protection and friendship, of Sir William Bruce, then sheriff of Kinross, who approved of his principles and admired his virtues. Here he remained till 1696. On the imprisonment of his patron, Sir William, who was suspected of disaffection to the government, he ventured in a clandestine manner to visit him in Edinburgh Castle; but his persecutors would give him no respite; he was obliged again to flee for his life to the Grampian Hills, where he lived destitute and penniless under the assumed name of Jackson.

After he had wandered in a destitute state for some time among the braes of Angus, the Countess of Callander offered him an asylum, and the appointment of domestic chaplain for her family, and tutor for her sons. Here he continued for some time, and when the young gentlemen intrusted to his charge were no longer in want of his instructions, he accepted an invitation from Sir John Stewart of Granthly, who desired the assistance of a chaplain, and the conversation of a man of letters. In this situation he remained till the necessities of the church required the Episcopal order to be preserved by new consecrations. The mildness of his manners, the extent of his learning, and his experience recommended him as a fit person on whom to bestow the Episcopal character. He was accordingly consecrated a bishop, on the 25th January, 1705, when no temporal motives could have induced him to accept an office at all times of great responsibility, but at that time of peculiar personal danger. His consecrators were John Paterson, the deprived Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Alexander Rose, deprived Bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, deprived Bishop of Dunblane.

Soon after his promotion, this illustrious man was seized with that illness the seeds of which had been sown in the difficulties and privations of his youth. After patiently lingering a considerable time in Scotland without improvement, the persecutions to which he was subjected increasing his malady, he was induced to try the efficacy of the waters at Bath, in 1709. But this also failed him: the seat of his disease lay deeper than medical skill could reach. He remained a year at Bath and London, where the great recognized and the learned caressed and courted him, and where it was the wish of many distinguished persons that he should spend the remainder of his life. The love of his country and of his native church overcame all entreaties, and he returned to Scotland in 1710, with a debilitated body, but a mind as vigorous as ever. Immediately on his arrival he engaged with undiminished ardour in the publication of Drummond's *Works*, to which Ruddiman, whose friendship he had for many years enjoyed, lent his assistance. Worn out with disease and mental anguish, Bishop Sage died at Edinburgh, on 7th June, 1711, lamented by his friends and feared by his adversaries. His friend Ruddiman always spoke of him as a companion whom he esteemed for his worth, and as a scholar whom he admired for his learning. Sage was unquestionably a man of great ability, and even genius. It is to be lamented, however, that his life and intellect were altogether expended in a wrong position and on a thankless subject. All the sophistical ingenuity that ever was exerted would have been unable to convince the great majority of the Scottish people that the order of bishops was of scriptural institution, or that the government of the two last male Stuarts, in which

a specimen of that order had so notable a share, was a humane or just government. He was a man labouring against the great tide of circumstances and public feeling; and accordingly, those talents which otherwise might have been exerted for the improvement of his fellow-creatures, and the fulfilment of the grand designs of Providence, were thrown away, without producing either immediate or remote good.

SCOT, DAVID, M.D. The nature of the Scottish system of education, by which the means of acquiring the common branches of knowledge are placed within the reach of even the poorest, has had a wondrous power in developing that love of learning which is so common to the better class of intellects; and a mind being thus supplied with the key that opens every gate of art and science, the national energy and perseverance are sufficient for a successful entrance. Hence it is that Scotland can show so many accomplished scholars derived from the lower ranks, who appeared by their position to be doomed to nothing higher than the lot of a common ploughman or artisan. Among the persons of this description, Dr. David Scot holds an honoured place.

He was born in the parish of Pennicuik, near Edinburgh. His father was a small farmer in that locality, a man renting a few acres which he cultivated with his own hands; but he was of an intellect superior to his class, as was shown by his writing and publishing a pamphlet under the signature of a "Pennicuik Ploughman," levelled against the Dissenters of the day, and especially against Gibb and his book called the *Display*, in which the opinions of himself and his followers were embodied. It was inevitable that the son of such a man should be sent to the parish school, and there David distinguished himself by his aptitude for learning and diligence in his lessons. His own aim, as well as his father's ambition, was that he should fill a pulpit; and accordingly, having completed the education of the parish school, he became a student of the university of Edinburgh, where his diligent habits and success in learning attracted the notice both of students and professors. After completing the college course prescribed by the church, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, but here his career seemed to have ended; for no kind patron appeared to present him to a living, and his talents were not of that kind which catch the popular ear. Thus disappointed, he turned his attention to medicine, and having duly qualified himself, obtained the degree of M.D.; but it was neither as a minister nor doctor that his highest distinction was to be won. His chief predilection was the study of languages, for which he showed extraordinary aptitude, and he was so fortunate as to have for his fellow-students Drs. Murray and Leyden, renowned philologists, whose example would have whetted him had such an incentive been necessary. From his superior knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, he was encouraged to betake himself to the oriental languages; and to perfect himself in the pronunciation of Hindostanee and Persic, he took lessons in these from Dr. Borthwick Gilchrist, one of the most competent of all our authorities in these departments of eastern literature. Having now made himself master of the greater part of the Asiatic languages, both ancient and modern, including Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and some knowledge of Sanscrit, Dr. Scot began to give lessons to young gentlemen who were preparing for service in India, and with such success, that the oriental scholarship of his pupils was noted, and many of them won high distinction both in the civil and military service of the East India Company.

Among the pupils whom he thus trained for life in India, it fortunately happened that he taught some of the sons of Sir John Marjoribanks, of Lees; and with their proficiency the baronet was so highly pleased, as well as with the learning and excellent teaching of their preceptor, that he resolved to bestir himself in obtaining for the latter a living in the church. In 1812 the Hebrew chair in the university of Edinburgh having become vacant, Dr. Scot offered himself as candidate for the professorship; but he had a still more learned, or at least a better-known rival, in his old class-fellow Dr. Murray, against whom competition was hopeless, and Murray was chosen by universal acclamation. Happily, however, Dr. Scot's disappointment was not to be lasting. In a year or two afterwards the church of Corstorphine in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, was deprived of its minister, and Sir John Marjoribanks, who had zealously but ineffectually laboured to obtain the Hebrew professorship for his protégé, had now interest sufficient to obtain for him the parish living. Thus, after eighteen years of dreary waiting, in which, however, the long interval was not idly or uselessly employed, the worthy preacher, physician, and teacher of eastern languages, succeeded in his original choice by becoming a minister in the Church of Scotland.

As a parish minister Dr. Scot acquired the love and esteem of his people, and how well he deserved their regard, not only his personal worth, but his talents as a preacher, sufficiently show. In lecturing, his oriental knowledge was brought to the elucidation with a distinctness and force not often exhibited in pulpit instruction, while his superiority as a preacher was attested by his work entitled "*Discourses on some Important Subjects of Natural and Revealed Religion*," introduced by a Short View of the Best Specimens of Pulpit Eloquence given to the World in Ancient and Modern Times." These discourses are distinguished by learned and solid illustration, and frequently by powerful language and positive eloquence, while they are pervaded throughout by rich Christian doctrine and scriptural morality.

After being minister of Corstorphine for nineteen years, a new call summoned Dr. Scot to a different, but still congenial, field. In 1832 a vacancy occurred in the Hebrew chair of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and his love of oriental learning, which had never abated, was roused by such an opportunity of bringing it into active use. Of the several competitors who entered the lists, he was judged indisputably the best, and greatly to their honour the patrons elected him to the professorship. From his high reputation, the hope was entertained in the colleges of St. Andrews that a new impetus would be given to the study of oriental literature, but the hope was not to be realized. After having discharged the duties of his professorship for two short sessions, he visited Edinburgh for the purpose of attending a meeting of the British Association, but was there seized with a dropsical complaint, which, after two or three days of suffering, ended his life on the 18th of September, 1834.

Such was the simple uneventful life of one of the most distinguished scholars of his day; but it was fortunate for his memory that his literary achievements were too signal to be soon forgot. Besides the work we have already mentioned, he published others more closely connected with the literature of the East; and when an editor was in request for Dr. Murray's *History of the European Languages*, Dr. Scot was unanimously appointed to revise it, a duty which he discharged to the satisfaction of the literary world. He published a *Key to the Hebrew Pentateuch*, and a *Key to the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song*

of Solomon, works well fitted to facilitate the progress of the student in acquiring a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. He likewise published a Hebrew Grammar for the use of his own class; and such was his mastery of the language, that he did not need to set down the work in manuscript, but dictated it extempore to the printers, as its various portions were passed through the press. Dr. Scot was also the author of *Essays on Belles-lettres*, and lives of several of the Scottish poets. His personal character is thus summed up in the obituary from which the facts of the foregoing memoir have been derived:—"In estimating the character of Dr. Scot we perceive almost everything to love and esteem. His modest nature, his simple manners, his amiable disposition, his literary taste, his extensive knowledge, and his sterling worth, procured him the cordial esteem and affection of every one who knew him. We have seldom known a man more generally beloved or more sincerely regretted. As he lived, so we believe he died, without having an enemy in the world."

SCOTT, DAVID. Of this poet-painter, whose whole life was a feverish struggle with great conceptions, and whose artistic productions showed that had his life been but continued, he might have embodied these conceptions in paintings that would have created a new school of art—of him it may truly be said, that a generation must yet pass away, and a new world of living men enter into their room, before his talents are fully appreciated, and their place distinctly assigned. David Scott was the youngest of five children, all sons, and was born either on the 10th or 12th of October, 1806; but only a year after his birth he was the sole surviving child of his parents, the rest having died, with only a few days of interval between each. Like other boys of his standing in Edinburgh, David was sent to study Latin and Greek at the high-school; but, like the generality of artists, he made no great proficiency in these languages. Is it that nature has implanted such a different spirit of utterance within the artistic heart as to make words unnecessary? As his father was an engraver of respectable attainments in his profession, having had, among other pupils, John Burnet, the engraver of some of Wilkie's best drawings, and John Horsburgh, David had thus, even in his earliest boyhood, such opportunities for pictorial study as formed an excellent training for the profession to which nature had designed him. He also learned the art from his father, and became one of his assistants. But the mere mechanical work of engraving was not enough for such an original spirit, he must draw as well as engrave, create as well as copy; and therefore he frequently drew those designs which he afterwards produced with his graver, as the frontispieces and vignettes of books. Although he abandoned the graving-tool for the pencil as soon as circumstances permitted the exchange, he did not lose sight of the early art which had formed the chief stepping-stone of his progress; and, accordingly, he etched with his own hand the "Monograms of Man," and the illustrations of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*; and just previous to his death had purposed to do the same for his designs expressive of the emotions produced by the contemplations of sidereal astronomy. Still, however, his love of painting so completely predominated that among his early sketches there were two that especially indicated the ardour of his aspirations. The one was inscribed "Character of David Scott, 1826," in which he was delineated as seated at the engraving table, with his hands clenched in despair. Another, of a similar bearing, dated 1828, represents him with the engraving

tools thrown away, and the palette pressed to his heart. But he did not confine himself to aspirations merely; on the contrary, he accompanied them with that laborious diligent practice for which his life was distinguished to the close. Having associated himself with the young lovers of art with whom Edinburgh even already had begun to abound, he formed with them the Life Academy in 1827, in which, as the name indicates, the living model was the subject of study and delineation. In the following year he attended Dr. Monro's class of anatomy, and made a short visit to London for the purpose of taking sketches in the National Gallery and the British Institution. Of the same date, also, was his first exhibited picture, entitled "The Hopes of Early Genius dispelled by Death." As may be supposed, it was a stern, Dante-like allegory, chiefly valuable for the indication it gave of the bent of the young artist's mind, and the struggle, already commenced, that was certain to lead to high excellence. His next, of a similar unearthly character, was the "Combat of Fingal with the Spirit of Lodi," on which a considerate friend remarked to him, "Shoot a lower aim; you speak a dead language." Following these were his "Adam and Eve singing their Morning Hymn;" "The Death of Sappho;" "Wallace defending Scotland," and "Monograms of Man;" and subsequently, "Lot;" "Nimrod;" "Sarpedon carried by Sleep and Death," and "Cain." These, and several other intermediate sketches, were produced between the years 1828 and 1832; and as most of them were sent to the exhibition, the talents of Mr. Scott, as an artist of high promise, were generally felt, although this feeling was mingled with much wonderment, and not a little misgiving as to the ultimate tendency of such fervid idealism. This inability of the public to sympathize in his views, and consequent tendency to disparage them, Scott very keenly felt; and he thus writes of the subject in his journal: "Various are the causes that render my going abroad necessary. I lose myself in thinking over the journey, and what it may do. Everything I have yet attempted has been unsuccessful; so many disappointments make effort appear vain. What I must do is to cut off all recurrence to former efforts, except in so far as they may coincide with my later formed ideas of art, and to hold grimly on in the conscientious course. A great happiness it is that futurity is yet unseen and unmade; therein yet may be somewhat to answer my desires. Happy are those new hopes and wishes that still descend on us when all we value in ourselves is burned up and scattered!"

David Scott had now resolved to become the pupil of art, as he had formerly been of nature; and for this purpose to repair to Italy, and study in its galleries the productions of those great masters whose excellence had endured the test of centuries, and come out more brilliant from the ordeal. He would there learn the mighty secret by which they had enthralled the world so completely and so long—that true language of painting which every age and nation can understand. He set off upon his quest in August, 1832, and, after a short stay in London, visited Paris and Geneva, where the Louvre and the Alps alternately solicited his study. Milan and Venice, Parma and Bologna, Florence and Sienna, followed in turn, until he finally settled at Rome, once the nursing-mother of heroes, but now of painters and sculptors, by whom her first great family have been embalmed, that the present world might know how they looked when they lived. It seems to have been only by degrees that the true grandeur of these objects fully dawned upon the

mind of David Scott; for there was within him not only much that needed to be improved, but much to be unlearned and renounced. His impressions upon all the principal works of art are contained in his diary; and these will, no doubt, be studied as a rich suggestive fund of thought by our future young artists who repair to the great Italian fountain-head. But indefatigable though he was in these explorations, the most striking though the least ostentatious part of his diary is to be found in the scattered notices that everywhere occur of his own daily occupations, and from eight to sixteen hours seem with him to have been nothing more than an ordinary diurnal measure. The fruits of this diligence, independently of his critical writings upon works of art, are thus summed up by his biographer:—"During that short residence in Rome, he made a set of eleven sheets of anatomical drawings, forming one of the most perfect artistical surveys of superficial anatomy ever made, with 137 studies from life in oil or chalk; and in painting he did four small pictures of the 'Four Periods of the Day;' a copy of the 'Delphic Sybil,' from the Sistine, with a number of studies from the 'Last Judgment;' several exercises in fresco; painted 'Sappho and Anacreon,' a picture with life-size figures; and two or three smaller but well-finished pictures; and, last and greatest, the picture of 'Family Discord,' or, as it was afterwards called, 'The Household Gods Destroyed.' The size of this last was nearly thirteen feet by ten and a half. This amount of work, if we consider the time lost in a new scene and among new habits, and add the designs, sketch-books, and other little matters which he accomplished, shows us a Hercules in perseverance and impulse." It is interesting to see Scott's own account of the effect produced upon him by this pilgrimage and labour; and this we have in his diary a short time after his return home, under the date of 16th August, 1834:—"The anniversary of my leaving Scotland two years ago—the crowning of my desires—the journey of art—the sacrifice to enthusiasm—the search after greatness, in meeting the great men of the present, and the great labours of the past. Among my old pictures and people, I now feel how different I am from the man who left this but so short a time ago. I have looked too much for what was without individual prototype in nature. The veil withdraws and withdraws, and there is nothing left permanent. But I believe I can now meet difficulties practically. Analyzing one's own thoughts and actions—studying things in their relations—is often a painful task; but he who has not done so is a child."

Having returned to Scotland inspired with new perceptions, as well as braced with fresh courage, David Scott commenced the business of life in earnest, and his whole course from this period was one of continual artistic action. He must give full proof of high talent as a painter if he would reap the renown and win the emoluments of such a position; and to indicate his claims he must descend into the arena, and let the onlookers judge what he was worth. In these competitions we shall content ourselves with summing up his future history.

To the Edinburgh exhibition of 1835 he sent four pictures: these were "Sappho and Anacreon," "The Vintager," a fresco, and "Sketch of the Head of Mary Magdalene."

In that of the following year were exhibited his "Descent from the Cross," a painting which he had prepared as an altar-piece for the new Roman Catholic chapel in Lothian Street; "Oberon and Puck," and "Macchiavelli and the Beggar." The first of these was made the subject of the annual

engraving circulated by the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts; the last was the commencement of a series of historic sketches, which Scott continued till near the close of his life.

To the exhibition of 1837 he sent only two pictures, "The Abbot of Misrule," and "Judas Betraying Christ." This paucity was chiefly occasioned by the time he devoted to the illustrations of the *Ancient Mariner*, in which he evinced a congenial spirit with that of the author of the wild and wondrous legend. Indeed, Coleridge himself thought it incapable of pictorial illustration, until these productions of David Scott agreeably convinced him of his mistake. "The whole series," he thus wrote to the painter, "is exceedingly impressive, and gives you a good claim to be our Retsch, if that is a compliment. It is curious to see how many conceptions may be formed of the imagery of a work of pure imagination. Yours is not like mine of the *Ancient Mariner*, and yet I appreciate and am deeply sensible of the merit of yours."

As an artist, Scott, whose commencement with the exhibition of 1835 had been both unpromising and disheartening, was now successfully surmounting the public neglect, as well as its inability to appreciate him, and steadily winning his way to that eminence which would place him among the highest of his degree. Invigorated by this prospect, his four pictures which he sent to the exhibition in 1838 had a sunniness of fancy as well as completeness of touch that indicated the hopeful feelings under which they were executed. The subjects were, "Orestes seized by the Furies after the Murder of his Mother, Clytemnestra, to which he was prompted by his Sister Electra, in Revenge of the Assassination of their Father Agamemnon;" "Rachel Weeping for her Children;" "Puck Fleeing before the Dawn;" and "Ariel and Caliban." About the same time he also painted, as a companion to the "Orestes," "Achilles Addressing the Manes of Patroclus over the Body of Hector." Another, which he painted during this year, and which was the most successful he had hitherto produced, so that it took the stubborn criticism of Edinburgh by storm, was the "Alchymical Adept Lecturing on the Elixir Vitæ." This picture was purchased by the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts for £200. Turning his attention also to the literary department of his profession, he published, in 1839 and the two following years, a series of essays in *Blackwood's Magazine*, of which the subjects were, "The Genius of Raffaele," "Titian, and Venetian Painting," "Leonardo da Vinci and Correggio," and the "Caracci, Caravaggio, and Monachism."

The year 1840 was signalized in Scott's life by the exhibition of his terrible painting which he had executed at Rome, under the title of "Agony of Discord, or the Household Gods Destroyed," and over which he exclaimed, when it was finished, "That is the work I must live by!" The figures of this strange myth are scarcely human, or if human, at least pre-adamite, when stature, and strength, and passionate expression may be supposed by a poet or artist to have far transcended the present type of humanity; while over them towers a colossal Laocoon-like form, exhausted in the struggle, and about to sink with crushing downfall upon those members of the rebellious home with whom he has been contending to the last. In the midst of this wild strife the mother has thrown her infant upon the floor; the household altar is overturned, and the household god broken. It was the impersonation, in a single tremendous scene, of the continual strife and struggle of humanity in its path of progress from age to age; and there-

fore fraught in every part with deep and hidden meaning, which nothing but careful examination could detect, and anxious study comprehend. Of course it was "caviare to the multitude," who gazed helplessly upon it, and shook their heads: it was such also to not a few of those penny-a-line critics whom our provincial journals extemporize for the nonce, to fill up a column with a "Report of the Exhibition," and whose whole stock consists of a few terms of art, which they sow at random over their paragraphs. But was it not thus at first with *Paradise Lost* and the *Excursion*; or to come nearer to the comparison, with *Christabelle* and the *Ancient Mariner*? The highest excellence is slowly appreciated, and thus it fared with Scott's "Discord;" but who would now venture to criticize it in the style that was used in 1840? At the same exhibition were Scott's "Philoctetes left in the Isle of Lemnos by the Greeks, in their Passage towards Troy," a painting also finished during his stay in Rome; "Cupid Sharpening his Arrows," and "The Crucifixion."

In 1841 Scott sent to the exhibition "Queen Elizabeth in the Globe Theatre," "Queen Mary receiving the Warrant for her Execution," "The Death of Jane Shore," "Ave Maria," and "A Parthian Archer." In "The Globe Theatre," which was a painting of large dimensions and plentiful detail, there were, besides the audience, draped and arranged in the fashion of the period, the virgin queen herself, listening to the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, which had been written at her desire—its still more illustrious author—and Spenser, Fletcher, Sackville, Ben Jonson, and other towering spirits of the age, with whom Shakspeare was wont to wage such glorious conflicts of wit at their meetings in the "Mermaid."

In 1842 Scott exhibited "The Duke of Gloucester taken into the Water Gate of Calais," "Silenus Praising Wine," and "The Challenge." At the commencement of this year also, being excited to the task by the proposal of painting the new houses of parliament with designs in fresco, he published a pamphlet, entitled *British, French, and German Painting*. At the close of this year he likewise exhibited, on his own account, in the Calton Hill Rooms, his large picture of "Vasco de Gama, the Discoverer of the New Passage to India, encountering the Spirit of the Storm while attempting to double the Cape of Good Hope," at that time known as Capo Tormentoso. Magnificent though the original conception is in the *Lusiad* of Camoens, it falls greatly short of its illustration by the painter—and how seldom can this be said of imitation, whether in poetry or painting! The terrible apparition of the "stormy spirit of the cape," whose frown itself seems enough to annihilate a navy—the daring hero-navigator recovering from his astonishment, and preparing to confront the prohibition of this unknown power with defiance, or even with actual battle, if such should be needed—and the strange figures upon the crowded deck, each of which tells its own tale, compose of themselves an epic such as mere narrative would find it difficult to equal. But who in Edinburgh cared about De Gama, or had read the *Lusiad*, even in a translation? The exhibition, therefore, so far as pecuniary profit went, was a failure; and it was not until historic knowledge, combined with critical taste, had pointed out the striking merits of this production, that public attention atoned for its neglect. It was afterwards secured for the Trinity House of Leith, where it now remains.

To the exhibition of 1843 Scott sent his paintings of

"Richard III. receiving the Children of Edward IV. from their Mother;" "The Four Great Masters, being Michael Angelo, Raffaele, Titian, and Coreggio," which were in separate pictures but forming one series; and the "Belated Peasant," from Milton. These are reckoned to be among the best of his productions. At this period, also, in consequence of the competition for the painting of the new houses of parliament, Scott, whose emulation had been roused by the subject, sent two cartoons as a competitor, the subjects being "Drake witnessing the Destruction of the Ships of the Spanish Armada," and "Wallace defending Scotland." These he painted exclusively in his own style, and with a reference to his own principles of art; but as they had a different ordeal to pass through they were tried and rejected. When the competition in fresco for the same purpose succeeded, Scott, who was one of the few Scottish artists that understood this style of painting, sent two specimens, executed upon the principles which had occasioned the condemnation of his first attempts, and these also shared in the fate of their predecessors. Returning to a species of competition in which he now had better chances of success, he sent to the exhibition of 1844, "Wallace the Defender of Scotland;" "Sir Roger Kirkpatrick Stabbing the Red Comyn in the Cloisters of the Grayfriars, Dumfries;" the "Baron in Peace;" and "May," from the "Merchant's Tale," in Chaucer's *Canterbury Pilgrims*.

The contributions of David Scott to the exhibition of 1845 were two pictures, the one having for its subject, "Christian listening to the Instructions of Piety, Charity, and Discretion;" and the other, "The Dead rising at the Crucifixion." In 1846 were exhibited his "Peter the Hermit Preaching the Crusades;" "Dante and Beatrice;" "Fragment from the Fall of the Giants;" "Rhea bewailing the Overthrow of her Titan Sons;" and "The Ascension." In 1847 he had only two paintings in the exhibition; these were "The Triumph of Love," and a small fresco which he had formerly exhibited in London. In 1848 he sent to it "Time Surprising Love;" "Children Following Fortune;" "Queen Mary of Scotland at the Place of Execution;" "Hope passing over the Sky of Adversity;" and "The Baptism of Christ." To the exhibition of 1849 he sent "Delusive Pleasures;" "A Sketch of the Fire of London;" and "The Domestic Arcadia."

In this catalogue of his annual productions, great though it is, and implying an amount of diligence, perseverance, and intellectual enterprise, such as the artistic studio can seldom equal, we have not taken into account the numerous portraits and sketches with which every interval of leisure seems to have been fully occupied. Alone and unaided, and confronted by a whole world of hostile criticism, Scott had fought the battle step by step, and been obliged to struggle for every inch of ground that brought him nearer to the mark of his ambition. It was an unequal conflict, which death rather than victory could be expected to terminate. That mournful closing event occurred on the 5th of March, 1849. As yet only at the period when life is strongest, and hope, if not at the brightest, is yet the most firmly established—it was then that he passed away, worn out and weary, and longing to be at rest. He thus added one name more to that long list of the sons of promise who have been snatched from the world when the world could least spare their presence, and when their loss was to be most regretted. But in the case of David Scott how, indeed, could it be otherwise with such a restless, fervid, sensitive spirit, inclosed within such a delicate frame and sickly

constitution? But he had held out bravely to the last; and even during his final illness, his love of art predominated in conceptions that needed full health to embody, and sketches that were left unfinished. At the most, he was only in his forty-third year at the period of his decease.

SCOTT, MICHAEL, a learned person of the thirteenth century, known to the better informed as a philosopher, and to the illiterate, especially of Scotland, as a wizard or magician, was born about the year 1214. The precise locality of his birthplace is unknown, although that honour has been awarded to Balwairie in Fife, but on insufficient authority. Neither is there anything known of his parents, nor of their rank in life; but judging of the education he received, one of the most liberal and expensive of the times, it may be presumed that they were of some note.

Scott early betook himself to the study of the sciences; but soon exhausting all the information which his native country afforded in those unlettered times, he repaired to the university of Oxford, then enjoying a very high reputation, and devoted himself to philosophical pursuits, particularly astronomy and chemistry, in both of which, and in the acquisition of the Latin and Arabic languages, he attained a singular proficiency. At this period astronomy, if it did not assume entirely the shape of judicial astrology, was yet intimately blended with that fantastic science; and chemistry was similarly affected by the not less absurd mysteries of alchemy: and hence arose the imaginary skill and real reputation of Scott as a wizard, or foreteller of events; as, in proportion to his knowledge of the true sciences, was his imputed acquaintance with the false.

On completing his studies at Oxford, he repaired, agreeably to the practice of the times, to the university of Paris. Here he applied himself with such diligence and success to the study of mathematics, that he acquired the academic surname of Michael the Mathematician; but neither his attention nor reputation was confined to this science alone. He made equal progress, and attained equal distinction, in sacred letters and divinity; his acquirements in the latter studies being acknowledged by his having the degree of Doctor in Theology conferred upon him.

While in Paris he resumed, in the midst of his other academical avocations, the study of that science on which his popular fame now rests, namely, judicial astrology, and devoted also a further portion of his time to chemistry and medicine. Having possessed himself of all that he could acquire in his particular pursuits in the French capital, he determined to continue his travels, with the view at once of instructing and of being instructed. In the execution of this project he visited several foreign countries and learned universities; and amongst the latter, that of the celebrated college at Padua, where he eminently distinguished himself by his essays on judicial astrology. From this period his fame gradually spread abroad, and the reverence with which his name now began to be associated, was not a little increased by his predictions, which he, for the first time, now began to publish, and which were as firmly believed in and contemplated with as much awe in Italy, where they were first promulgated, as they were ever at any after period in Scotland.

From Italy he proceeded to Spain, taking up his residence in Toledo, whose university was celebrated for its cultivation of the occult sciences. Here, besides taking an active part and making a conspicuous figure in the discussions on these sciences, he began and concluded a translation, from the Arabic

into Latin, of Aristotle's nineteen books on the *History of Animals*. This work procured him the notice and subsequently the patronage of Frederick II., who invited him to his court, and bestowed on him the office of royal astrologer. While filling this situation, he translated, at the emperor's desire, the greater part of the works of Aristotle. He wrote, also, at the royal request, an original work, entitled *Liber Introductorius sive Indicia Questionum*, for the use of young students; and a treatise on physiognomy, entitled *Physiognomia et de Hominis Procreatione*; besides several other works, of which one was on the *Opinions of Astrologers*.

After a residence of some years at the court of Frederick, Michael resigned his situation, and betook himself to the study of medicine as a profession, and soon acquired great reputation in this art. Before parting with the emperor, with whom he seems to have lived on a more intimate and familiar footing than the haughty and warlike disposition of that prince might have been expected to permit, he predicted to him the time, place, and manner of his death; and the prophecy is said to have been exactly fulfilled in every particular. After a residence of some years in Germany he came over to England, with the view of returning to his native country. On his arrival in the latter kingdom he was kindly received and patronized by Edward I.; and, after being retained for some time at his court, was permitted to pass to Scotland, where he arrived shortly after the death of Alexander III. That event rendering it necessary to send ambassadors to Norway to bring over the young queen, Margaret, or, as she is more poetically called, the Maid of Norway, grand-daughter of the deceased monarch, Michael Scott, now styled Sir Michael, although we have no account either of the time or occasion of his being elevated to this dignity, was appointed, with Sir David Weems, to proceed on this important mission, a proof that his reputation as a wizard had not affected his moral respectability. With this last circumstance the veritable history of Sir Michael terminates; for his name does not again appear in connection with any public event, nor is there anything known of his subsequent life. He died in the year 1292 at an advanced age, and was buried, according to some authorities, at Holme Coltrame, in Cumberland; and, according to others, in Melrose Abbey.

Although, however, all the principal authenticated incidents in the life of Sir Michael which are known, are comprehended in this brief sketch, it would take volumes to contain all that is told, and to this hour believed, by the peasantry of Scotland, of the terrible necromancer, *auld Michael*. For some curious specimens of the traditional character of the great magician of other days, the reader may be referred to the notes appended to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, by the still greater magician of modern times. He will there learn how Sir Michael, on one occasion, rode through the air to France on a huge black horse; how the devil made an unsuccessful attempt to entrap him by the way; how, on another occasion, when

"Maister Michael Scott's man
Sought meat and gat none,"

from a niggardly farmer, he threw down a bonnet which his master had previously enchanted, and which, becoming suddenly inflated, began to spin round the house with supernatural speed, and drew, by its magical influence, the whole household after it—man, maid, and mistress—who all continued the goblin chase, until they were worn out with fatigue. It may not, perhaps, be unnecessary to add, that all

these *cantrips*, and a thousand more, were performed by the agency of a "mighty book" of necromancy, which no man, but on peril of soul and body, might open or peruse, and which was at last buried in the same grave with its tremendous owner.

SCOTT, MICHAEL. From the nature of the authorship of the present day, as well as its exuberant abundance, the desire of literary fame has undergone a striking change. Formerly, to write a book was equivalent to achieving the conquest of a kingdom; and no one ventured upon the feat except upon the principle of do or die, *Aut Cesar aut nullus*. The general diffusion of intelligence and equalization of talent have produced a change in this respect that constitutes the chief intellectual distinction of the present age. Able writers are now produced by the hundred, and that too not for a century, but a single year; while their productions appear, not in ponderous tomes, but in reviews, magazines, and newspapers, the readers of which, however delighted they may be with the perusal, never trouble themselves with the anonymous source from which their gratification has proceeded. In this fashion authors of first-rate excellence appear and pass away with no other designations than some unmeaning letter of the alphabet, and are only known, even at their brightest, as *alpha* or *omega*. From such a fate, so common to thousands amongst us, Michael Scott escaped by a mere hair's-breadth.

This talented writer was born at Glasgow, on the 30th October, 1789. He was educated first at the high-school, and afterwards at the university of that great emporium of Scottish merchandise and manufacture. As he was destined for business, and obliged to betake himself to it at an early period, his stay at college was a brief one; for in October, 1806, when he had only reached the age of seventeen, he sailed for Jamaica, and was there employed in the management of several estates till 1810, when he joined a mercantile house in Kingston, Jamaica. As he was much employed in the active business of this establishment, his avocations led him often to the adjacent islands and the Spanish main; and it was in that rich tropical climate, and in his peregrinations by land and water, that he acquired his knowledge of West India scenery and character, as well as of sea-life, which he afterwards so richly and powerfully delineated. Mr. Scott returned home in 1817, and was married in the following year, after which he went back to Jamaica; but after remaining there till 1822 he finally bade adieu to the West Indies, and became permanently a settler in his native Scotland. He does not appear to have been particularly successful as a merchant; but the buoyant imagination and restless love of adventure which his writings betoken were perhaps scarcely compatible with that plodding persevering spirit for which his countrymen are so generally distinguished, especially in mercantile enterprise abroad and in the colonies. It is difficult, indeed, if not impossible, at one and the same time to establish a goodly rich mansion on *terra firma* and build bright castles in the air.

It was not till 1829 that Michael Scott appears to have ventured into authorship, by the publication of *Tom Cringle's Log*. The first specimens which he sent to *Blackwood's Magazine* were fragmentary productions, under the name of "Tom Cringle;" but the sharp, experienced eye of "Old Ebony" was not long in detecting their merit, and he therefore advised the anonymous author to combine them into a continuous narrative, even though the thread that held them together should be as slender as he

pleased. This advice Mr. Scott adopted; and when the papers appeared as a "log" detailing the eventful voyage of a strange life through calm and hurricane, through battle and tempest, as they successively occurred to his fancy, the *Quarterly Review* characterized them as the most brilliant series of magazine papers of the time, while Coleridge in his *Table Talk* proclaimed them "most excellent." The magazine-reading public was of the same opinion, and accordingly the question was circulated through every class, "Who is the author of *Tom Cringle's Log*?" But no one could answer; no, not even Blackwood himself, so well had Scott preserved his incognito; and this eminent publisher descended to the grave without knowing assuredly by whom the most popular series in his far-famed magazine had been written. Afterwards the chapters were published as an entire work in two volumes, and so highly was it prized, that it was generally read upon the Continent, while in Germany it has been repeatedly translated. After Michael Scott had thus led a life almost as mythic as that of his wondrous namesake, he died in Glasgow, on the 7th of November, 1835, and it was only through this melancholy event that the full fact of his authorship was ascertained by the sons of Mr. Blackwood.

SCOTT, SIR WALTER, Baronet, a distinguished poet and novelist, was born in Edinburgh, August 15, 1771. He was a younger son of Mr. Walter Scott, writer to the signet, by Anne, daughter of Dr. John Rutherford, professor of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. Sir Walter's father was grandson to a younger son of Scott of Raeburn, a branch of the ancient baronial house of Harden; and his mother was grand-daughter to Sir John Swinton, of Swinton, in Berwickshire. Being an ailing child he was sent at a very early period of life to Sandyknow, a farm near the bottom of Leader water, in Roxburghshire, occupied by his paternal grandfather, where he had ample opportunities of storing his mind with border tradition. The first school he attended is said to have been one in Kelso, taught by a Mr. Whale, where he had for schoolfellows James and John Ballantyne, who subsequently became intimately connected with him in public life. He entered the high-school of Edinburgh in 1779, when the class with which he was ranked (that of Mr. Luke Fraser) was commencing its third season. Under this master he continued during two years, after which he entered the rector's class, then taught by Mr. Alexander Adam. In October, 1783, having completed the usual classical course, he was matriculated at the university of Edinburgh, studying *humanity*, or Latin, under Professor Hill, and Greek under Professor Dalzell. Another year under Dalzell, and a third in the logic class taught by Professor Bruce, appear to have formed the sum of his unprofessional studies at college. He was much devoted at this period to reading; and an illness, which interrupted his studies in his sixteenth year, afforded him an unusually ample opportunity of gratifying this taste. He read, by his own confession, all the old romances, old plays, and epic poems contained in the extensive circulating library of Mr. Sibbald (founded by Allan Ramsay); and soon after extended his studies to histories, memoirs, voyages, and travels. On the restoration of his health he commenced, in his father's office, an apprenticeship to legal business, which was completed in July, 1792, by his entering at the Scottish bar.

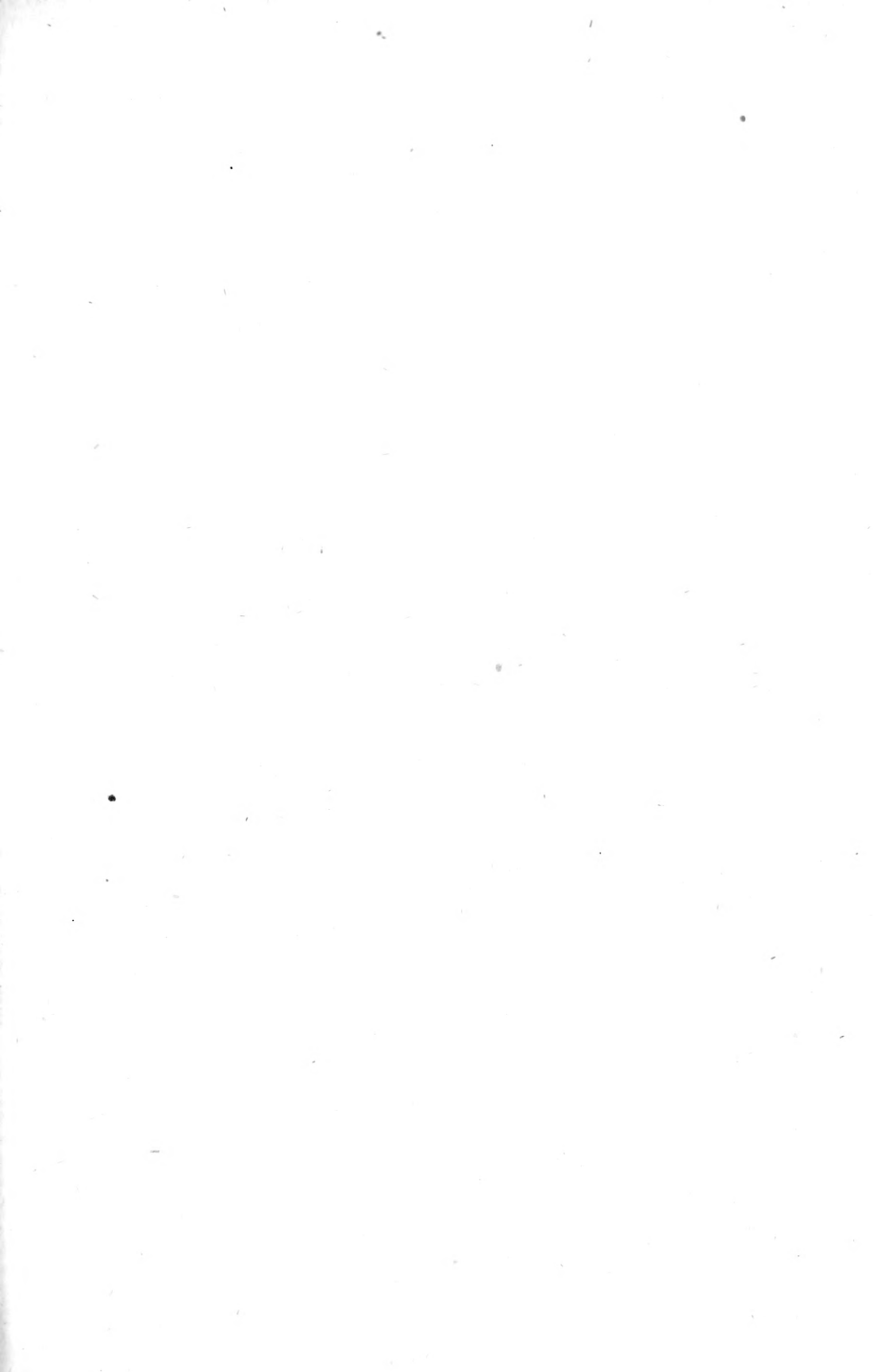
The literary character of Scott is to be traced to the traditionary lore which he imbibed in the country, and the vast amount of miscellaneous reading

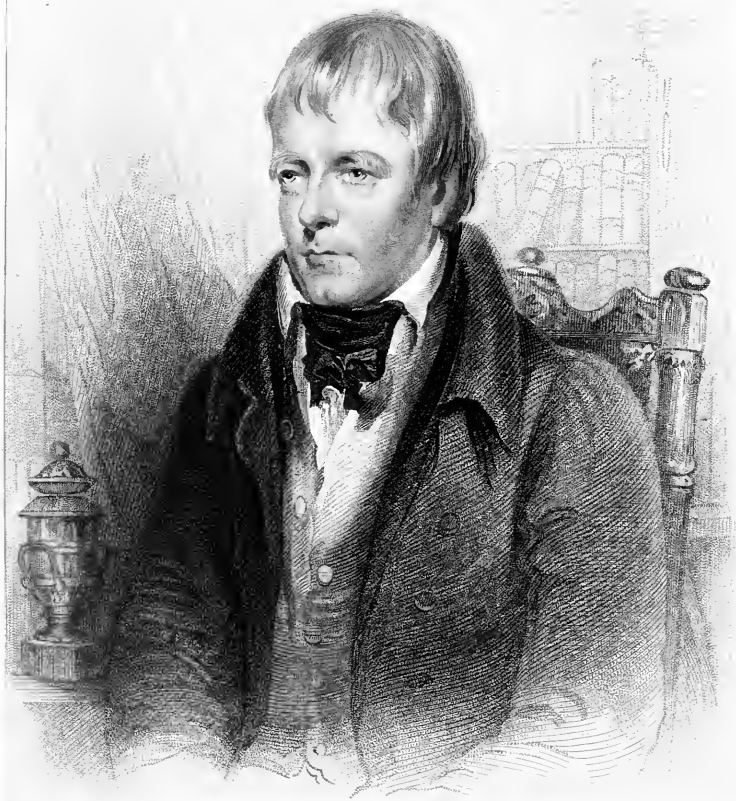
above referred to, in conjunction with the study of the modern German poets and romancers, which he entered upon at a subsequent period. The earlier years of his life as an advocate were devoted rather to the last-mentioned study than to business; and the result was, a translation of Burger's *Lenore* and *Der Wilde Jäger*, which he published in a small quarto volume in 1796. The success of this attempt was by no means encouraging; yet he persevered in his German studies, and in 1799 gave to the world a translation of Goethe's *Goetz of Berlichingen*. Previously to the latter event, namely, on the 24th December, 1797, he had married Miss Carpenter, a young Frenchwoman of good parentage, whom he accidentally met at Gilsland Wells, in Cumberland, and who possessed a small annuity. It is also worthy of notice, that in 1799 he was appointed sheriff of Selkirkshire, a respectable situation, to which an income of £300 was attached.

The success of Burger in ballad-writing, operating upon his predilection for that part of our own national poetry, induced him, about this time, to make several attempts in that line of composition, and soon after to commence the collection of those ancient original ballads which in 1802 were published in two volumes octavo, as the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. On the reprinting of this work in the ensuing year, he added a third volume, consisting chiefly of original ballads, by himself and others. The work was, upon the whole, a pleasing mélange of history, poetry, and tradition; and it gained the author a considerable reputation, though certainly not that of an original poet in any eminent degree. In the annotations to the ancient romance of *Sir Tristram*, which he published in 1804, he gave still more striking proof of the extent of his acquirements in metrical antiquities.

It was not till the year 1805, when Scott had reached the age of thirty-four, and had a family rising around him, that he attracted decided attention as an original poet. He published in that year his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, an extended specimen of the ballad style, and one which fell upon the public mind as something entirely new in poetry. The caution which he may be said to have observed in coming before the world arose from prudential considerations. He hesitated to come to a breach with his professional hopes, which a decided attempt in literature would have implied, before he should have attained something to assure him of a competency in the worst resort. This he had in some measure secured by his patrimony, his wife's annuity, and his salary as sheriff; but it was not till 1806, when he received the appointment of a principal clerk of session, that he considered himself at perfect liberty to pursue a literary career. For this latter appointment he was indebted to the interest of the Buccleuch and Melville families, which he had conciliated, partly by his talents, and partly by the zeal with which he entered into the volunteer system at the close of the past century. He succeeded Mr. George Home upon an arrangement by which that gentleman was to enjoy the salary for life; so that it was not till 1811 that the poet reaped any actual benefit from it. The appointment was given by Mr. Pitt, but was formally completed under the ensuing administration of Lord Grenville.

In 1808 Mr. Scott published his second poem of magnitude, *Marmion*, which displayed his metrical genius in greater perfection than the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and greatly increased his reputation. While the latter work had produced him £600, the present secured 1000 guineas. Previously to 1825 no fewer than 36,000 copies of *Marmion* were sold.





1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

In the same year Mr. Scott published an edition of Dryden's works, with notes, and a life of that poet. In 1809 he edited the *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*; and soon after he became a contributor to the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, started by Mr. Southey.

The *Lady of the Lake*, in which his poetical genius seems to have reached the acme of its powers, was published in 1810. His earlier efforts were less matured and refined; and the later are all, in various degrees, less spirited and effective. In 1811 appeared *Don Roderick*, a dreamy vaticination of modern Spanish history; in 1813 he published *Rokeby*, in which he attempted, but without success, to invest English scenery and a tale of the civil war with the charm which he had already thrown over the Scottish Highlands and Borders, and their romantic inhabitants. *Rokeby* met with a decidedly unfavourable reception; and, it cannot be denied, the public enjoyed to a greater extent a burlesque which appeared upon it, under the title of *Jokeby*. The evil success of this poem induced him to make a desperate adventure to retrieve his laurels; and in 1814 he published the *Lord of the Isles*. Even the name of Bruce, however, could not compensate the want of what had been the most captivating charm of his earlier productions—the development of new powers and styles of poesy. The public was now acquainted with his whole “fence,” and could therefore take no longer the same interest in his exhibitions. As if to try how far his name now operated in promoting the sale of his writings, he produced, anonymously, two small poems in succession, *Harold the Dauntless* and the *Bridal of Triermain*. Neither made any considerable impression upon the public; and he therefore seems to have concluded that poetry was no longer a line in which he ought to exercise his talents.

Many years before, while as yet unknown as a poet, he had commenced a prose tale upon the legendary story of Thomas the Rhymer, which never went beyond the first chapter. Subsequently he contemplated a prose romance, relating to an age much nearer our own time. “My early recollections,” says he, “of the Highland scenery and customs made so favourable an impression in the poem called the *Lady of the Lake*, that I was induced to think of attempting something of the same kind in prose. I had been a good deal in the Highlands at a time when they were much less accessible, and much less visited, than they have been of late years, and was acquainted with many of the old warriors of 1745, who were, like most veterans, easily induced to fight their battles over again, for the benefit of a willing listener like myself. It naturally occurred to me that the ancient traditions and high spirit of people, who, living in a civilized age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society, must afford a subject favourable for romance, if it should not prove a curious tale marred in the telling.

“It was with some idea of this kind that, about the year 1805, I threw together about one-third part of the first volume of *Waverley*. It was advertised to be published by the late Mr. John Ballantyne, bookseller in Edinburgh, under the name of *Waverley*. . . . Having proceeded as far, I think, as the seventh chapter, I showed my work to a critical friend, whose opinion was unfavourable; and having some poetical reputation, I was unwilling to risk the loss of it by attempting a new style of composition.

I therefore threw aside the work I had commenced without either reluctance or remonstrance. . . . This portion of the manuscript was laid aside in the drawers of an old writing-desk, which, on my first coming to reside at Abbotsford in 1811, was placed in a lumber garret, and entirely forgotten. Thus, though I sometimes, among other literary avocations, turned my thoughts to the continuation of the romance which I had commenced, yet, as I could not find what I had already written, after searching such repositories as were within my reach, and was too indolent to attempt to write it anew from memory, I as often laid aside all thoughts of that nature.”

The author then adverts to two circumstances which particularly fixed in his mind the wish to continue this work to a close—namely, the success of Miss Edgeworth's delineations of Irish life, and his happening to be employed in 1808 in finishing the romance of *Queen-Hoo-Hall*, left imperfect by Mr. Strutt. “Accident,” he continues, “at length threw the lost sheets in my way.”

“I happened to want some fishing-tackle for the use of a guest, when it occurred to me to search the old writing-desk already mentioned, in which I used to keep articles of that nature. I got access to it with some difficulty; and in looking for lines and flies, the long-lost manuscript presented itself. I immediately set to work to complete it according to my original purpose. . . . Among other unfounded reports it has been said that the copyright was, during the book's progress through the press, offered for sale to various booksellers in London at a very inconsiderable price. This was not the case. Messrs. Constable and Cadell, who published the work, were the only persons acquainted with the contents of the publication, and they offered a large sum for it while in the course of printing, which, however, was declined, the author not choosing to part with the copyright.

“*Waverley* was published in 1814, and as the title-page was without the name of the author, the work was left to win its way in the world without any of the usual recommendations. Its progress was for some time slow; but after the first two or three months, its popularity had increased in a degree which must have satisfied the expectations of the author, had these been far more sanguine than he ever entertained.

“Great anxiety was expressed to learn the name of the author, but on this no authentic information could be attained. My original motive for publishing the work anonymously, was the consciousness that it was an experiment on the public taste, which might very probably fail, and therefore there was no occasion to take on myself the personal risk of discomfiture. For this purpose considerable precautions were used to preserve secrecy. My old friend and schoolfellow Mr. James Ballantyne, who printed these novels, had the exclusive task of corresponding with the author, who thus had not only the advantage of his professional talents, but of his critical abilities. The original manuscript, or, as it is technically called, *copy*, was transcribed under Mr. Ballantyne's eye, by confidential persons; nor was there an instance of treachery during the many years in which these precautions were resorted to, although various individuals were employed at different times. Double proof-sheets were regularly printed off. One was forwarded to the author by Mr. Ballantyne, and the alterations which it received were, by his own hand, copied upon the other proof-sheet for the use of the printers, so that even the corrected proofs of the author were never seen in the printing-office; and thus the curiosity of such eager inquirers as

¹ In the autobiographical introduction to the revised editions of his works.

made the most minute investigation was entirely at fault."

To this account of the publication of *Waverley* it is only to be added, that the popularity of the work became decided rather more quickly, and was, when decided, much higher, than the author has given to be understood. It was read and admired universally, both in Scotland and England, so that, in a very short time, about 12,000 copies were disposed of.

Previously to 1811 Mr. Scott had been in the habit of residing, during the summer months, at a villa called Ashetiel on the banks of the Tweed, near Selkirk, belonging to his kinsman Colonel Russell. He now employed part of his literary gains in purchasing a farm a few miles farther down the Tweed, and within three miles of Melrose. Here he erected a small house which he gradually enlarged, as his emoluments permitted, till it eventually became a Gothic castellated mansion of considerable size. He also continued for some years to make considerable purchases of the adjacent grounds, generally paying much more for them than their value. The desire of becoming an extensive land-proprietor was a passion which glowed more warmly in his bosom than any appetite which he ever entertained for literary fame. The whole cast of his mind from the very beginning was essentially aristocratic; and it is probable that he looked with more reverence upon an old title to a good estate, than upon the most ennobled title-page in the whole catalogue of contemporary genius. Thus it was a matter of astonishment to many, that, while totally insensible to flattery on the score of his works, and perfectly destitute of all the airs of a professed or practised author, he could not so well conceal his pride in the possession of a small patch of territory, or his sense of importance as a local dispenser of justice. As seen through the medium of his works, he rather appears like an old baron or chivalrous knight, displaying his own character and feelings, and surrounded by the ideal creatures which such an individual would have mixed with in actual life, than as an author of the modern world, writing partly for fame, and partly for subsistence, and glad to work at that which he thinks he can best execute. It was unquestionably owing to the same principle that he kept the *Waverley* secret with such pertinacious closeness—being unwilling to be considered as an author writing for fortune, which he must have thought somewhat degrading to the baronet of Abbotsford. It was now the principal spring of his actions to add as much as possible to the little realm of Abbotsford, in order that he might take his place—not among the great literary names which posterity is to revere, but among the country gentlemen of Roxburghshire!¹

Under the influence of this passion—for such it must be considered—Mr. Scott produced a rapid succession of novels, of which it will be sufficient here to state the names and dates. To *Waverley* succeeded, in 1815, *Guy Mannering*; in 1816, the *Antiquary*, and the *First Series of the Tales of my Landlord*, containing the *Black Dwarf* and *Old Mortality*; in 1818, *Rob Roy*, and the *Second Series of the Tales of my Landlord*, containing the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*; and in 1819, the *Third Series of the Tales of my Landlord*, containing the *Bride of Lammermoor* and a *Legend of Montrose*.

It is to be observed that the series called *Tales of my Landlord* were professedly by a different author from him of *Waverley*: an expedient which the

real author had thought conducive to the maintenance of the public interest. Having now drawn upon public curiosity to the extent of twelve volumes in each of his two incognitos, he seems to have thought it necessary to adopt a third, and accordingly he intended *Ivanhoe*, which appeared in the beginning of 1820, to come forth as the first work of a new candidate for public favour. From this design he was diverted by a circumstance of trivial importance, the publication of a novel at London, pretending to be a fourth series of the *Tales of my Landlord*. It was therefore judged necessary that *Ivanhoe* should appear as a veritable production of the author of *Waverley*. To it succeeded, in the course of the same year, the *Monastery* and the *Abbot*, which were judged as the least meritorious of all his prose tales. In the beginning of the year 1821 appeared *Kenilworth*; making twelve volumes, if not written, at least published, in as many months. In 1822 he produced the *Pirate* and the *Fortunes of Nigel*; in 1823, *Peveril of the Peak* (four volumes) and *Quentin Durward*; in 1824, *St. Ronan's Well* and *Redgauntlet*; in 1825, *Tales of the Crusaders* (four volumes); in 1826, *Woodstock*; in 1827, *Chronicles of the Canonicate, first series* (two volumes); in 1828, *Chronicles of the Canonicate, second series*; in 1829, *Anne of Geierstein*; and in 1831, a fourth series of *Tales of my Landlord*, in four volumes, containing two tales, respectively entitled *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous*. The whole of these novels, except where otherwise specified, consisted of three volumes, and, with those formerly enumerated, make up the amount of his fictitious prose compositions to the enormous sum of seventy-four volumes.

Throughout the whole of his career, both as a poet and novelist, Sir Walter was in the habit of turning aside occasionally to less important avocations of a literary character. He was a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* during the first few years of its existence. To the *Quarterly Review* he was a considerable contributor, especially for the last five or six years of his life, during which the work was conducted by his son-in-law, Mr. Lockhart. To the *Supplement* of the sixth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he contributed the articles "Chivalry," "Romance," and the "Drama." In 1818 he wrote one or two small prose articles for a periodical, after the manner of the *Spectator*, which was started by his friend Mr. John Ballantyne, under the title of the *Saleroom*, and was soon after dropped for want of encouragement. In 1814 he edited the *Works of Swift*, in nineteen volumes, with a life of the author. In 1814 Sir Walter gave his name and an elaborate introductory essay to a work, entitled *Border Antiquities* (two volumes quarto), which consisted of engravings of the principal antique objects on both sides of the Border, accompanied by descriptive letter-press. In 1815 he made a tour of France and Belgium, visiting the scene of the recent victory over Napoleon. The result was a lively traveller's volume, under the title of *Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, and a poem, styled the *Field of Waterloo*. In the same year he joined with Mr. Robert Jamieson and Mr. Henry Weber in composing a quarto on Icelandic antiquities. In 1819 he published an *Account of the Regalia of Scotland*, and undertook to furnish the letter-press to a second collection of engravings, under the title of *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, one of the most elegant books which has ever been published respecting the native country of the editor.

In the year 1820 the agitated state of the country was much regretted by Sir Walter Scott; and he endeavoured to prove the absurdity of the popular

¹ Lest these speculations may appear somewhat paradoxical, the editor may mention that they were pronounced, by the late Mr. James Ballantyne, in writing, to be "admirably true."

excitement in favour of a more extended kind of parliamentary representation, by three papers, which he inserted in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* newspaper, under the title of "The Visionary." However well intended, these were not by any means happy specimens of political disquisition. Some months afterwards it was deemed necessary, by a few Tory gentlemen and lawyers, to establish a newspaper, in which the more violent of the radical prints should be met upon their own grounds. To this association Mr. Scott subscribed, and, by means partly furnished upon his credit, a weekly journal was commenced, under the title of the *Beacon*. As the scurrilities of this print inflicted much pain in very respectable quarters, it sank, after an existence of a few months, amidst the general execrations of the community. Mr. Scott, though he probably never contemplated, and perhaps was hardly aware of the guilt of the *Beacon*, was loudly blamed for his connection with it.

In 1822 Sir Walter published *Trivial Poems and Triplets*, by P. Carey, with a Preface; and, in 1822, appeared his dramatic poem of *Halidon Hill*. In the succeeding year he contributed a smaller dramatic poem, under the title of "Macduff's Cross," to a collection of Miss Joanna Baillie. The sum of his remaining poetical works may here be made up, by adding "The Doom of Devergoil," and "The Auchindrane Tragedy," which appeared in one volume in 1830. It cannot be said of any of these compositions, that they have made the least impression upon the public.

The great success of the earlier novels of Sir Walter Scott had encouraged his publishers, Messrs. Archibald Constable and Company, to give large sums for those works; and, previous to 1824, it was understood that the author had spent from £50,000 to £100,000, thus acquired, upon his house and estate of Abbotsford. During the months which his official duties permitted him to spend in the country—that is, the whole of the more genial part of the year, from March till November, excepting the months of May and June—he kept state, like a wealthy country gentleman, at this delightful seat, where he was visited by many distinguished persons from England and from the Continent. As he scarcely ever spent any other hours than those between seven and eleven A.M. in composition, he was able to devote the greater part of the morning to country exercise and the superintendence of his planting and agricultural operations; while the evenings were, in a great measure, devoted to his guests. Almost every day he used to ride a considerable distance—sometimes not less than twenty miles—on horseback. He also walked a great deal; and lame as he was, would sometimes tire the stoutest of his companions.

Among the eminent persons to whom he had been recommended by his genius, and its productions, King George the Fourth was one, and not the least warm in his admiration. The poet of *Marmion* had been honoured with many interviews by his sovereign when Prince of Wales and prince regent; and his majesty was pleased, in March, 1820, to create him a baronet of the United Kingdom, being the first to whom he had extended that honour after his accession to the crown.

In 1822, when his majesty visited Scotland, Sir Walter found the duty imposed upon him as in some measure the most prominent man in the country, of acting as a kind of master of ceremonies, as well as a sort of dragoman or mediator between the sovereign and his people. It was an occasion for the revival of all kinds of historical and family reminiscences; and Sir Walter's acquaintance with national antiquities, not less than his universally honoured

character, caused him to be resorted to by innumerable individuals, and many respectable public bodies, for information and advice. On the evening of the 14th of August, when his majesty cast anchor in Leith Roads, Sir Walter Scott went out in a boat, commissioned by the LADIES of SCOTLAND, to welcome the king, and to present his majesty with an elegant jewelled cross of St. Andrew, to be worn on his breast as a national emblem. When the king was informed of Sir Walter's approach, he exclaimed, "What! Sir Walter Scott? The man in Scotland I most wish to see! Let him come up." Sir Walter accordingly ascended the ship, and was presented to the king on the quarter-deck, where he met with a most gracious reception. After an appropriate speech, Sir Walter presented his gift, and then knelt and kissed the king's hand. He had afterwards the honour of dining with his majesty, being placed on his right hand. Throughout the whole proceedings connected with the reception and residence of the king in Scotland, Sir Walter Scott bore a very conspicuous part.

Sir Walter Scott had now apparently attained a degree of human greatness such as rarely falls to the lot of literary men; and he was generally considered as having, by prudence, fairly negated the evils to which the whole class are almost proverbially subject. It was now to appear, that, though he had exceeded his brethren in many points of wisdom, and really earned an unusually large sum of money, he had not altogether secured himself against calamity. The bookselling house with which he had all along been chiefly connected, was one in which the principal partner was Mr. Archibald Constable, a man who will long be remembered in Scotland for the impulse which he gave by his liberality to the literature of the country, but at the same time for a want of calculation and prudence which in a great measure neutralized his best qualities. It is difficult to arrive at exact information respecting the connection of the author with his publisher, or to assign to each the exact degree of blame incidental to him, for the production of their common ruin. It appears, however, to be ascertained, that Sir Walter Scott, in his eagerness for the purchase of land, and at the same time to maintain the style of a considerable country gentleman, incurred obligations to Messrs. Constable and Company, for money or acceptances, upon the prospect of works in the course of being written, or which the author only designed to write, and was thus led, by a principle of gratitude, to grant counter-acceptances to the bookselling house, to aid in its relief from those embarrassments of which he was himself partly the cause. It is impossible otherwise to account for Sir Walter Scott having incurred liabilities to the creditors of that house to the amount of no less than £72,000, while of its profits he had not the prospect of a single farthing.

On the failure of Messrs. Constable and Company, in January, 1826, Messrs. Ballantyne and Company, printers, of which firm Sir Walter Scott was a partner, became insolvent, with debts to the amount of £102,000, for the whole of which Sir Walter was of course liable, in addition to his liabilities for the bookselling house. It thus appeared that the most splendid literary revenue that ever man made for himself, had been compromised by a connection, partly for profit and partly otherwise, with the two mechanical individuals concerned in the mere bringing of his writings before the world. A percentage was all that these individuals were fairly entitled to for their trouble in putting the works of Sir Walter into shape; but they had absorbed the whole, and more than the whole, leaving both him and themselves

poorer than they were at the beginning of their career.

The blow was endured with a magnanimity worthy of the greatest writer of the age. On the very day after the calamity had been made known to him, a friend accosted him as he was issuing from his house, and presented the condolences proper to such a melancholy occasion.

"It is very hard," said he, in his usual slow and thoughtful voice, "thus to lose all the labours of a lifetime, and be made a poor man at last, when I ought to have been otherwise. But if God grant me health and strength for a few years longer, I have no doubt that I shall redeem it all."

The principal assets which he could present against the large claims now made upon him, were the mansion and grounds of Abbotsford, which he had entailed upon his son, at the marriage of that young gentleman to Miss Jobson of Lohore, but in a manner now found invalid, and which were burdened by a bond for £10,000. He had also his house in Edinburgh, and the furniture of both mansions. His creditors proposed a composition; but his honourable nature, and perhaps a sense of reputation, prevented him from listening to any such scheme. "No, gentlemen," said he, quoting a favourite Spanish proverb, "Time and I against any two. Allow me time, and I will endeavour to pay all." A trust-deed was accordingly executed in favour of certain gentlemen, whose duties were to receive the funds realized by our author's labours, and gradually pay off the debts, with interest, by instalments. He likewise insured his life, with the sanction of his trustees, for the sum of £22,000, by which a *post-obit* interest to that amount was secured to his creditors. He was the better enabled to carry into execution the schemes of retrenchment which he had resolved on, by the death of Lady Scott, in May, 1826. Her ladyship had born to him two sons and two daughters; of the latter of whom the elder had been married in 1820 to Mr. J. G. Lockhart, advocate.

Sir Walter was engaged, at the time of his bankruptcy, in the composition of a *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, which was originally designed to fill only four volumes, but eventually extended to nine. In the autumn of 1826 he paid a visit to Paris, in company with his youngest and only unmarried daughter, in order to acquaint himself with several historical and local details requisite for the work upon which he was engaged. On this occasion he was received with distinguished kindness by the reigning monarch, Charles X. The *Life of Napoleon* appeared in summer, 1827; and though too bulky to be very popular, and perhaps too hastily written to bear the test of rigid criticism, it was understood to produce to its author a sum little short of £12,000. This, with other earnings and accessory resources, enabled him to pay a dividend of six shillings and eightpence to his creditors.

Till this period Sir Walter Scott had made no avowal to the public of his being the author of that long series of prose fictions which had for some years engaged so much of public attention. It being no longer possible to preserve his incognito, he permitted himself, at a dinner for the benefit of the Edinburgh Theatrical Fund, February 23, 1827, to be drawn into a disclosure of the secret. On his health being proposed by Lord Meadowbank, as the "Great Unknown," now unknown no longer, he acknowledged the compliment in suitable terms, and declared himself, unequivocally, to be the sole author of what were called the *Waverley Novels*.

About the same time the copyright of all his past

novels was brought to the hammer, as part of the bankrupt stock of Messrs. Constable and Company. It was bought by Mr. Robert Cadell, of the late firm of Archibald Constable and Company, and who was now once more engaged in the bookselling business, at £8400, for the purpose of republishing the whole of these delightful works in a cheap uniform series of volumes, illustrated by notes and prefaces, and amended in many parts by the finishing touches of the author. Sir Walter or his creditors were to have half the profits in consideration of his literary aid.

This was a most fortunate design. The new edition began to appear in June, 1829; and such was its adaptation to the public convenience, and the eagerness of all ranks of people to contribute in a way convenient to themselves towards the reconstruction of the author's fortunes, that the sale soon reached an average of 23,000 copies. To give the reader an idea of the magnitude of this *concern*—speaking commercially—it may be stated that, in the mere *production* of the work, not to speak of its sale, about a thousand persons, or nearly a hundredth part of the population of Edinburgh, were supported. The author was now chiefly employed in preparing these narratives for the new impression; but he nevertheless found time occasionally to produce original works. In November, 1828, he published the first part of a juvenile history of Scotland, under the title of *Tales of a Grandfather*, being addressed to his grandchild John Hugh Lockhart, whom he typified under the appellation of Hugh Littlejohn, Esq. In 1829 appeared the second, and in 1830 the third and concluding series of this charming book, which fairly fulfilled a half-sportive expression that had escaped him many years before, in the company of his children—that "he would yet make the history of Scotland as familiar in the nurseries of England as lullaby rhymes." In 1830 he also contributed a graver *History of Scotland*, in two volumes, to the periodical work called *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*. In the same year appeared his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, as a volume of Mr. Murray's *Family Library*; and in 1831 he added to his *Tales of a Grandfather* a uniform series on French history. In the same year, two sermons which he had written a considerable time before, for a young clerical friend, were published by that individual in London, and, as specimens of so great an author in an extraordinary line of composition, met with an extensive sale.

The profits of these various publications, but especially his share of the profits of the new edition of his novels, enabled him, towards the end of the year 1830, to pay a dividend of three shillings in the pound, which, but for the accumulation of interest, would have reduced his debts to nearly one-half. Of £54,000 which had now been paid, all except £6000 or £7000 had been produced by his own literary labours; a fact which fixes the revenue of his intellect for the last four or five years at nearly £10,000 a year. Besides this sum Sir Walter had also paid up the premium of the policy upon his life, which, as already mentioned, secured a *post-obit* interest of £22,000 to his creditors. On this occasion it was suggested by one of these gentlemen (Sir James Gibson Craig), and immediately assented to, that they should present to Sir Walter personally the library, manuscripts, curiosities, and plate which had once been his own, as an acknowledgment of the sense they entertained of his honourable conduct.

In November, 1830, he retired from his office of principal clerk of session, with the superannuation

allowance usually given after twenty-three years' service. Earl Grey offered to make up the allowance to the full salary; but, from motives of delicacy, Sir Walter firmly declined to accept of such a favour from one to whom he was opposed in politics.

His health, from his sixteenth year, had been very good, except during the years 1818 and 1819, when he suffered under an illness of such severity as to turn his hair quite gray, and send him out again to the world apparently ten years older than before. It may be mentioned, however, that this illness, though accompanied by very severe pain, did not materially interrupt or retard his intellectual labours. He was only reduced to the necessity of employing an amanuensis, to whom he dictated from his bed. The humorous character, Dugald Dalgetty, in the third series of the *Tales of my Landlord*, and the splendid scene of the siege of Torquilston in *Ivanhoe*, were created under these circumstances. Mr. William Laidlaw, his factor, who at one time performed the task of amanuensis, has described how he would sometimes be stopped in the midst of some of the most amusing or most elevated scenes by an attack of pain—which being past, he would recommence in the same tone at the point where he had left off, and so on for day after day till the novel was finished.

It happened very unfortunately that the severe task which he imposed upon himself for the purpose of discharging his obligations, came at a period of life when he was least able to accomplish it. It will hardly be believed that, even when so far occupied with his official duties in town, he seldom permitted a day to pass over his head without writing as much as to fill a sheet of print, or sixteen pages; and this, whether it was of a historical nature, with of course the duty of consulting documents, or of fictitious matter spun from the loom of his fancy. Although this labour was alleviated in the country by considerable exercise, it nevertheless must have pressed severely upon the powers of a man nearly sixty by years, and fully seventy by constitution. The reader may judge how strong must have been that principle of integrity which could command such a degree of exertion and self-denial, not so much to pay debts contracted by himself, as to discharge obligations in which he was involved by others. He can only be likened, indeed, to the generous elephant, which, being set to a task above its powers, performed it at the expense of life, and then fell dead at the feet of its master.

His retirement from official duty might have been expected to relieve in some measure the pains of intense mental application. It was now too late, however, to redeem the health that had fled. During the succeeding winter symptoms of gradual paralysis, a disease hereditary in his family, began to be manifested. His contracted limb became gradually weaker and more painful, and his tongue less readily obeyed the impulse of the will. In March, 1831, he attended a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Roxburgh, to aid in the expression of disapprobation with which a majority of those gentlemen designed to visit the contemplated reform bills. Sir Walter was, as already hinted, a zealous Tory, though more from sentiment perhaps than opinion, and he regarded those regenerating measures as only the commencement of the ruin of his country. Having avowed this conviction in very warm language, a few of the individuals present by courtesy expressed their dissent in the usual vulgar manner; whereupon he turned, with anger flashing in his eye—with him a most unwonted passion—and said, that he cared no more for such expressions of disapproval than he did for the hissing of geese or the braying

of asses. He was evidently, however, much chagrined at the reception his opinions had met with, and in returning home was observed to shed tears.

During the summer of 1831 the symptoms of his disorder became gradually more violent; and to add to the distress of those around him, his temper, formerly so benevolent, so imperturbable, became peevish and testy, inasmuch that his most familiar relatives could hardly venture, on some occasions, to address him. At this period, in writing to a literary acquaintance, he thus expressed himself:—

“Although it is said in the newspapers, I am actually far from well, and instead of being exercising (*sic*) on a brother novelist, Chateaubriand, my influence to decide him to raise an insurrection in France, which is the very probable employment allotted to me by some of the papers, I am keeping my head as cool as I can, and speaking with some difficulty.

“I have owed you a letter longer than I intended, but write with pain, and in general use the hand of a friend. I sign with my initials, *as enough to express the poor half of me that is left*. But I am still much yours, “W. S.”

Since the early part of the year he had, in a great measure, abandoned the pen for the purposes of authorship. This, however, he did with some difficulty, and it is to be feared that he resumed it more frequently than he ought to have done. “Dr. Abercromby,” says he, in a letter dated March 7, “threatens me with death if I write so much; and die, I suppose, I must, if I give it up suddenly. I must assist Lockhart a little, for you are aware of our connection, and he has always showed me the duties of a son; but, except that, and my own necessary work at the edition of the *Waverley Novels*, as they call them, I can hardly pretend to put pen to paper; for after all this same dying is a ceremony one would put off as long as possible.”

In the autumn his physicians recommended a residence in Italy as a means of delaying the approaches of his illness. To this scheme he felt the strongest repugnance, as he feared he should die on a foreign soil, far from the mountain-land which was so endeared to himself, and which he had done so much to endear to others; but by the intervention of some friends, whose advice he had been accustomed to respect from his earliest years, he was prevailed upon to comply. By the kind offices of Captain Basil Hall, liberty was obtained for him to sail in his majesty's ship the *Barham*, which was then fitting out for Malta.

He sailed in this vessel from Portsmouth on the 27th of October, and on the 27th of December landed at Naples, where he was received by the king and his court with a feeling approaching to homage. In April he proceeded to Rome, and was there received in the same manner. He inspected the remains of Roman grandeur with some show of interest, but was observed to mark with a keener feeling, and more minute care, the relics of the more barbarous middle ages; a circumstance, in our opinion, to have been predicated from the whole strain of his writings. He paid visits to Tivoli, Albani, and Frascati. If anything could have been effectual in re-illuming that lamp which was now beginning to pale its mighty lustre, it might have been expected that *this* would have been the ground on which the miracle was to take place. But he was himself conscious, even amidst the flatteries of his friends, that all hopes of this kind were at an end. Feeling that his strength was rapidly decaying, he determined upon returning with all possible speed to his native country, in order that his bones might not be laid

(to use the language of his own favourite minstrelsy) "far from the Tweed." His journey was performed too rapidly for his strength. For six days he travelled seventeen hours a day. The consequence was, that in passing down the Rhine he experienced a severe attack of his malady, which produced complete insensibility, and would have inevitably carried him off, but for the presence of mind of his servant, who bled him profusely. On his arrival in London he was conveyed to the St. James' Hotel, Jermyn Street, and immediately attended by Sir Henry Hallford and Dr. Holland, as well as by his son-in-law and daughter. All help was now, however, useless. The disease had reached nearly its most virulent stage, producing a total insensibility to the presence of even his most beloved relatives—

———"omni
Membrorum damno major, dementia, quæ nec
Nomina servorum, nec vultum agnoscit amici."

After residing for some weeks in London in the receipt of every attention which filial piety and medical skill could bestow, the expiring poet desired that, if possible, he might be removed to his native land—to his own home. As the case was reckoned quite desperate, it was resolved to gratify him in his dying wish, even at the hazard of accelerating his dissolution by the voyage. He accordingly left London on the 7th of July, and, arriving at New-haven on the evening of the 9th, was conveyed with all possible care to a hotel in his native city. After spending two nights and a day in Edinburgh, he was removed, on the morning of the 11th, to Abbotsford.

That intense love of home and of country which had urged his return from the Continent, here seemed to dispel for a moment the clouds of the mental atmosphere. In descending the vale of Gala, at the bottom of which the view of Abbotsford first opens, it was found difficult to keep him quiet in his carriage, so anxious was he to rear himself up in order to catch an early glimpse of the beloved scene. On arriving at his house he hardly recognized anybody or anything. He looked vacantly on all the objects that met his gaze, except the well-remembered visage of his friend Laidlaw, whose hand he affectionately pressed, murmuring, "that *now* he knew that he was at Abbotsford." He was here attended by most of the members of his family, including Mr. Lockhart, while the general superintendence of his deathbed (now too certainly such) was committed to Dr. Clarkson of Melrose. He was now arrived at that melancholy state when the friends of the patient can form no more affectionate wish than that death may step in to claim his own. Yet day after day did the remnants of a robust constitution continue to hold out against the gloomy foe of life, until, notwithstanding every effort to the contrary, mortification commenced at several parts of the body. This was about twelve days before his demise, which at length took place on the 21st of September (1832), the principles of life having been by that time so thoroughly worn out that nothing remained by which pain could be either experienced or expressed. On the 26th the illustrious deceased was buried in an aisle in Dryburgh Abbey, which had belonged to one of his ancestors, and which had been given to him by the Earl of Buchan.

Sir Walter Scott was in stature above six feet; but having been lame from an early period of life in the right limb, he sank a little on that side in walking. His person was, in latter life, bulky, but not corpulent, and made a graceful appearance on horseback. Of his features it is needless to give any particular description, as they must be familiar to

every reader through the medium of the innumerable portraits, busts, and medallions by which they have been commemorated. His complexion was fair and the natural colour of his hair sandy. The portrait by Raeburn, of which an engraving was prefixed to the *Lady of the Lake*, gives the best representation of the poet as he appeared in the prime of life. The bust of Chantry, taken in 1820, affords the most faithful delineation of his features as he was advancing into age. And his aspect in his sixtieth year, when age and reflection had more deeply marked his countenance, is most admirably preserved in Mr. Watson Gordon's portrait, of which an engraving accompanies the present memoir. There is likewise a very faithful portrait by Mr. Leslie, an American artist.

Sir Walter Scott possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of imagination with the gift of memory. If to this be added his strong tendency to venerate past things, we at once have the most obvious features of his intellectual character. A desultory course of reading had brought him into acquaintance with almost all the fictitious literature that existed before his own day, as well as the minutest points of British, and more particularly Scottish, history. His easy and familiar habits had also introduced him to an extensive observation of the varieties of human character. His immense memory retained the ideas thus acquired, and his splendid imagination gave them new shape and colour. Thus, his literary character rests almost exclusively upon his power of combining and embellishing past events, and his skill in delineating natural character. In early life accident threw his opinions into the shape of verse—in later life into prose; but in whatever form they appear, the powers are not much different. The same magician is still at work re-awaking the figures and events of history, or sketching the characters which we every day see around us, and investing the whole with the light of a most extraordinary fancy.

It is by far the greatest glory of Sir Walter Scott that he shone equally as a good and virtuous man as he did in his capacity of the first fictitious writer of the age. His behaviour through life was marked by undeviating integrity and purity. His character as a husband and father is altogether irreproachable. Indeed, in no single relation of life does he appear liable to blame, except in the facility with which he yielded his fortunes into the power of others, of whom he ought to have stood quite independent. Laying this imprudence out of view, his good sense and good feeling united, appear to have guided him aright through all the difficulties and temptations of life. Along with the most perfect uprightness of conduct, he was characterized by extraordinary simplicity of manners. He was invariably gracious and kind, and it was impossible ever to detect in his conversation a symptom of his grounding the slightest title to consideration upon his literary fame, or of his even being conscious of it.

By dint of almost incredible exertions Sir Walter Scott had reduced the amount of his debts, at the time of his decease, to about £20,000, exclusive of the accumulated interest. On the 29th of October a meeting of his creditors was called, when an offer was made by his family of that sum against the ensuing February, on condition of their obtaining a complete discharge. The meeting was very numerously attended, and the proposal was accepted without a dissentient voice. In addition to the resolution accepting the offer, and directing the trustees to see the acceptance carried into effect, the following resolution was moved and carried with a like unanimity:—

"And while the meeting state their anxious wish

that every creditor who is not present may adopt the same resolution, they think it a tribute justly due to the memory of Sir Walter Scott, to express, in the strongest manner, their deep sense of his most honourable conduct, and of the unparalleled benefits which they have derived from the extraordinary exertion of his unrivalled talents, under misfortunes and difficulties which would have paralyzed the exertions of any one else, but in him only proved the greatness of mind which enabled him to rise superior to them."

SCOUGAL, HENRY, a theological writer of considerable eminence, was born in the end of June, 1650. He was descended of the family of the Scougals of that ilk, and was the son of Patrick Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen from 1664 to 1682, a man whose piety and learning have been commemorated by Bishop Burnet. His son Henry is said to have early displayed symptoms of those talents for which he was afterwards distinguished. We are told by Dr. George Garden, that "he was not taken up with the plays and little diversions of those of his age; but, upon such occasions, did usually retire from them, and that not out of sullenness of humour or dulness of spirit (the sweetness and serenity of whose temper did even then appear), but out of a stayedness of mind, going to some privacy, and employing his time in reading, prayer, and such serious thoughts as that age was capable of."¹ Tradition has asserted that Scougal was led to the study of theology, in the hope of finding in it a balm for disappointed affections; and this is in so far countenanced by the tenor of several passages of his writings. Another cause, however, has been assigned, and apparently on better authority. "Being once in a serious reflection what course of life he should take, he takes up the Bible to read a portion of it; and though he was always averse to the making a lottery of the Scriptures, yet he could not but take notice of the first words which he cast his eyes upon, and which made no small impression on his spirit: 'By what means shall a young man learn to purify his way? By taking heed thereto according to thy word.'" On his father's election to the see of Aberdeen, Scougal entered as a student at King's College there, of which university his father was chancellor. He seems to have taken the lead of his fellow-students in almost every department of science; and in addition to the usual branches of knowledge pursued in the university, to have acquired a knowledge of some of the oriental tongues. Immediately on taking his degree he was selected to assist one of the regents in the instruction of his class; and the next year, 1669, he was, at the early age of nineteen, appointed a professor. His immature age was probably incapable to preserve order in his class; at all events, tumults and insubordination broke forth among his students, of whom so many were expelled from the college that he scarce had a class to teach. His office of regent, which was thus inauspiciously commenced, he held but for four years, having at the end of that time accepted the pastoral charge of the parish of Auchterless, in Aberdeenshire. He retained this charge no longer than a twelvemonth, and in 1674 was appointed professor of divinity in the King's College; a chair which had shortly before been filled by the celebrated John Forbes of Corse, and more lately by William Douglas, the learned author of the *Academiarum Vindicta*, and other works. As was customary in that age, Scougal printed a thesis on his accession to the divinity chair: this tract, which is still preserved and highly prized, is entitled *De Objecto Cultus Religiosi*.

In 1677 appeared the "*Life of God in the Soul of Man*," or the Nature and Excellency of the Christian Religion." This work, to which Scougal's modesty would not permit him to prefix his name, was edited by Bishop Burnet, who appended to it a tract called *An Account of the Spiritual Life*, supposed to be written by himself. In the prefatory notice Burnet states of the author, "that the book is a transcript of those divine impressions that were upon his own heart, and that he has written nothing in it but what he himself did well feel and know." The work passed at once into that extensive popularity and high reputation it has ever since enjoyed. Before 1727 it had gone through five editions, the last under the superintendence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1735 it was again reprinted, with the addition of *Nine Discourses on Important Subjects* and Dr. Garden's funeral sermon; and in 1740 another edition appeared, with some "Occasional Meditations," not previously published. Since that period editions have multiplied very rapidly. In 1722 it was translated into French, and published at the Hague. Scougal survived the publication of his work for no longer than a twelvemonth. At the early age of twenty-eight he died on the 13th of June, in the year 1678, and was interred on the north side of the chapel of King's College, where a tablet of black marble, bearing a simple Latin inscription, was erected to his memory. He bequeathed a sum of 5000 merks to augment the salary of the professor of divinity in the university, and left his books to the college library. A portrait of Scougal is preserved in the college hall, and the countenance breathes all that serene composure, benevolence, purity, and kindness which so strikingly mark his writings. Besides the works which have been mentioned, Scougal left behind him in manuscript various juvenile essays, and some Latin tracts, among which are *A Short System of Ethics or Moral Philosophy*; *A Preservative against the Artifices of the Romish Missionaries*, and a fragment *On the Pastoral Cure*. This last work was designed for the use of students in divinity and candidates for holy orders. None of the least beautiful or remarkable of his works is the *Morning and Evening Service*, which he composed for the cathedral of Aberdeen, and which is characterized by a spirit of fervid devotion, and a deep and singular elevation of thought and solemnity of diction.

SCRINGER, HENRY, a learned person of the sixteenth century, was the son of Walter Scringer of Glasswell, who traced his descent from the Scringers or Scringeurs of Dudhope, constables of Dundee, and hereditary standard-bearers of Scotland. The subject of this memoir was born at Dundee in 1506, and received the rudiments of his education in the grammar-school of that town, where he made singular proficiency both in the Latin and Greek languages. He afterwards went through a course of philosophy in the university of St. Andrews with great applause. From thence he proceeded to Paris to study civil law. He next removed to Bourges, where he studied for some time under Baro and Duaren, who were considered the two greatest lawyers of the age in which they lived. Here he formed an acquaintance with the celebrated Amiot, who at that time filled the Greek chair at Bourges, and through his recommendation was appointed tutor to the children of Secretary Boucherel. In this situation, which he filled to the entire satisfaction of his employers, Scringer became acquainted with Bernard Benetel, Bishop of Rennes, who, on being appointed ambassador from the court of France

¹ A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Rev. Henry Scougal, M.A. By G. G. (George Garden), D.D. P. 285.

to some of the states of Italy, made choice of him for his private secretary. With this dignitary he travelled through the greater part of that interesting country, and was introduced to a great many of its most eminent and learned men. While on a visit to Padua he had an opportunity of seeing the notorious apostate Francis Spira, of whose extraordinary case he wrote a narrative, which was published along with an account of the same case by Petrus Paulus Virgerus, Mattheus Gribaldus, and Sigismundus Gelous, under the following title: "*The History of Francisus Spira*, who fell into a dreadful state of despair, because, having once assumed a profession of evangelical truth, he had afterwards recanted and condemned the same, most faithfully written by four most excellent men, together with prefaces by these illustrious men Caelius S.C. and John Calvin, and an Apology by Petrus Paulus Virgerus, in all which many subjects worthy of examination in these times are most gravely handled. To which is added the Judgment of Martinus Borrahus on the improvement which may be made of Spira's example and doctrine, 2 Pet. ii. 'It had been better for them not to have known the way of life,'" &c. The book is written in Latin, but has neither the name of printer nor the place or date of printing. It was, however, probably printed at Basil in the year 1550 or 1551. Deeply affected with the case of Spira, Scrimger determined to sacrifice all the prospects, great as they were, which his present situation held out to him, and to retire into Switzerland, where he could profess the Reformed religion without danger. It appears that he shortly after this entertained the idea of returning to Scotland; but on his arrival in Geneva he was invited by the syndics and magistrates of the city to set up a profession of philosophy for the instruction of youth, for which they made a suitable provision. Here he continued to teach philosophy for some time. A fire, however, happening in the city, his house was burned to the ground with all that was in it, and he was in consequence reduced to great straits, though his two noble pupils, the Boucherels, no sooner heard of his misfortune than they sent him a considerable supply of money. It was at this time that Ulrich Fugger, a gentleman possessed of a princely fortune, and distinguished alike for his learning and for his virtues, invited him to come and live with him at Augsburg till his affairs could be put in order. This generous invitation Scrimger accepted, and he lived with his benefactor at Augsburg for a number of years, during which he employed himself chiefly in collecting books and manuscripts, many of them exceedingly curious and valuable. Under the patronage of this amiable person he appears also to have composed several of his treatises, which he returned to Geneva to have printed. On his arrival the magistrates of that city importuned him to resume his class for teaching philosophy. With this request he complied, and continued again in Geneva for two years, 1563 and 1564. In the year 1565 he opened a school for teaching civil law, of which he had the honour of being the first professor and founder in Geneva. This class he continued to teach till his death. In the year 1572 Alexander Young, his nephew, was sent to him to Geneva, with letters from the Regent Marr and George Buchanan, with the latter of whom he had been long in terms of intimacy, requesting him to return to his native country, and promising him every encouragement.

Buchanan had before repeatedly written to him, pressing his return to his native country in a manner that sufficiently evinced the high esteem he entertained for him. The venerable old scholar, however,

could not be prevailed on to leave the peaceful retreat of Geneva, for the stormy scenes which were now exhibiting in his native country; pleading, as an apology, his years and growing infirmities. But the letters of Buchanan were the means of awakening the ardour of Andrew Melville (who was at that time in Geneva, and in the habit of visiting Scrimger, whose sister was married to Melville's elder brother), and turning his attention to the state of learning in Scotland, of which, previously to this period, he does not seem to have taken any particular notice.

Though his life had not passed without some vicissitudes, the latter days of Scrimger appear to have been sufficiently easy as to circumstances. Besides the house which he possessed in the city, he had also a neat villa which he called the Violet, about a league from the town. At this latter place he spent the most of his time in his latter years, in the company of his wife and an only daughter. The period of his death seems to be somewhat uncertain. Thuanus says he died at Geneva in the year 1571; but an edition of his *Novels* in the Advocates' Library, with an inscription to his friend Edward Herrison, dated 1572, is sufficient evidence that this is a mistake. George Buchanan, however, in a letter to Christopher Plaintain, dated at Stirling in the month of November, 1573, speaks of him as certainly dead; so that his death must have happened either in the end of 1572 or the beginning of 1573.

The only work which Scrimger appears to have published, besides the account of Spira which we have already noticed, was an edition of the *Novelle Constitutions* of Justinian, in Greek; a work which was highly prized by the first lawyers of the time. He also enriched the editions of several of the classics, published by Henry Stephens, with various readings and remarks. From his preface to the Greek text of the *Novelle*, it is evident that Scrimger intended to publish a Latin translation of that work, accompanied with annotations; but, from some unknown cause, that design was never accomplished. Mackenzie informs us, that, though he came with the highest recommendations from Ulrich Fugger to Stephens, who was, like Scrimger, one of Fugger's pensioners, yet, from an apprehension on the part of Stephens that Scrimger intended to commence printer himself, there arose such a difference between them that the republic of letters was deprived of Scrimger's notes upon Athenæus, Strabo, Diogenes Laertius, the Basilics, Phormuthus, and Palephatus; all of which he designed that Stephens should have printed for him. The most of these, according to Stephens, after Scrimger's death, fell into the hands of Isaac Casaubon, who published many of them as his own. Casaubon, it would appear, obtained the use of his notes on Strabo, and applied for those on Polybius, when he published his editions of these writers. In his letters to Peter Young, who was Scrimger's nephew, and through whom he appears to have obtained the use of these papers, he speaks in high terms of their great merit; but he has not been candid enough in his printed works to own the extent of his obligations. Buchanan, in a letter to Christopher Plaintain, informs him that Scrimger had left notes and observations upon Demosthenes, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, and many other Greek authors; as likewise upon the philosophical works of Cicero: all which, he informs his correspondent, were in the hands of Scrimger's nephew, the learned Mr. Peter Young; and being well worth the printing, should be sent him, if he would undertake the publication. Plaintain seems to have declined the offer; so that the *Novelle* and the account

of Spira are all that remain of the learned labours of Scrimger, of whom it has been said, that no man of his age had a more acute knowledge, not only of the Latin and Greek, but also of the Oriental languages. His library, which was one of the most valuable in Europe, he left by testament to his nephew Peter Young, who was Buchanan's assistant in the education of James VI., and it was brought over to Scotland by the testator's brother, Alexander Scrimger, in the year 1573. Besides many valuable books this library contained MSS. of great value; but Young was not a very enthusiastic scholar; and as he was more intent upon advancing his personal interests in the world, and aggrandizing his family, than forwarding the progress of knowledge, they probably came to but small account.

The testimonies to Scrimger's worth and merits by his contemporaries are numerous. Thuanus, Casaubon, and Stephens, with many others, mention his name with the highest encomiums. Dempster says he was a man indefatigable in his reading, of a most exquisite judgment, and without the smallest particle of vainglory. And the great Cujanus was accustomed to say, that he never parted from the company of Henry Scrimger without having learned something that he never knew before.

SETON, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ALEXANDER. It often happens that the most distinguished in talent are suddenly removed from us at the very entrance of their career. Rich in natural and acquired qualifications, every step of their progress is regarded with interest; and when they enter into life, no obstacle in their path is thought too difficult to surmount, or eminence which they may attain too high for their merits. But when nothing except time seems wanting to resolve these cherished visions into realities, death unexpectedly steps in, and this bright promise of the future is abruptly closed. Of the many victims of this description, Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Seton is an interesting example. More fortunate, however, than many of his class, he was not removed from us until he had given proof to the world of what he might have achieved, by an episode of heroism which, as long as Britain endures, British history will delight to record.

He was the second but eldest surviving son of Alexander Seton of Mounie, Esq., a deputy-lieutenant and justice of the peace, Aberdeenshire, and was born on the 4th of October, 1814. His early youth was marked by great talents, which were carefully cultivated by private education; but his prevailing bias was towards a military life, which he studied as a science, and to which all his acquirements were made subservient. When not quite fifteen years old he accompanied his parents to Italy, where he remained behind them to study mathematics and chemistry under Professor Ferdinando Foggia of Pisa, and there also he became a perfect Italian scholar, being previously well acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and French languages. On the 23d of November, 1832, he was gazetted as second lieutenant by purchase in the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, and soon after sailed with a detachment of his regiment to the Australian colonies, where his principal station was Van Diemen's Land. Military service during a time of peace is always dull, but peculiarly so in our colonies, where idle men have so few of the attractions of fashionable life as a counterpoise; but the "mind is its own place," and Mr. Seton, wherever he went, could find in his studious disposition and love of knowledge, his books and his investigations, a busy and happy world of his own. After a few years of residence in our Australian colonies he returned

to England on leave of absence, and was promoted by purchase to a first lieutenantancy on the 2d of March, 1838. During the continuation of this leave he made a short tour in Germany, where he perfected his pronunciation of the language, which he had previously studied. In the meantime his regiment, the 21st Fusiliers, having been removed from Van Diemen's Land to India, Lieutenant Seton, who was appointed adjutant to the regiment, rejoined them when his leave of absence had expired. In India, his military services were of that harassing kind which have neither the excitement of military enterprise nor the reward of military glory to recommend them, and in which not the least was a long and trying march from Dinapore, where the 21st was stationed, to Kamptee near Nagpore. In this route, under a burning sun, Lieutenant Seton, as adjutant of the regiment, discharged his duties so ably as to secure the approbation of his commanding officer. Having been promoted to a company without purchase on the 14th of January, 1842, he returned to Europe and exchanged into the 74th Highlanders, at that time expected home from foreign service; and on their arrival he joined in 1844 the dépôt of that regiment at Chatham.

Such was the dreary peace routine of the soldier for years, but this long interval had not been misapplied by Captain Seton, for in addition to the satisfaction which the discharge of his duties had given, he omitted no opportunity of increasing his knowledge by such means as the localities in which he was stationed afforded. Such was the case during his sojourn in India, where he had made himself master of Hindoostanee, and laid the foundation of his acquaintance with other Oriental languages, including the Sanscrit and Persian. But the science of his profession was the chief object of his ambition, and to enlarge his knowledge of it, and the sciences with which it is more immediately connected, he obtained permission, in January, 1846, to become a student in the senior department of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. After a two years' attendance at this college, his final examination took place in November, 1847, before the late Duke of Cambridge and the board of commissioners, and at the close of it he was honoured with a first-class certificate, and an "extra notice" of his superior attainments in military drawing and surveying—the highest description of certificate then given at the Royal Military College. In this examination which Captain Seton underwent with four officers, his own share of it was particularly onerous. Each officer has his own option as to the departments he has studied, and on which he chooses to be examined, and on this occasion Captain Seton "showed the stereographical construction of the problem for finding the sun's azimuth, and gave the trigonometrical formula for computing the azimuthal angle; he also explained the manner of finding the declination of the magnetic needle. He investigated a formula for expressing the strength of beams, with one for the centre of oscillation in a vibrating body; and he explained the practical method of finding the centre of gravity in the ballistic pendulum. He determined the curvatures of two lenses by which a nearly achromatic image may be formed; he explained the phenomena of vision and of the rainbow; and described the nature of the vibrations producing common and polarized light." He answered 350 questions proposed in other departments connected with natural philosophy, mechanics, and mathematics. And besides these, he sustained a searching and satisfactory examination along with the four other officers upon subjects more closely connected with his profession—the construc-

tion of fortresses with their attack and defence, and military surveying accompanied with drawings and sketches. When this long protracted ordeal was ended, "the board, on proceeding to award the certificates, was pleased to express its entire satisfaction at the progress which had been made by the students. Captain Seton, who was particularly distinguished for the talent displayed in the highest departments of mathematical science, and for the great extent of his acquirements, was presented with a certificate of the first class, on which was expressed the sense entertained by the board of his superior merit."¹ Nor was this his only commendation. After the examination was over he was commended personally by the Duke of Cambridge in the strongest manner for the talents and varied ability he had evinced. He was congratulated by Sir G. Brown, the deputy assistant-general, who declared that he had never heard anything like his examination. Even the highest authorities at the Horse Guards were moved to send for him, and commend him in the highest terms for the ability he had displayed, with assurances of their desire to serve him whenever it might be within their power.

Although the scientific acquirements displayed on this occasion by Captain Seton were so varied and profound, they by no means give the whole of his intellectual portrait. He knew a great deal more that did not fall within the range of their queries. He was familiar with the sciences of botany and geology. He had a thorough knowledge of music as a science; and was such a proficient in drawing, that although he cultivated it merely as an amusement, he might have become an eminent artist if he had not preferred to be a soldier. But his power of acquiring languages was particularly remarkable, being master of fifteen, besides several others which he knew less perfectly. Among those languages in which he was most proficient may be specified the following: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sanscrit, Hindue, Hindoostanee (or Ordoe), Persian, German, Italian, French, Spanish, Danish, Irish, &c. He also knew the character called Arrow-head as far as the discoveries had proceeded in it, and the same of Runic, the Egyptian hieroglyphics, &c. In this way a soldier of the nineteenth century, and especially devoted to the study of "war's vast art," in which he had made such progress, as his examination attested, had also obtained by persevering study an amount and variety of scholarship for which we may search most of our universities in vain, and which could scarcely be equalled by the manifold endowments attributed to the "Admirable Crichton."

At the close of 1847 Captain Seton rejoined his regiment, the 74th Highlanders, then stationed at Dublin; and in 1849, without any solicitation either by himself or his friends, he was appointed assistant deputy quarter-master general to the forces in Ireland. This appointment he held until his promotion by purchase to a majority in the 74th, in May 24, 1850, on which occasion he was under the necessity of resigning the office previously mentioned; and on tendering his resignation he was assured by Sir Willoughby Gordon, the quarter-master, that on any future opening occurring on the staff consistent with the rank of a field-officer, he would not be forgotten at the Horse Guards. In March, 1851, the 74th Highlanders, with their commander, Lieutenant-colonel John Fordyce, being ordered for foreign service at the Cape of Good Hope, embarked for that colony, while Major Seton was left at home in

command of the four-company depot, according to the usual custom of the service. A change, however, speedily occurred. Colonel Fordyce² having been killed in an encounter with the Kaffirs, Major Seton was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the 74th, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope in January, 1852. The war with the Kaffirs having assumed a very serious aspect, drafts from ten different regiments, numbering about 470 men, were sent out under his command to reinforce the troops serving at the Cape. The vessel in which they embarked from the Cove of Cork on the 7th of January was called the *Birkenhead*, an iron paddle-wheel steam troop-ship of 1400 tons and 556 horse-power, and armed with four guns, having for master Commander Robert Salmond.

There was thus the prospect of commencing active service at last after such tedious delay, and of showing what all these years of study and preparation were worth. As time was of the utmost consequence, the vessel only touched at Madeira, Sierra Leone, and St. Helena for coals and provisions, and arrived at Simon's Bay in the neighbourhood of Cape Town on the 23d of February; but as it was necessary to be quickly at the seat of war, the farther destination of the vessel was Algoa Bay and the Buffalo River, in the neighbourhood of which the war was going on. Among his many endearing qualities Colonel Seton was distinguished by the virtues of domestic life that constituted a principal charm in his paternal home; and the letters which he wrote to his widowed mother during every brief halt of this voyage, formed a mournful solace to her subsequent regrets. In one of them he says, "I will, if possible, write again to you the last thing. I never felt leaving you so much before." In another, warning her of the uncertainties that must attend his correspondence, he writes, "I will of course always write when I can, but you must recollect that up country mails at the Cape are often lost, and if anything happened to me you would be sure to see it in the papers; therefore you must not construe not hearing from me into a bad sign." In this way at every stage of the voyage, and finally from the Cape only a day before his disastrous end, he endeavoured to alleviate her anxiety for his safety, while he sought to amuse her with an account of whatever he had seen at Madeira, Sierra Leone, St. Helena, and Simon's Bay.

To understand aright the narrative that follows, it is necessary to advert to Colonel Seton's character as an officer. In Britain, India, Australia, and Ireland, he had always maintained the character of a strict disciplinarian, so that no breach of duty could escape his notice or reprehension. But he was as strict with himself as with others, and whatever might be their labour or fatigue he was ready to bear his part in it. This combination of two opposite qualities so rare in military officers, attracted the admiration of his soldiers, and their usual remark was, "If he does not spare others, he does not spare himself." It was a union of qualities only belonging to those who are born to be the veritable leaders of men, and through which they convert their men into heroes. By the controlling might of such an example, wielded by a superior intellect, a captain may become a conqueror or a king; and all that such aptitudes require for the purpose is a proper field of action, which is not always to be found. These professional qualities of Colonel Seton during this voyage were called into full exercise. The men under his command, instead of composing a single regiment and possessing the usual regimental esprit-

¹ Report of the examination in Collinson's *United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal*, for January, 1848.

² For a biographical notice of COLONEL JOHN FORDYCE, our readers are referred to vol. ii. of this Work, page 58.

de-corps, were drafted from ten regiments, and therefore had no such bond of union; they were also a motley assemblage of Irish, English, and Scotch, who had never been under fire, and many of whom had never pulled a trigger even on parade, and most of their officers were young and unexperienced. How then in the hour of such fearful peril did they exhibit a courage, a firmness, a devotedness to which few veterans would have been found equal? It can only be attributed to the admirable discipline which their commander had established among them, and by which he acquired such marvellous power over them in the valley of the shadow of death. From what danger in the open field would an army shrink when conducted by such a leader?

After stopping only two days at Simon's Bay, the *Birkenhead* resumed her voyage for Algoa Bay on the evening of the 25th of February, and had rounded Cape Point, the extremity of the South African continent, nigh which was Point Danger, an appropriate name of warning to incautious navigators. A wide berth should have been allowed to the *Birkenhead* in such a neighbourhood, but instead of this, her course was laid too nigh the shore to shorten the circumnavigation, while the captain and first mate had retired to rest, leaving the vessel in charge of a junior officer. It was a tranquil starlight night, the surface of the sea was smooth with a long swell setting shoreward, and the vessel was proceeding at the rate of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, when she suddenly struck, before two o'clock in the morning, upon a sunken rock about three miles from the shore off Point Danger. The crash was so tremendous that all were instantly awoke, except some soldiers who slept on the lower troop-deck, who must have been drowned in their hammocks by the sudden rush of water. The main-deck was instantly crowded by the alarmed crew and passengers, who felt that their lives were hanging upon a thread; when Colonel Seton, calling his military officers round him, briefly announced the necessity of their preserving order among the soldiers, after which he turned to the commander, Salmond, and concerted with him the measures best fitted to preserve the ship and all on board. But a great error had already been committed, for Salmond, after the first shock, had ordered the engines to be backed, by which the rent of the ship's keel was widened, and several of her iron plates torn off. The evil was done and past and regret was useless. The colonel directed the horses to be thrown overboard, several of which were his own; he detached sixty men to the chain-pumps, and as many to the tackling of the paddle-box boats, while the rest he ordered aft as reliefs, and to lighten the fore-part of the vessel. As the *Birkenhead* was so damaged that she must soon go down, the only hope of safety was in the ship's boats; but with an imprudence too usual at sea the best of them, when the hour of need arrived, could not be cleared and hoisted out; only two, the cutters or quarter-boats, and a gig, could be made available. An instant rush to these sole hopes of safety might have been expected: it would have been nothing more than the instinctive impulse of self-preservation, which so often gets the start of more generous considerations: and apprehensive of some such event, Colonel Seton stood on the gangway with his sword drawn to prevent it—but, to the honour of his soldiers be it said, no such attempt was offered; on the contrary, they received his orders as coolly, and obeyed them as punctually, as if they had been drawn up on the parade ground, and put through a few manoeuvres. His first care was for the women and the children; and though the vessel was every moment

sinking, they were all conveyed safely into one of the cutters, himself superintending their removal. Being still apprehensive of a reaction and a sudden rush into the cutter, by which it would be swamped, he ordered a young cornet to bring him a table-knife from the cabin to cut the rope and cast the boat loose should the attempt be made; but still it was not offered, and the knife was useless. The women and children being safe, the second cutter was filled with its due complement of men, and also the gig, and the whole three were ordered to stand off at such a distance as to avoid the risk of being swamped by an additional crowding. Thus all were saved for whom there were means and room, and those who remained in the doomed *Birkenhead* must calmly await their fate.

And these brave devoted hearts had not long to wait. Only twenty minutes at the utmost after she struck the *Birkenhead* was a wreck. During the preceding events she had been rolling on the swell of the sea and grinding on the rock, and when the boats had set off in quest of a landing, she parted asunder at the foremast, crushing with the fall of the funnel several men who were on the starboard paddle-box, hopelessly attempting to loose and launch the paddle-box boats. Colonel Seton, who after he secured the safety of the women and children had gone to the poop, from which he issued orders for the subsequent operations, was thrown into the water when the poop went down, and in the convulsive struggle that ensued among the drowning men around him some unconscious clutch drew him under the water, and he was seen no more. Those in the boats had a better fate, as also those who were afterwards picked up, or who reached the shore by swimming or floating on spars, so that 193 lives were saved; but 438 men, most of whom were soldiers, perished in the wreck. Even more might have escaped but for a thick belt of tangled sea-weed near the shore, through which it was impossible to force a passage; and the sharks that prowled in numbers near the spot, and gathered to the wreck as to a banquet. But under such adverse circumstances would so many as 193 have been saved but for the coolness, intrepidity, and generous self-negation of their commander?

Such was the untimely end of Colonel Seton. It was at his first and last field, and a field such as few soldiers would desire to contemplate. The Crimean and Indian wars were also at hand, and imagination delights to picture the share he might have had in them, and the high distinction which, as an officer so endowed, he might have won in them. But to perish in a midnight ocean, and on an obscure portion of a barren coast! it becomes hard for human doubts to realize the truth that all things are ordered well and wisely. But his end was that of a noble soldier, and the meed of fame has followed it. When the news came home of the loss of the *Birkenhead*, and the circumstances attending it, not only Britain, but all Europe was astonished at the narrative. The heroism of the 300 at Thermopylae, or the 600 at Balaclava, is intelligible, where these daring handfuls went to death in the light of day, and with an admiring world looking on. But how much more heroic still to exhibit at least equal courage and self-devotedness where there was neither the hot excitement of the fight nor the knell of fame for the fallen. All wondered at the steadiness and promptness of raw recruits under such a terrible ordeal, their implicit obedience to orders when death was inevitable, and the resignation with which they submitted to their fate. And what a commander he must have been who could thus control them, and whom they

were so ready under such circumstances to obey! The story of the *Birkenhead* will be imperishable, and it will enshrine to all time the name of Colonel Alexander Seton.¹

SHARPE, CHARLES KIRKPATRICK, M.A., well known in the literary circles of Edinburgh during the last half-century, was descended from the ancient family of Closeburn. His father, Charles, was grandson of Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, of Closeburn, Bart., and assumed the name of Sharpe on succeeding to the barony of Hoddam, or Hodholm, in Annandale, bequeathed to him by his kinsman Mathew Sharpe, of Hoddam, who died unmarried in 1769. By the mother's side Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe was connected with the noble families of Cassillis and Eglington. Being a younger son (his elder brother was the late General Sharpe, of Hoddam, who long represented the Dumfries burghs in parliament) he was educated with a view to holy orders, and studied for a number of years at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was distinguished by his classical and other attainments in literature and arts.

Whether Mr. Sharpe ever seriously entertained the idea of adopting the clerical profession may be questioned. He seems to have early imbibed a taste for light literature, and "before he had attained his thirtieth year he had fixed himself in the position which he kept to the last—that of a man of fashion devoting his leisure hours to the successful cultivation of literature, music, and the fine arts." No small share of his attention was, at the same time, given to subjects of antiquarian interest; and his collection of the rare and curious belonging to days gone by, or to distant countries, rendered the house of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Drummond Street, Edinburgh, like that of Horace Walpole, Strawberry Hill, London, a treat of no ordinary description to the virtuoso. A peculiarity in personal appearance and in the style of his dress—which belonged to a past rather than the present age of fashion—claimed for him an individuality as singular as it might seem eccentric. His manners had all that gracefulness and ease—familiar yet polite—which distinguish the highly aristocratic school in which he had been brought up. In sentiment he was a Jacobite, and of course attached to the old *régime*. His education at Oxford had probably some influence upon him in this respect; but he had a poetical love of traditionary lore, and his deep veneration for antiquity no doubt tended to fix those elements upon which the old cavalier school of politicians so long maintained itself amidst the more utilitarian liberalism of modern times. Nor was his intercourse and correspondence, which embraced a wide circle of the literati (including Sir Walter Scott) of his own and other countries—men imbued with similar sympathies as himself—calculated to lessen the bias of his early years, when he listened with delight, as

he himself has expressed it, to songs sung by nurses, dairymaids, and tailors, while the latter were wont to reside in his father's castle, "mis-shaping clothes for the children and servants."

Mr. Sharpe first became known to the literary world in 1803, when he contributed to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, the well-known ballad entitled the "Tower of Repentance," a stronghold built by one of the former proprietors of his father's estate of Hoddam. In 1807 he gave a still more decided proof of the career he had entered upon by the publication of a volume entitled *Metrical Romances*. This little work was favourably noticed by Sir Walter Scott in the *Quarterly Review* some years afterwards. His muse, however, was not of a very high caste; nor does he seem to have been at the trouble of cultivating it to any great extent. To him it was a matter of pastime, not of labour or ambition. It was not till 1823 that anything in the same strain appeared from his pen. He then produced his *Ballad Book*, a small collection of Scottish ballads, inscribed to Sir Walter Scott. After an interval of eleven years, in 1834, he printed privately, "*The Wizard Peter*, a Song of the Solway," founded on a tradition formerly well known in Annandale. These long interregnums, at the same time, were not passed in idleness.

"Almost contemporaneously with his appearance as a poet," says a well-written obituary notice of him in the *Edinburgh Courant*, "Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe gave proof of a much higher skill in the fine arts. Many of our readers must have seen, either in the copper etching or in the original drawing at Abbotsford, his 'Queen Elizabeth Dancing High and Disposedly' before the Scottish envoy Sir James Melville, who had excited her jealousy by commendations of the exquisite grace with which Mary Stuart led the dance at Holyrood or Linlithgow. On this admirable sketch Scott was accustomed to expatiate with a delight which will be shared by every one who is able to appreciate the humorous. A scarcely less felicitous effort of Mr. Sharpe's is his 'Marriage of Muckle-mou'd Meg,' illustrating a well-known incident in Border history, the subject of a ballad by Hogg. The original of Mr. Sharpe's sketch is at Abbotsford. It has been etched, like the 'Feast of Spurs' and many other things of the same kind which his ready pencil was ever throwing off. . . . Mr Sharpe was not only a successful amateur in art, but a highly accomplished musician. He has left, we hear, much that will be curious and interesting to the lovers of melody."

Mr. Sharpe, however, will be best known to posterity as a literary antiquary, as the editor of various interesting and curious works. Amongst these are Law's *Memorials*, a work repeatedly referred to by historical writers as a book of authority. In 1817 appeared Kirkon's *History of the Church of Scotland*, to which were appended a series of notes, "which, if not very appropriate to the covenanting gravity of the text, are at least irresistible in their piquancy." Scott felt much pleased with this work, so much in unison with his own sentiments, and honoured it with a long criticism in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1818. In 1827 he edited the *Life of Lady Margaret Cuninghame* and "*A Memorial of the Conversion of Jean Livingstone, Lady Wariston, with an Account of her Carriage at her Execution, July, 1600.*" To this curious production, printed from a MS. of the Rev. R. Wodrow, is prefixed a very amusing introduction, which includes the trial of the lady, a daughter of the Laird of Dunipace, for the murder of her husband, from the jus-

¹ In the meantime government has done what it could for preserving the record of the event and the names of those who perished, by a mural tablet erected at Chelsea Hospital, bearing the following inscription:—"This monument is erected by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to record the heroic constancy and unbroken discipline shown by Lieutenant-colonel Seton, 74th Highlanders, and the troops embarked under his command, on board the 'Birkenhead,' when that vessel was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 26th February, 1852, and to preserve the memory of the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Men, who perished on that Occasion. Their names were as follows:

"Lieutenant-colonel A. Seton, 74th Highlanders, commanding the Troops" (after which follow the names of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers).

"In all three-hundred and fifty-seven officers and men. The names of the Privates will be found inscribed on brass plates adjoining."

ticiary records. In 1828 he produced the *Letters of Lady Margaret Kennedy*; in 1829 the *Letters of Archibald, Earl of Argyle*; and in 1830 he superintended the printing of old Sir Richard Maitland's *Genealogy of the House of Setoun*. A small collection of his characteristic etchings appeared in 1833, under the title of *Portraits by an Amateur*. In 1837 he edited "*Minuets and Songs*," by Thomas, sixth Earl of Kelly; and "*Sargundo*, or the Valiant Christian," a Romanist song of triumph for the victory of the Popish earls at Glenlivet, in 1594. Of these works—which, if not forming a complete list, comprehend at least the greater part of his literary labours—small impressions only were printed, so that they are now scarce, and only to be found in possession of the antiquary or book-collector.

Though somewhat capricious in temper, Mr. Sharpe was usually very accessible and free in communicating such information as he could command, and of which a brother in letters might stand in need. As an instance of this, we may mention that the new edition of the *Poems of Hamilton of Bangour*, brought out by T. G. Stevenson, Edinburgh, so late as 1851, the same year in which he died, was enriched by notes from his pen, probably the very last of his contributions to the press. These notes had reference chiefly to the family connections of the ladies celebrated by the muse of Hamilton. In matters of genealogy he possessed an extraordinary fund of information, the result of great research and much domestic gossip, a characteristic of a bygone age more than the present. Sir Walter Scott, in the diary which he began to keep in November, 1825, remarks of him in regard to this peculiarity, that he "is a very complete genealogist, and has made many detections in *Douglas* and other books on pedigree which our nobles would do well to suppress if they had an opportunity. Strange that a man should be so curious after scandal of centuries old! Not but that Charles loves it fresh and fresh also; for being very much a fashionable man, he is always master of the reigning report, and he tells the anecdotes with such gusto that there is no helping sympathizing with him, a peculiarity of voice adding not a little to the general effect. My idea is, that Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, with his oddities, tastes, satire, and high aristocratic feelings, resembles Horace Walpole, perhaps in his person also in a general way."

Sir Walter Scott highly appreciated the literary talent of Mr. Sharpe, and was anxious to enroll him among the staff of contributors to the *Quarterly Review*. It is not known that he was successful in this; but Mr. Sharpe supplied several interesting papers, such as letters by David Hume and other literary gentlemen, from the family archives at Hoddam, to the *Annual Register*, another favourite speculation of Sir Walter.

On the death of his brother, in 1841, Mr. Sharpe succeeded to the family inheritance, and was thenceforth designed of Hoddam. He continued, notwithstanding, to reside chiefly in Edinburgh, and enjoyed himself to the last in the indulgence of his favourite pursuits. He died a bachelor, at his house in Drummond Place, on the 17th March, 1851, having passed, it is believed, his seventieth year. It is said that some time prior to his death, one of the great publishing houses in London offered him a large sum for his autobiography, but, as might have been expected, he scornfully declined the bribe.

Mr. Sharpe's vast collection of antiquities, paintings, prints, china, and books—the richest ever accumulated by a private individual in Scotland—was publicly disposed of by his heirs.

SHARP, JAMES, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was the son of William Sharp, sheriff-clerk of the shire of Banff, by his wife Isobel Lesly, daughter of Lesly of Kininvey, and was born in the castle of Banff, in the month of May, 1613. His parents seem to have been industrious and respectable in the class of society to which they belonged; his father following his calling with diligence, and his mother, though a gentlewoman by birth, assisting his means by setting up a respectable brewery at Dun, which she appears to have conducted creditably and profitably to the day of her death. The subject of this memoir, probably with a view to the church, where, through the patronage of the Earl of Findlater, which the family had long enjoyed, a good benefice might be supposed attainable, was sent to the university of Aberdeen. But the disputes between Charles I. and his parliament having commenced, and the prelatist form of the church being totally overthrown in Scotland, he took a journey into England; in the course of which he visited both the universities, where he was introduced to several persons of distinction. He had, however, no offers of preferment; but finding the Church of England ready to follow that of Scotland, he addressed himself to the celebrated Mr. Alexander Henderson, then in England as a commissioner from the Scottish church, and enjoying a very high degree of popularity, from whom he obtained a recommendation for a regent's place in the university of St. Andrews, to which he was accordingly admitted. Mr. James Guthrie was at this time also a regent in the college of St. Andrews, but whether suspecting the sincerity or undervaluing the talents of Mr. Sharp, he gave his whole favour to Mr. John Sinclair, an unsuccessful candidate for the regent's place which Sharp had obtained, and to whom, when called to the ministry, he afterwards demitted his professional chair. It was with this circumstance, not improbably, that the opposition began which continued between Mr. Guthrie and Sharp throughout the whole of their after-lives. With Mr. Sinclair, now his co-regent, Mr. Sharp seems also for some time to have lived on very bad terms, and even to have gone the length of striking him at the college table on the evening of a Lord's-day in the presence of the principal and the other regents. For this outrage, however, he appears to have made a most ample acknowledgment, and to have been sincerely repentant. Mr. Sharp's contrition attracted the notice and procured him the good graces of several of the most highly gifted and respected ministers of the Scottish church, particularly Mr. Robert Blair. Mr. Samuel Rutherford was so much struck with what had been related by some of the brethren respecting Mr. Sharp's exercises of soul, that, on his coming in to see him on his return from a distant mission, he embraced him most affectionately, saying, "he saw that out of the most rough and knotty timber Christ could make a vessel of mercy." With the brethren in general Mr. Sharp also was in high esteem, and at the request of Mr. James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns, he was, by the Earl of Crawford, presented to the church and parish of Crail. On his appointment to this charge Mr. Sharp began to take a decided part in the management of the external affairs of the church, in which he displayed singular ability. His rapidly increasing popularity in a short time procured him a call to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh, but his transportation was refused both by the presbytery of St. Andrews and the synod of Fife. It was at length ordered, however, by an act of the General Assembly; but the invasion of the English under Cromwell prevented its being any further insisted in. In the disputes that agitated the Scottish church after the

unfortunate battle of Dunbar, the subject of this memoir, who was a staunch Resolutioner, was the main instrument, according to Mr. Robert Baillie, of carrying the question against the Protesters. His conduct on this occasion highly enhanced his talents and his piety, and was not improbably the foundation upon which his whole after-fortune was built. In the troubles which so speedily followed this event, Sharp, along with several other ministers and some of the nobility, was surprised at Elliot in Fife by a party of the English, and sent up a prisoner to London. In 1657 he was deputed by the Resolutioners to proceed to London to plead their cause with Cromwell in opposition to the Protesters, who had sent up Messrs. James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, and others, to represent the distressed state of the Scottish church, and to request that an Assembly might be indicted for determining the controversies in question, and composing the national disorders. From the state of parties both in Scotland and England, and from the conduct he had now adopted, Cromwell could not comply with this request, but he seems to have set a high value upon the commissioners; to have appreciated their good sense and fervent piety, and to have done everything but grant their petition to evince his good-will towards them. They, on the other hand, seem not to have been insensible either to his personal merits, though inimical to his government, or to that of some of the eminent men that were about him. This was terrifying to the Resolutioners, who saw in it nothing less than a coincidence of views and a union of purposes on the part of the whole protesting body with the abhorred and dreaded sectaries. "Their [the leading Protesters'] piety and zeal," says Baillie, "is very susceptible of schism and error. I am oft afraid of their apostasy;" and after mentioning with a kind of instinctive horror their praying both in public and private with Owen and Caryl, he adds with exultation, "the great instrument of God to cross their evil designs has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr. James Sharp." It was part of the energetic policy of Cromwell, while he was not dependent on the party whom he favoured, not to offend the other, and the mission had little effect except that of preparing the way for Sharp to assume one which he made more advantageous to himself.

After the death of Oliver Cromwell, and while Monk was making his memorable march to England, the Presbyterians sent to him David Dickson and Robert Douglas, accompanied by a letter, in which, expressing their confidence in whatever measures he should propose regarding Scotland, they suggested the propriety of his having some one near his person to remind him of such matters as were necessary for their interest, and requested a pass for Sharp as a person qualified for the duty. Monk, who had in the meantime requested Sharp to come to him, wrote an answer, addressed to Messrs. Dickson and Douglas, from Ferry-bridge to the following effect:—"I do assure you the welfare of your church shall be a great part of my care, and that you shall not be more ready to propound than I shall be to promote any reasonable thing that may be for the advantage thereof, and to that end I have herewith sent you according to your desire a pass for Mr. Sharp, who the sooner he comes to me the more welcome he shall be, because he will give me an opportunity to show him how much I am a well-wisher to your church and to yourselves," &c. This was dated January 10th, 1660, and by the 6th of February Sharp was despatched with the following instructions: "1st. You are to use your utmost endeavours that the Kirk of Scotland may, without interruption

or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privilege of her established judicatories ratified by the laws of the land. 2d. Whereas by the lax toleration that is established, a door is opened to a very many gross errors and loose practices in this church, you shall therefore use all lawful and prudent means to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness thereof, that it may be timeously remedied. 3d. You are to represent the prejudice this church doth suffer by the interverting of the vaiking stipends, which by law were dedicated to pious uses, and seriously endeavour that hereafter vaiking stipends may be intermitted with by presbyteries and such as shall be warranted by them, and no others, to be disposed of and applied to pious uses by presbyteries according to the twentieth act of the parliament 1644. 4th. You are to endeavour that ministers lawfully called and admitted by presbyteries to the ministry may have the benefit of the thirty-ninth act of the parliament, intituled Act anent abolishing patronages, for obtaining summarily, upon the act of their admission, decret, and letters conform, and other executiorials, to the effect they may get the right and possession of their stipends and other benefits without any other address or trouble. If you find that there will be any commission appointed in this nation for settling and augmenting stipends, then you are to use your utmost endeavours to have faithful men, well affected to the interests of Christ in this church, employed therein." As the judicatories of the church were not at this time allowed to sit, these instructions were signed by David Dickson, Robert Douglas, James Wood, John Smith, George Hutchison, and Andrew Ker, all leading men and all Resolutioners. He was at the same time furnished with a letter of recommendation to Monk, another to Colonel Witham, and a third to Messrs. Ash and Calamy, to be shown to Messrs. Manton and Cowper, and all others with whom they might think it proper to communicate, requesting them to afford him every assistance that might be in their power for procuring relief to the "enthralled and afflicted" Church of Scotland. Sharp arrived at London on the 13th of the month, and next day wrote his constituents a very favourable account of his reception by Monk, who had already introduced him to two parliament men, Mr. Weaver, and the afterwards celebrated Anthony Ashley Cowper, Earl of Shaftesbury. Monk himself also wrote the reverend gentlemen two days after, the 16th, in the most saintly style imaginable. Mr. Sharp, he says, is dear to him as his good friend, but much more having their recommendation, and he cannot but receive him as a minister of Christ and a messenger of his church; and he assures them that he will improve his interest to the utmost for the preservation of the rights of the Church of Scotland, and their afflicted country, which he professed to love as his own gospel ordinances, and the privileges of God's people he assured them it should be his care to establish; and he implores their prayers for God's blessing on their counsels and undertakings, entreating them to promote the peace and settlement of the nations, and do what in them lies to compose men's spirits, that with patience the fruit of hopes and prayers may be reaped, &c. This language answered the purpose for which it was uttered, and Robert Douglas in a few days acquainted Sharp with the receipt of his own and the general's letter, desiring him to encourage the general in his great work for the good of religion and peace of the three nations. "For yourself," he adds, "you know what have been my thoughts of this undertaking from the beginning, which I have signified to the general himself, though I was sparing to venture

my opinion in ticklish matters, yet I looked upon him as called of God in a strait to put a check to those who would have run down all our interests." Not satisfied with expressing his feelings to Sharp, Mr. Douglas wrote Monk, thanking him for his kind reception of Sharp, and encouraging him to go on with the great work he had in hand, adding in the simplicity of his heart, "I have been very much satisfied from time to time to hear what good opinion your lordship entertained of presbyterial government, and I am confident you shall never have just cause to think otherwise of it"—an expression suggested by the information of Sharp, who had represented Monk as favourable to a liberal Presbyterian government.

Sharp had, previously to all this, settled with Glencairn and others of the Scottish nobility, who hated the severity of the Presbyterian discipline, to overthrow that form of government, and to introduce Episcopacy in its place; in other words, he was disposed to assist whatever religious party offered the greatest bribe to his ambition. It was natural that he should conceal his intentions from his employers. Accordingly, in a series of letters to Mr. Douglas and the others from whom he derived his commission, written in the months of February, March, and April, he occasionally regrets, in suitable terms, the peril of the suffering church: at other times holds forth glimpses of hope; and at all times explains the utility and absolute necessity of his own interference in its behalf. During the course of this correspondence he declines becoming minister of Edinburgh (a situation to which there seem to have again been intentions of calling him), having perhaps previously secured a charge of more dignity. On the 27th of the month he again writes to Mr. Douglas, wishing to be recalled; and informing him that his sermon on the coronation of Charles II. at Scone, with the account of that ceremony, had been reprinted at London; and that it gave great offence to the Episcopal party, which, he says, does not much matter; but the declaration at Dunfermline, bearing the king's acknowledgment of the blood shed by his father's house, is what he knows not how to excuse. He and Lauderdale, however, are represented as endeavouring to vindicate Scotland for treating with the king upon the terms of the covenant, from the necessity which England now finds of treating with him upon terms before his return; and he says he is reported, both here and at Brussels, to be a rigid Scottish Presbyterian, making it his work to have Presbytery settled in England. He adds with matchless effrontery, "They sent to desire me to move nothing in prejudice of the Church of England, and they would do nothing in prejudice of our church. I bid tell them it was not my employment to move to the prejudice of any party; and I thought, did they really mind the peace of those churches, they would not start such propositions: but all who pretend to be for civil settlement would contribute their endeavours to restore it, and not meddle unseasonably with those remote causes. The fear of rigid Presbytery is talked much of here by all parties; but, for my part, I apprehend no ground for it. I am afraid that something else is like to take place in the church than rigid Presbytery. This nation is not fitted to bear that yoke of Christ; and for religion, I suspect it is made a stalking-horse still." In a letter previous to this, Mr. Douglas had informed him that those in Scotland who loved religion and liberty, had their fears that, if the king came not in upon the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant, his coming in would be disadvantageous to religion and the liberties of the three nations; and he ex-

horted Crawford, Lauderdale, and Sharp to deal with all earnestness that the league and covenant be settled as the only basis of the security and happiness of these nations. On the reception of the last we have quoted from Sharp, we find Douglas again addressing his treacherous messenger, and, in the purest simplicity, providing him with some of those arguments in defence of Presbytery which it is probable Sharp well knew. The deceiver answered that he found it at that time utterly impossible to return, as the general would communicate on Scottish affairs with no one but himself; and the Scots had nothing to do but be quiet, and their affairs would be done to their hand; he and Lauderdale having agreed, with ten Presbyterian ministers, on the necessity of bringing in the king upon covenant terms, and taking off the prejudices that lie upon some Presbyterians against them. Two days afterwards he says, "The Lord having opened a fair door of hope, we may look for a settlement upon the grounds of the covenant, and thereby a foundation laid for security against the prelate and fanatic assaults: but I am dubious if this shall be the result of the agitations now on foot." "We intend," he adds, "to publish some letters from the French Protestant ministers, vindicating the king from Popery and giving him a large character. The sectaries will not be able to do anything to prevent the king's coming in. Our honest Presbyterian brethren are cordial for him. I have been dealing with some of them to send some testimony of their affection for him; and yesternight five of them promised, within a week, to make a shift to send 1000 pieces of gold to him. I continue in my opinion that Scotland should make no applications till the king come in. I have received letters from Mr. Bruce at the Hague, and the king is satisfied that Scotland keep quiet." "No notice," he writes in another letter, "is taken of Scotland in the treaty: we shall be left to the king, which is best for us. God save us from divisions and self-seeking. I have acquainted Mr. Bruce how it is with you, and what you are doing; and advised him to guard against Middleton's designs, and those who sent that Murray over to the king. If our noblemen or others fall upon factious ways, and grasp after places, they will cast reproach upon their country, and fall short of their ends. I fear the interest of the Solemn League and Covenant shall be neglected; and, for religion, I smell that moderate Episcopacy is the fairest accommodation which moderate men, who wish well to religion, expect. Let our noble friends know what you think of it." This first decided breathing of his intentions was answered by Douglas with moderation and good sense. He wishes Monk might grant permission for him to go over to the king to give a true representation of the state of matters. "I fear," says he, "Mr. Bruce hath not sufficient credit for us. If the Solemn League and Covenant be neglected, it seems to me that the judgment on these nations is not yet at an end. The greatest security for the king and these nations were to come in upon that bottom." Before this could reach Sharp, however, it had been concerted, as he writes to Mr. Douglas, between him and Monk that he should go over to the king, "to deal with him, that he may write a letter to Mr. Calamy, to be communicated to the Presbyterian ministers, showing his resolution to own the godly sober party, and to stand for the true Protestant religion in the power of it, and, withal, he [Monk] thinks it fit I were there, were it but to acquaint the king with the passages of his undertaking known to Mr. Douglas and to me, and to tell him of matters in Scotland. He spoke to me three several

times this week; and now I am determined to go; I hope I shall do some service to the honest party here, and, indeed, to ours at home. If you think fit to write to the king, the sooner the better." On the 4th of May he writes that he could not go off to Breda till that day. "The Presbyterian ministers of the city," he adds, "after several meetings, have resolved to send over next week some ministers from the city, Oxford, and Cambridge, to congratulate the king; and I am desired to acquaint the king with their purpose, and dispose for their reception; or, if it be practicable that he would write to both houses, by way of prevention, that they would secure religion in regard to some points. Some particulars of secresy the general [Monk] hath recommended to me, and given orders to transport me in a frigate. I have got a large letter to the king, and another to his prime minister. Providence hath ordered it well that my going carries the face of some concernment in reference to England; but I shall have hereby the better access and opportunity to speak what the Lord shall direct as to our matters, and give a true information of the carriage of business. I think I need not stay ten days. It will be best to address the king by a letter. Presbyterians here are few, and all are Englishmen; and these will not endure us to do anything that may carry a resemblance to pressing uniformity. For my part, I shall not be accessory to anything prejudicial to the Presbyterian government; but to appear for it in any other way than is within my sphere is inconvenient, and may do harm and not good." Mr. Douglas lost no time in preparing instructions for Sharp and a letter to the king, which he forwarded on the 8th of the month, with the following letter:—"I perceive by all that you write that no respect will be had to the covenant in this great transaction, which, if neglected altogether, it fears me that the Lord will be greatly provoked to wrath. It will be the Presbyterians' fault if they get not as much settled, at least, as was agreed upon by the synod of divines, and ratified by parliament: for I perceive that the king will be most condescending to the desires offered by the parliament: but I leave that. However our desires may be for uniformity in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, if they will not press it themselves we are free. Your great errand will be for this kirk. I am confident the king will not wrong our liberties, whereunto himself is engaged. He needs not declare any liberty to any tender consciences here, because the generality of the people, and whole ministry, have embraced the established religion by law, with his majesty's consent. It is known that in all the times of the prevailing of the late party in England, none petitioned here for a toleration, except some inconsiderable, naughty men. Whatever indulgence the king intends to persons who have failed under the late revolutions, yet he would be careful to do it so as they shall be in no capacity to trouble the peace of the land, as formerly they did. I doubt not but you will inform the king of the circumstances and condition of our kirk. It is left wholly upon you to do what you can for the benefit of this poor distracted kirk, that the king's coming may be refreshing to the honest party here, since no directions from us can well reach you before you come back to London." This letter inclosed a set of instructions for Sharp, similar to those he had already received, equally formal, though extending to *some things less particularly stated in the former*; and was accompanied by a letter to the king, which, after the usual formalities of congratulation, continued in these terms:—"But now since it hath pleased God to open a door (which we have long desired) for our brother

Mr. Sharp to come and wait upon your majesty, we could not any longer forbear to present, by him, this our humble address, in testimony of our loyal affection to your majesty, and our humble acknowledgment of the Lord's goodness to these your dominions in this comfortable revolution of affairs, making way for your majesty's reinstalment. If it had been expedient in this juncture of affairs, your majesty might have expected an address from the generality of the ministers of this church, who, we assure your majesty, have continued, and will continue, in their loyalty to authority, and the maintenance of your just rights, in their stations, according to those principles by which your majesty left them, walking in opposition both to enemies from without and disturbers from within; but doubting that such an application is not yet seasonable, we have desired Mr. Sharp to inform your majesty more fully of the true state of this church, whereby we trust your majesty will perceive our painfulness and fidelity in these trying times; and that the principles of the Church of Scotland are such, and so fixed for the preservation and maintenance of lawful authority, as your majesty needs never repent that you have entered into a covenant for maintaining thereof. So that we nothing doubt of your majesty's constant resolution to protect this church in her established privileges; and are no less confident (though we presume not to meddle without our sphere) that your majesty will not only hearken to the humble advices of those who are concerned, but will also, of your own royal inclination, appear to settle the house of God according to his word, in all your dominions. Now the Lord himself bless your majesty; let, his right hand settle and establish you upon the throne of your dominions, and replenish your royal heart with all those graces and endowments necessary for repairing the breaches of these so long distracted kingdoms, that religion and righteousness may flourish in your reign, the present generation may bless God for the mercies received by you, and the generations to come may reap the fruits of your royal pains. So pray, &c., Robert Douglas, David Dickson, James Hamilton, John Smith, and George Hutchison." This letter was dated May the 8th, the same day with Sharp's instructions, and a double of it was inclosed for himself; but he kept this, and a similar one sent him by the Earl of Rothes on the 10th, till after the king's arrival in England, when everything was settled, and Sharp assured of being Archbishop of St. Andrews. This indeed was the sole object of his journey to Breda, where he was recommended to the king by a letter from Monk as a fit person for establishing Episcopal government in Scotland; and by a letter from Lord Glencairn he was recommended in a similar manner to Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon.

It is almost unnecessary to mention that, in the whole transaction, it does not fall to our lot to record any occasion in which Sharp performed the instructions of his mission, or the duty for which he was paid by those whose simple zeal exceeded either their means or their discernment. On the 2d of June Sharp writes Mr. Douglas that he had presented their letter; that the king, having read some part of it, and looked at the subscriptions, told him he was glad to see a letter under their hands; and that he would consider it, and return an answer at an after period. In this letter, which is long and desultory, he seems frequently to think, without absolutely deciding, that it is time to terminate his connection with his employers, by extinguishing their hopes. "I shall never," he tells them, "espouse the interest of any person or party; 'tis our common interest to

keep an equal way with all who mind the good of kirk and country. Cementing and prising will be our mercy, and dividing more our reproach than we are aware of. The king hath allowed the noblemen who are here to meet and consult what is proper to be offered for the good of the nation. They meet on Monday. It is in his heart to restore to us our liberties and privileges, if our folly do not mar it." "The influencing men of the Presbyterian judgment," he adds, "are content with Episcopacy of Bishop Usher's model, and a liturgy somewhat corrected. A knowing minister told me this day, that if a synod should be called, by a plurality of incumbents, they would infallibly carry Episcopacy. There are many nominal, few real Presbyterians. The cassock-men do swarm here; and such who seemed before to be for Presbytery, would be content of a moderate Episcopacy. We must leave this in the Lord's hand, who may be pleased to preserve to us what he hath wrought for us. I see not what use I can be any longer here. I wish my neck were out of the collar. Some of our countrymen go to the common prayer. All matters are devolved into the hands of the king, in whose power it is to do absolutely what he pleases in church and state. His heart is in his hand, upon whom are our eyes." The very same day he writes a letter to Mr. Douglas, upon whom there was a design at court to draw over by the bribe of a bishopric, that it were well if he would come up to London, where his presence might be of great utility; at the same time he forbids any other, and assures them, that if they come they will be discountenanced, and give suspicion of driving a disobliging design. "I find our Presbyterian friends quite taken off their feet; and what they talk of us, and our help, is merely for their own ends. They stick not to say that, had it not been for the vehemency of the Scots, Messrs. Henderson, Gillespie, &c., set forms had been continued; and they were never against them. The king and grandees are wholly for Episcopacy. The Episcopal men are very high. I beseech you, sir, decline not to come up. It will be necessary for you to come and speak with his majesty, for preventing of ill, and keeping our noblemen here right."

The consequence of his communication, which must have been alarming, was a more distinct direction as to his duties, which did not reach him at a time when he was much disposed to attend to such suggestions. In his answer he reproves his employers for their violence, and, still unwilling entirely to reveal himself, continues, "I apprehend it will come to nothing. However, the high carriage of the Episcopal men gives great dissatisfaction, the Lord may permit them thus to lift up themselves that thereby they may meet with a more effectual check. I hear Leighton is here in town in private." The answer of Douglas was in more distinct terms of suspicion, mentioning those circumstances of danger gathering round the church, the existence of which he to whom he wrote knew too well. Sharp still equivocated, and looked to Episcopacy as a thing to be dreaded, but which he feared could not be avoided. In his return in August he brought the king's celebrated letter to Douglas and the presbytery of Edinburgh, which, in conformity with the policy pursued by Sharp and his friends, bore, "We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at St.

Andrews and Dundee, 1651, be owned and stand in force until we shall call another General Assembly (which we purpose to do as soon as our affairs will permit), and we do intend to send for Mr. Robert Douglas and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what may further concern the affairs of that church. And as we are very well satisfied with your resolution not to meddle without your sphere, so we do expect that church judicatories in Scotland, and ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastic, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects against all opposers; and that they will take special notice of such who by preachings or private conventicles, or any other way, transgress the limits of their calling, by endeavouring to corrupt the people or sow seeds of disaffection to us or our government." The simple enthusiasm with which this document was received by those who were accustomed to give plain meanings to ordinary words, is well known. In the synod of Fife, which met at Kirkcaldy, Mr. John Magill, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, and some others, contended for introducing the covenant into their letter of thanks, "as the bond which, while it bound both king and subjects to God, did also tie them to one another." This drew from Sharp a long speech, in which he had many oblique reflections upon the covenant, which he with some truth alleged could not be mentioned to his majesty without exciting his displeasure. He further in justification of his majesty affirmed that "there was not a man in England would own that covenant save Mr. Ash, an old man whose one foot was already in the grave," and so great was his influence that he carried a plurality of the synod along with him, and the covenant of duty was set aside for the conventional one of good manners. A vote of thanks to Mr. Sharp was also carried in this synod for his faithfulness and painstaking in the affairs of the church. At the dismissal of the synod, Mr. William Row coming in contact with Sharp at the door, laid hold of his cloak, and inquired how he could affirm in the face of the synod that no man in England owned the covenant but Mr. Ash, when Mr. Crofton had just come forth in print in behalf of its perpetual obligation, to which Sharp made no other reply than that he knew Mr. Crofton a little *knuckity body*, just like Mr. Henry Williams. Though eminently successful in his endeavours, Sharp still kept the mantle of hypocrisy closely drawn around him, and was elected professor of theology in the college of St. Andrews, where he had formerly been professor of philosophy. He was keenly opposed by the principal, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, who had made an early discovery of his true character, and could never be brought to countenance him. Mr. Rutherford, however, was a Protester, his *Lex Rex* had been condemned to the flames by the committee of estates, and he was confined to his own house by sickness, and Sharp had the satisfaction of assisting at the burning of his book at the gate of his college. He died soon after, or he might have shared the fate of his book.

The committee of estates which sat down in August, 1660, and the parliament which followed, commenced the wild work of tyranny which so darkly characterizes the period. When Prelacy was established by royal proclamation in the month of August, 1661, Mr. Sharp, who had been the principal agent in this melancholy overturning, was now rewarded with the primacy of Scotland, and was called up to London, along with Fairfoul, appointed to the see of Glasgow, Hamilton to that of Galloway, and Leighton to that of Dunblane, to receive Episcopal ordination. Sharp

made some objections against being re-ordained, but yielded when he found it was to be insisted on, a circumstance which made Sheldon, Bishop of London, say, he followed the Scots' fashion, which was to scruple at everything and to swallow anything. The other three yielded at once, and they were all four, on the 16th day of December, 1661, before a great concourse of Scottish and English nobility in the chapel of Westminster, ordained preaching deacons, then presbyters, and lastly consecrated bishops. In the month of April they returned in great state to Scotland, where in the following month they proceeded to consecrate their ten brethren, the parliament having delayed to sit till they should be ready to take their seats. We might have remarked, that on the parliament passing the act rescissory, Sharp affected concern sufficient to qualify him for a new mission which afforded him an opportunity of perfecting what he had already so far advanced, and ended in his now exalted situation of primate of all Scotland. Well might Burnet say of the Scottish ministers, "Poor men, they were so struck with the ill state of their affairs that they had neither sense nor courage left them." Sharp, when made Archbishop of St. Andrews, affirmed that he had only accepted of it, seeing the king would establish Episcopacy, to keep it out of more violent hands, and that he might be able so to moderate matters that good men might be saved from a storm that otherwise could not have failed to break upon them. No sooner had he the reins of ecclesiastic government in his hands than a proclamation was issued forbidding any clergymen to meet in a presbyterial capacity till such time as the bishops had settled the order of procedure in them; and he was so very moderate in his measures, that of his co-presbyters of St. Andrews, he spared only three old men who were nonconformists, and these were spared not without great difficulty. Nor did his elevation, which he had attained with so much infamy, content him; besides the dignity of the church, he loved that of the state, and in the differences that fell out between Lauderdale and Middleton he narrowly escaped a fall with the latter. He had been prevailed on to write to the king that the standing or falling of Middleton would be the standing or falling of the church, and he went up to London to support him personally. When he came to London, however, and saw how much Middleton had fallen in the estimation of the king, he resolved to make great concessions to Lauderdale; and when the latter reproached him with his engagements with Middleton, he boldly avowed that he had never gone farther with him than what was decent, considering his post. That he had ever written to the king in his behalf he totally denied. But Charles had given Lauderdale the prelate's letter. When it was shown to the writer he fell a-weeping, and begged pardon in most abject manner, saying, "What could a company of poor men refuse to the Earl of Middleton, who had done so much for them, and had them so entirely in his power?" Lauderdale upon this said he would forgive them all that was past, and would serve them and the church at another rate than Middleton was capable of doing; and Sharp became wholly Lauderdale's. In 1663 he went up to court to complain of the chancellor Glencairn and the privy-council, when he said there was so much remissness and popularity on all occasions that, unless some more spirit was put into it, the church could not be preserved. On this occasion he obtained an order for establishing a kind of high-commission court, a useful instrument of oppression, and procured a letter to the council directing that in future the primate should take the place of the chancellor,

which so mortified Glencairn that he is said to have in consequence caught the fever of which he died. Sharp, who now longed for the chancellorship, wrote immediately to Sheldon, Bishop of London, that upon the disposal of this place the very being of the church depended, and begging that he would press the king to allow him to come up before he gave away the place. The king, who by this time had conceived a great dislike for Sharp, bade Sheldon assure him that he would take care the place should be properly filled, but that there was no occasion for his coming up. Sharp, however, could not restrain himself, but ventured up. The king received him coldly, and asked if he had not had the bishop's letter. He admitted that he had, but he chose rather to venture on his majesty's displeasure than see the church ruined through his caution or negligence. "In Scotland they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies. His majesty's protection and the execution of the law were all they had to depend on, and these depended so much upon the chancellor, that he could not answer to God and the church if he did not bestir himself in that matter. He knew many thought of him for that post, but he was so far from that thought, that if his majesty had any such intention he would rather choose to be sent to a plantation. He desired that he should be a churchman in heart, but not in habit, that should be called to that trust." From the king he went straight to Sheldon, and begged him to move the king to bestow it upon himself, furnishing him with many arguments in support of the proposal, one of which was that the late king had raised his predecessor, Spotswood, to that dignity. Sheldon moved the king accordingly with more than ordinary fervour; and the king, suspecting Sharp had set him on, charged him to tell the truth, which he did, though not without a great deal of hesitation. The king told him, in return, the whole affair. Sheldon prayed him to remember the archbishop and the church, whatever he might think of the man, which the king graciously assured him he would do. Sheldon told Sharp he saw the motion for himself would be ineffectual, and he must think of some one else. Sharp then nominated Rothes, who was appointed accordingly; and with a commission to prepare matters for a national synod, to settle a book of common prayer and a book of canons, Sharp returned to Scotland, having assured the king that now, if all went not well, either Rothes or Lauderdale must bear the blame.

In another visit to court, along with Rothes, he endeavoured to undermine the influence of Lauderdale; but that bold and unhesitating man did not flinch from his averments, whether true or false, and compelled him publicly to retract them. Nor was he more successful in an overture to join with Middleton in supplanting his rival. His terrors on the rising at Pentland rendering him anxious for an increase of troops, he recommended the fines to be applied that way, by which many of the cavaliers who looked to that fund were disappointed in their expectations, and became his mortal enemies. Lauderdale too, to complete his disgrace, procured a number of letters written to the Presbyterians after he had negotiated for the introduction of Episcopacy, and gave them to the king, who looked on him ever after as the worst of men. During the rising at Pentland Sharp was the principal administrator of the government; in which situation the cruelty of nature and insatiability in vengeance which he displayed are well known. After this period he was so much disliked at court (while he was a necessary instrument), that in 1667 he was ordered to confine himself to his own diocese, and come no more

to Edinburgh. With the indulgences, the comprehension, &c., Sharp had little connection, except in narrowing their effect. In the month of July, 1668, as he was going into his coach in daylight, he was fired at with a pistol loaded with a brace of bullets: but his life was saved by Honeymann, Bishop of Orkney, who, lifting up his hand to step into the coach after him at the time, received the shot in his wrist, which caused his death a few years afterwards, the wound never having healed. So universally was Sharp hated, that when the cry was made that a man had been shot in the street, the reply was instantly made, that it was only a bishop, and not a single individual offered to lay hold on the perpetrator of the deed. The court, however, took some compassion on him in this extremity, and he was repaid for his fears by a little gleam of favour. The person who committed the daring act, Mr. James Mitchel, was afterwards seized, and, upon a promise of life, confessed what it was impossible for his enemies to prove, he having no associates in the affair. That promise, however, was violated,¹ and Mitchel suffered.

We now approach the violent end of this man, whose life was spent in violence. It was characteristic of the excess of the iniquity of the period; for in the whole course of national discord which preceded, an action of political assassination, without the colour of any human law, does not stand on record. A few of the more zealous and uncompromising Presbyterians, wandering on Magus Moor, near St. Andrews, on the 3d of May, 1679, in search of the sheriff of Fife, whose activity as a servant to the archbishop had roused them to violent intentions, fell in with the master instead of the servant; and their passions dictating to them that they had what was termed a call from God to put him to death, they followed the suggestion with circumstances of considerable barbarity. Having cut the traces of his carriage, they, in the most cool and deliberate manner, commanded him to come out of his coach, or they would do harm to his daughter, who was along with him; and that his days were now numbered, as they were to take vengeance upon him for a betrayed church, and for so many of their murdered brethren, particularly for the life of Mr. James Mitchel, to whom he had sworn so perfidiously, and for keeping up the king's pardon after Pentland. After repeatedly assuring him of their purpose, and exhorting him to repentance and prayer, in which he could not be persuaded to engage, they fired upon him, and afterwards slashed his head with their swords, leaving him a lifeless corpse on the king's highway. A particular account of this affair, exaggerated probably in its details, was speedily published, and large rewards offered for the perpetrators; not one of whom was ever brought to trial, Hackston of Rathillet excepted, who was one of the party, but who had refused to have any hand in the work of death, from the circumstance of his having had some personal quarrel with the bishop. Sharp was buried with great pomp, and a splendid monument erected over him at St. Andrews, which, though it attracts little respect, is still to be seen as one of the curiosities of that city.

SHORT, JAMES, an eminent optician and constructor of reflecting telescopes, was the son of William Short, a joiner in Edinburgh, where he was born on the 10th of June, 1710. The Christian name James was conferred upon him in consequence of his having

thus been ushered into the world on the birth-day of the Pretender. Having lost his parents in early life, he was entered, at the age of ten, on the foundation of George Heriot, where he rendered himself a favourite among his companions by his talent for fabricating little articles in joinery. At twelve years old he began to attend the high-school for classical literature, in which he distinguished himself so greatly, that a pious grandmother determined to devote him to the church. He actually commenced a course of attendance at the university for this purpose, in 1726 took his degree of Master of Arts, attended the divinity hall, and in 1731 passed the usual trials preparatory to his being licensed as a preacher of the gospel, when his natural taste for mechanics, receiving excitement from an attendance at Mr. Maclaurin's mathematical class, induced him to turn back from the very threshold of the church, and apply himself to a different profession. He very quickly attracted the favourable attention of the illustrious expositor of Newton, who invited him frequently to his house in order to observe his capacity more narrowly, and encouraged him to proceed in the new line of life which he had embraced. In 1732 Maclaurin permitted Short to use his rooms in the college for his apparatus, and kindly superintended all his proceedings. Two years after, in a letter to Dr. Turin, he takes notice of the proficiency of Mr. Short in the casting and polishing of the metallic specula of reflecting telescopes. The young mathematician had already improved greatly upon the construction of the Gregorian telescope. The figure which he gave to his great specula was parabolic; not, however, by any rule or canon, but by practice and mechanical devices, joined to an exact knowledge of the principles of optics. The improvement had been pointed out by Newton as the most necessary attainment for the perfection of those instruments. In 1736 he had obtained so much distinction by his acquirements as to be called by Queen Caroline to give instructions in mathematics to her second son, the Duke of Cumberland. On leaving Edinburgh for this purpose he deposited £500, which he had already saved from his gains, in the Bank of Scotland. In London he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and was much patronized by the Earls of Morton and Macclesfield. Towards the end of the year he returned to Edinburgh, and resumed the usual course of his profession. Three years afterwards he accompanied the Earl of Morton on a progress to his lordship's possessions in Orkney, for the purpose of adjusting the geography of that remote archipelago; while the laird of Macfarlane accompanied the party as a surveyor of antiquities. After that business had been concluded, Mr. Short accompanied the earl to London, where he finally settled, and for some years carried on an extensive practice in the construction of telescopes and other optical instruments. One of the former, containing a reflector of twelve feet focus, was made for Lord Thomas Spencer at 600 guineas; another of still greater extent, and the largest which had till then been constructed, was made for the King of Spain at £1200. Mr. Short died, June 15, 1768, of mortification in the bowels, leaving a fortune of £20,000.

SIBBALD, JAMES, an ingenious inquirer into Scottish literary antiquities, was the son of Mr. John Sibbald, farmer at Whitlaw, in Roxburghshire, where he was born in the year 1747, or early in 1748. He was educated at the grammar-school of Selkirk, from which Whitlaw is only a few miles distant. He commenced life by leasing the farm of

¹ On this subject see the mem. of SIR GEORGE LOCKHART, Mitchel's counsel.

Newton from Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Stobs. Here he pursued various studies, each of which for the time seemed to him the most important in the world; till another succeeded, and in its turn absorbed his whole attention. One of his favourite pursuits was botany, then little studied by any class of people in Scotland, and particularly by farmers. Owing to the depression which the American war produced in the value of farm-stock, Mr. Sibbald found his affairs by no means in a prosperous condition; and accordingly, in May, 1779, he disposed of the whole by auction, and giving up his lease to the landlord, repaired to Edinburgh, with about £100 in his pocket, in order to commence a new line of life. A taste for literature, and an acquaintance with Mr. Charles Elliot, who was a native of the same district, induced him to enter as a kind of volunteer shopman into the employment of that eminent publisher, with whom he continued about a year. He then purchased the circulating library which had formerly belonged to Allan Ramsay, and in 1780 or 1781 commenced business as a bookseller in the Parliament Square. It is not unworthy of notice that Mr. Sibbald conducted the library at the time when Sir Walter Scott, then a boy, devoured its contents with the ardour described in one of his autobiographical prefaces. Mr. Sibbald carried on business with a degree of spirit and enterprise beyond the most of his brethren. He was the first to introduce the better order of engravings into Edinburgh, in which department of trade he was for a considerable time eminently successful. Many of these prints were of the mezzotinto kind, and were coloured to resemble paintings. Being viewed in the Scottish capital as altogether the production of metropolitan genius, they were exceedingly well received, and extensively purchased. At length Mr. Sibbald was detected one day in the act of colouring some of them himself, and from that time his trade experienced an evident decline. He had not been long in business when his talents and acquired knowledge sought an appropriate field of display in a monthly literary miscellany which he established (1783), under the name of the *Edinburgh Magazine*. This was the first time that a rival to the ancient *Scots Magazine* met with decided success. The *Edinburgh Magazine* was of a somewhat more ambitious and attractive character than its predecessor; contained more original matter, and that of a livelier kind; and was ornamented by engraved frontispieces, representing mansions, castles, and other remarkable objects. Mr. Sibbald was himself the editor and chief contributor; and it is said that his articles, though not marked by any signature, were generally distinguished as superior to the ordinary papers then admitted into magazines. His lucubrations on Scottish antiquities were of so much merit as to secure to their author the friendship of Lord Hailes and other eminent literary characters, who became occasional contributors to his miscellany. Early in 1791, with the view of devoting himself more to literary pursuits, Mr. Sibbald made an arrangement for giving up the management of his business to two young men, Messrs. Laurie and Symington, the property of the stock and of the magazine continuing in his own hands, while those individuals paid him an allowance for both out of the profits. From this period till late in 1792 the magazine professes on the title-page to be printed for him, but sold by Laurie and Symington. At the date last mentioned his name disappears entirely from the work, which, however, was still carried on for his benefit, the sale being generally about 600 or 700 copies.

In 1792 Mr. Sibbald conducted a newspaper, which was then started under the name of the *Edinburgh Herald*, and which did not continue long in existence. It is worth mentioning that, in this paper, he commenced the practice of giving an original leading article, similar to what was presented in the London prints, though it has only been in recent times that such a plan became general in Scotland. According to the notes of an agreement formed in July, 1793, between Mr. Sibbald and Mr. Laurie, the temporary direction and profits of the Edinburgh circulating library were conveyed to the latter for ten years, from the ensuing January, in consideration of a rent of, it is believed, £200 per annum, to be paid quarterly to Mr. Sibbald, but subject to a deduction for the purchase of new books to be added to the library. Mr. Sibbald now went to London, where he resided for some years, in the enjoyment of literary society and the prosecution of various literary speculations, being supported by the small independency which he had thus secured for himself. Here he composed a work entitled "*Record of the Public Ministry of Jesus Christ*; comprehending all that is related by the Four Evangelists in one regular narrative, without repetition or omission, arranged with strict attention to the Chronology and to their own Words, according to the most esteemed translation; with Preliminary Observations." This work was published at Edinburgh in 1798, and was chiefly remarkable for the view which it took respecting the space of time occupied by the public ministrations of Christ, which former writers had supposed to be three or four years, but was represented by Mr. Sibbald as comprehended within twelve months. While in London his Scottish relations altogether lost sight of him; they neither knew where he lived, nor how he lived. At length his brother William, a merchant in Leith, made a particular inquiry into these circumstances by a letter which he sent through such a channel as to be sure of reaching him. The answer was comprised in the following words:—"My lodging is in Soho, and my business is so so." Having subsequently returned to Edinburgh, he there edited, in 1797, a work entitled the "*Vocal Magazine*; a Selection of the most esteemed English, Scots, and Irish Airs, Ancient and Modern, adapted for the Harpsichord or Violin." For such an employment he was qualified by a general acquaintance with music. In 1799 Mr. Sibbald revised his agreement with Mr. Laurie, who undertook to lease the business for twenty-one years, after January, 1800, at the rent of 100 guineas, himself supplying the new books, which were to remain his own property. Finding, however, that even at this low rental he did not prosper in his undertaking, Laurie soon after gave up the business into the hands of Mr. Sibbald, by whom it was carried on till his death.¹

The latter years of this ingenious man were chiefly

¹ The history of the Edinburgh circulating library may here be briefly narrated. Established by Allan Ramsay in 1725, by whom it was conducted till near the period of his death, in 1757, when it was sold to a Mr. Yair, whose widow carried it on till 1780, when it was sold to Mr. Sibbald. A daughter of Mrs. Yair was married to Dr. Bell, author of the *Madras System of Education*. By Mr. Sibbald, who greatly increased the collection, it was conducted, under various circumstances, as above stated, till 1803, when his brother and executor, William Sibbald, merchant in Leith, endeavoured to carry it on under the superintendence of a Mr. Stevenson. Finding it by no means prosperous, and the latter gentleman having died, Mr. Sibbald disposed of it in 1806 to Mr. Alexander Mackay (afterwards of Blackcastle), who conducted it until 1831, when it was broken up and sold off by auction. It does not appear to have thriven in any remarkable degree till the accession of Mr. Mackay, who retired from it with a competency.

spent in the compilation of his well-known *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, and Glossary of the Scottish Language*, four volumes, 8vo; a work of taste and erudition, which will perpetuate his name among those who have illustrated our national literature. The three first volumes exhibit a regular chronological series of extracts from the writings of the Scottish poets to the reign of James VI.; illustrated by biographical, critical, and archaeological notices: the fourth contains a vocabulary of the language, only inferior in amplitude and general value to the more voluminous work of Dr. Jamieson. The *Chronicle* appeared in 1802.

This ingenious writer died in April, 1803, at his lodgings in Leith Walk. Two portraits of him have been given by Kay; one representing him as he daily walked up the centre of the High Street of Edinburgh, with his hand behind his back and an umbrella under his arm; another places him amidst a group of connoisseurs, who are inspecting a picture. He was a man of eccentric but benevolent and amiable character. The same exclusiveness which actuated his studies governed him in domestic life; even in food he used to give his whole favour for a time to one object, and then change it for some other, to which he was in turn as fondly devoted. He belonged to a great number of convivial clubs, and was so much beloved by many of his associates in those fraternities, that, for some years after his death, they celebrated his birth-day by a social meeting.

SIBBALD, SIR ROBERT, an eminent physician, naturalist, and antiquary, was descended of the ancient family of the Sibbalds of Balgonie in Fife, and was born at Edinburgh, 15th April, 1641. His father was David Sibbald, a brother of Sir James Sibbald, Bart., of Rankellor, and was keeper of the great seal during the time that the Earl of Kinnoul was chancellor of Scotland, after which he retired into private life. His mother was Margaret Boyd, eldest daughter of Robert Boyd of Kippis, advocate. He received the principal part of his education, particularly in philosophy and the languages, at the university of Edinburgh. Having completed himself in these branches of learning he went to Leyden to study medicine, where he remained for a year and a half, up to September, 1661. In the summer of this year he published a dissertation *De Variis Tabis Speciebus*. On leaving Leyden Sir Robert proceeded to Paris, and remained there nine months, studying botany and medicine under the most famous teachers of the day. From Paris he went to Angers, stayed there a month, and after an examination obtained his doctor's degree. Passing through Paris and taking ship at Dieppe he next visited London, and after a stay of three months there returned to his native country, and took up his residence in Edinburgh, 30th October, 1662.

He immediately began to practise medicine, and soon became widely known. Some years after his return, with the co-operation of his friend Dr. Andrew Balfour, an ardent naturalist like himself, and some other physicians, he managed to establish a small botanical garden at Edinburgh, for the cultivation of rare and exotic plants. This garden occupied a good deal of his time, and seems to have given him great pleasure. In 1670 he left Edinburgh and went with his mother to live on the estate of Kippis, which had belonged to his grandfather, and at his death had fallen to his mother, after a lawsuit with her sister's husband. His mother died in 1672.

In 1677 Sir Robert married Anna, sister of Mr.

James Lowes, of Merchistoun, who lived with him only two years, dying of fever in 1678. About this time began his intimacy with the Earl of Perth, who employed him as physician to his family, and through whose influence he was appointed in 1682 physician in ordinary to King Charles II., and geographer-royal for Scotland. In this capacity he received his majesty's commands to write an account of the natural history of Scotland as well as a geographical description of the same, including a particular history of the different counties. This undertaking led him into much expense in buying books and procuring information, and though allowed a salary of £100 by King James, he got only one year's payment. In 1683 he published in Latin the *Nuntius Scoto-Britannus, sive Admonitio de Descriptione Scotie*, a pamphlet describing the plan of the projected work, the sections into which it was to be divided, and the headings of the different chapters. The same year he published a pamphlet of similar tenor in English. The great work was never completed. The *History, Ancient and Modern, of the Sherifdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling*, and the *History of Fife and Kinross*, both published in 1710, formed part of it. These works are of considerable interest, and are replete with curious antiquarian information. A new edition of the latter, which had become exceedingly scarce, edited by Dr. Adamson, was published at Cupar-Fife in 1803.

In 1681 the Royal College of Physicians was established at Edinburgh, mainly through the instrumentality of Sibbald and his friends Drs. Balfour and Stevenson. The following year he received the honour of knighthood, and married his second wife, Anna Orrock, youngest daughter of the laird of Orrock. Two years after he was elected president of the College of Physicians, and the same year he published a learned and elaborate work, entitled *Scotia Illustrata, sive Prodromus Historiæ Naturalis Scotiæ*, folio. A second edition of this valuable work, also in folio, was published in 1696. One part of the *Scotia Illustrata* is devoted to the indigenous plants of Scotland, and amongst these there appear some rare species, one of which was subsequently called Sibbaldia by Linneus, in honour of its discoverer. For some of the opinions expressed in this work on the mathematical principles of physics Sir Robert was violently attacked by Dr. Pitcairne, in a tract more remarkable for the severity of its satire than the fairness or solidity of its arguments, entitled *De Legibus Historiæ Naturalis*, Edinburgh, 1696.

We now come to what Sir Robert in his autobiography calls "the difficultest passage of my life." In 1686 the Earl of Perth, with whom he had long been intimate, was chancellor of Scotland, and having himself joined the Roman Catholic church about two months before, he pressed Sir Robert with much urgency and perseverance to take the same step. For some time, Sir Robert says, he resisted all his grace's arguments and entreaties, but at length found himself all at once convinced by the reasoning of the chancellor. Under this sudden sense of error, and in the fulness of his new-born contrition, he rushed, with tears in his eyes, into the arms of his converter, and formally embraced his religion. Soon afterwards, remaining still steady in the faith, he accompanied his lordship to London, and resided there for several months. The long and frequent fastings, however, and extremely rigid discipline to which he was now subjected, induced him to reconsider the points of controversy between Catholicism and Protestantism; and the result was that he discovered he had done wrong in deserting the latter, and with

a heart once more filled with contrition he returned to his original faith, and made public acknowledgment of his error. It may not be without its effect on those who shall consider this circumstance as an instance of weakness in Sir Robert Sibbald's character, to learn that Dr. Johnson entertained a very different opinion of it. The great moralist considered it as an honest picture of human nature, and exclaimed, when the subject was discussed in his presence, "How often are the primary motives of our greatest actions as small as Sibbald's for his reconversion." While in London Sir Robert was admitted an honorary fellow of the Royal College of Physicians there.

In 1692 this ingenious and versatile author published an interesting work on zoology, entitled "*Phalainologia Nova*, or Observations on some Animals of the Whale Genus lately thrown on the Shores of Scotland." This was followed by the *Liberty and Independency of the Kingdom and Church of Scotland asserted from Ancient Records*, in 3 parts, 4to, 1702; and in the same year in which his *History of Fife* appeared he published another work, entitled *Miscellanea quædam Erudite Antiquitatis*.

Besides these works, Sir Robert wrote a great number of learned and highly ingenious treatises and essays, chiefly on subjects connected with the antiquities of his native country. Some of these were collected and reprinted in one volume after his death under the title of "*A Collection of Several Treatises in folio, concerning Scotland*," as it was of Old, and also in *Later Times*," by Sir Robert Sibbald, M.D., Edinburgh, 1739. In his antiquarian researches he was greatly assisted by the previous labours of Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, the first native of Scotland who turned his attention to the illustration of the antiquities of his native country. The subject of this memoir was the next. No further particulars of Sir Robert Sibbald's life are known. Even the year of his death is uncertain; though it is generally believed to have taken place in 1722, as in that year a catalogue was printed in Edinburgh of "the library of the late learned and ingenious Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps; to be sold by way of auction." The sale brought in all £342, 17s. sterling—a large amount for those times.

SIMSON, DR. ROBERT, a mathematician, was the eldest son of Mr. John Simson of Kirton-hall, in Ayrshire, and was born on the 14th October, 1687. He was educated at the university of Glasgow, which he first entered as a student in 1701. Being intended for the church, his studies were at first directed chiefly to theological learning, in which, as well as in the classics, he made great progress. He distinguished himself also by his historical knowledge, and was accounted one of the best botanists of his years. At this time no mathematical lectures were given in the college; but having amused himself in his leisure hours by a few exercises in *Euclid*, a copy of which he found in the hands of a companion, he quickly found that the bent of his taste and genius lay in that direction. The farther he advanced in the study of mathematics the more engaging it appeared; and as a prospect opened up to him of making it his profession for life, he at last gave himself up to it entirely. While still very young he conceived a strong predilection for the analysis of the ancient geometers; which increased as he proceeded, till it was at last carried almost to devotion. While he, therefore, comparatively neglected the works of the modern mathematicians, he exerted himself, through life, in an uncommon manner, to restore the works of the ancient geometers. The

noble inventions of fluxions and logarithms, by means of which so much progress has been made in the mathematics, attracted his notice; but he was satisfied with demonstrating their truth on the pure principles of the ancient geometry. He was, however, well acquainted with all the modern discoveries; and left, among his papers, investigations according to the Cartesian method, which show that he made himself completely master of it. While devoting himself chiefly to geometry, he also acquired a vast fund of general information, which gave a charm to his conversation throughout all the subsequent years of life. On arriving at his twenty-second year his reputation as a mathematician was so high as to induce the members of the college to offer him the mathematical chair, in which a vacancy was soon expected to take place. With all that natural modesty which ever accompanies true genius, he respectfully declined the high honour, feeling reluctant, at so early an age, to advance abruptly from the state of student to that of professor in the same college, and therefore requested permission to spend one year at least in London. Leave being granted to him, without further delay he proceeded to the metropolis, and there diligently employed himself in extending and improving his mathematical knowledge. He now had the good fortune to be introduced to some of the most illustrious mathematicians of the day, particularly Mr. Jones, Mr. Caswell, Dr. Jurin, and Mr. Ditton. With the last, indeed, who was then mathematical master of Christ's Hospital, and highly esteemed for his erudition, he was very intimately connected. It appears from Mr. Simson's own account, in a letter dated London, 17th November, 1710, that he expected to have an assistant in his studies, chosen by Mr. Caswell; but from some mistake it was omitted, and Mr. Simson himself applied to Mr. Ditton. "He went to him, not as a scholar" (his own words), "but to have general information and advice about his mathematical studies." Mr. Caswell afterwards mentioned to Mr. Simson that he meant to have procured Mr. Jones' assistance if he had not been engaged.

In the following year the vacancy in the professorship of mathematics at Glasgow did occur, by the resignation of Dr. Robert Sinclair or Sinclare; and Mr. Simson, who was still in London, was appointed to the vacant chair. The minute of election, which is dated March 11, 1711, concluded with this very nice condition: "That they will admit the said Mr. Robert Simson, providing always that he give satisfactory proof of his skill in mathematics previous to his admission." Before the ensuing session at college he returned to Glasgow; and having submitted to the mere form of a trial, by solving a geometrical problem proposed to him, and also by giving "a satisfactory specimen of his skill in mathematics, and dexterity in teaching geometry and algebra;" having produced also respectable certificates of his knowledge of the science from Mr. Caswell and others, he was duly admitted professor of mathematics on the 20th of November of that year. The first occupation of Mr. Simson was to arrange a proper course of instruction for the students who attended his lectures, in two distinct classes; accordingly, he prepared elementary sketches of some branches, on which there were not suitable treatises in general use. But from an innate love for the science, and a deep sense of duty, he now devoted the whole of his attention to the study of mathematics; and though he had a decided preference for geometry, he did not confine himself to it, to the exclusion of the other branches of mathematical study, in most of which there is abundant evidence of his being well skilled.

From 1711 he continued for nearly half a century to teach mathematics to two separate classes, at different hours, for five days in the week, during a continued session of seven months. His lectures were given with such perspicuity of method and language, and his demonstrations were so clear and successful, that among his scholars several rose to distinction as mathematicians; among whom may be mentioned the celebrated names of Colin Maclaurin, Dr. Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics at Edinburgh; the two Rev. Drs. Williamson, one of whom succeeded Dr. Simson at Glasgow; the Rev. Dr. Trail, formerly professor of mathematics at Aberdeen; Dr. James Moor, Greek professor at Glasgow; and Professor Robison of Edinburgh, with many others of distinguished merit.

In 1758 Dr. Simson, having arrived at the advanced age of seventy-one years, found it expedient to employ an assistant in teaching; and in 1761, on his recommendation, the Rev. Dr. Williamson was made his assistant and successor. For the last remaining ten years of his life he enjoyed a share of good health, and was chiefly occupied in correcting and arranging some of his mathematical papers; and sometimes, for amusement, in the solution of problems and demonstrations of theorems which had occurred from his own studies, or from the suggestions of others. Though to those most familiar with him his conversation on every subject seemed clear and accurate, yet he frequently complained of the decline of his memory, which no doubt protracted and eventually prevented him from undertaking the publication of many of his works, which were in an advanced state, and might with little exertion be made ready for the press. So that his only publication, after resigning his office, was a new and improved edition of Euclid's *Data*, which, in 1762, was annexed to the second edition of the *Elements*. From that period he firmly resisted all solicitations to bring forward any of his other works on ancient geometry, though he was well aware how much it was desired from the universal curiosity excited respecting his discovery of Euclid's *Porisms*. It is a matter of regret, that out of the extensive correspondence which he carried on through life with many distinguished mathematicians, a very limited portion only is preserved. Through Dr. Jurin, then secretary to the Royal Society, he had some intercourse with Dr. Halley and other celebrated men; he had also frequent correspondence with Mr. Maclaurin, with Mr. James Stirling, Dr. James Moor, Dr. Matthew Stewart, Dr. William Trail, and Mr. Williamson of Lisbon. In the latter part of his life his mathematical correspondence was chiefly with that eminent geometer the Earl of Stanhope, and with George Lewis Scott, Esq.

A life like Dr. Simson's, so uniform and regular, spent for the most part within the walls of a college, affords but little that is entertaining for the biographer. His mathematical researches and inventions form the important part of his history; and, with reference to these, there are abundant materials to be found in his printed works and MSS., which latter, by the direction of his executor, are deposited in the college of Glasgow.

Dr. Simson never was married; he devoted his life purely to scientific pursuits. His hours of study, of exercise, and amusement were all regulated with the most unerring precision. "The very walks in the squares or gardens of the college were all measured by his steps; and he took his exercises by the hundred of paces, according to his time or inclination." His disposition was by no means of a saturnine cast: when in company with his friends his con-

versation was remarkably animated, enriched with much anecdote, and enlivened also by a certain degree of natural humour; even the slight fits of absence to which he was sometimes liable contributed to the amusement of those around him, without in the slightest degree diminishing their affection and reverence which his noble qualities were calculated to inspire. At a tavern in the neighbourhood of his college he established a club, the members of which were, for the most part, selected by himself. They met once a week (Friday); and the first part of the evening was devoted to the game of whist, of which Dr. Simson was particularly fond; but though he took some pains in estimating chances, it was remarked that he was by no means fortunate in his play. The rest of the evening was spent in social conversation; and as he had naturally a good taste for music, he did not scruple to amuse his company with a song: and, it is said, he was rather fond of singing some *Greek odes*, to which modern music had been adapted. On Saturdays he usually dined at the village of Anderston, then about a mile distant from Glasgow, with some of the members of his regular club, and with other respectable visitors, who wished to cultivate the acquaintance and enjoy the society of so eminent a person. In the progress of time, from his age and high character, the company respectfully wished that everything in these meetings should be directed by him; and although his authority was somewhat absolute, yet the good humour and urbanity with which it was administered rendered it pleasing to everybody. He had his own chair and particular place at the table; he ordered the entertainment, adjusted the expense, and regulated the time for breaking up. These happy parties, in the years of his severe application to study, were useful relaxations to his mind, and they continued to amuse him till within a few months of his death. A mind so richly endowed by nature and education, and a life of strict integrity and pure moral worth, gave a correspondent dignity to his character, that even in the gayest hours of social intercourse the doctor's presence was a sufficient guarantee for attention and decorum. He had serious and just impressions of religion, but he was uniformly reserved in expressing particular opinions about it; he never introduced that solemn subject in mixed society; and all attempts to do so in his clubs were checked with gravity and decision. His personal appearance was highly prepossessing; tall and erect in his carriage, with a countenance decidedly handsome, and conveying a pleasing expression of the superior character of his mind. His manner was somewhat tinged with the fashion which prevailed in the early part of his life, but was exceedingly graceful. He enjoyed a uniform state of good health, and was only severely indisposed for a few weeks before his death, which took place on the 1st of October, 1768, in his eighty-first year. He bequeathed a small paternal estate in Ayrshire to the eldest son of his next brother, probably his brother Thomas, who was professor of medicine in the university of St. Andrews, and who was known by some works of reputation.

"The writings and publications of Dr. Robert Simson were almost exclusively of the pure geometrical kind, after the genuine manner of the ancients; but from his liberal education he acquired a considerable knowledge of other sciences, which he preserved through life, from occasional study and a constant intercourse with some of the most learned men of the age. In the Latin prefaces prefixed to his works, in which there are some history and discussion, the purity of the language has been generally approved." And many scholars have regretted that

he had not an opportunity, while in the full vigour of his intellect, and deeply conversant in Greek and mathematical learning, to favour the world with an edition of Pappus in the original language. He has only two pieces printed in the volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*, viz.:—1. "Two General Propositions of Pappus, in which many of Euclid's Porisms are included," vol. xxxii. ann. 1723. These two propositions were afterwards incorporated into the author's posthumous works, published by Earl Stanhope.—2. "On the Extraction of the Approximate Roots of Numbers of Infinite Series," vol. xlviii. ann. 1753. His separate publications in his lifetime were:—3. *Conic Sections*, 1735, 4to. 4. *The Loci Plani of Apollonius Restored*, 1749, 4to. 5. *Euclid's Elements*, 1756, 4to, of which there have been since many editions in 8vo, with the addition of Euclid's *Data*. In 1776 Earl Stanhope printed, at his own expense, several of Dr. Simson's posthumous pieces. 1. *Apollonius' Determinate Section*. 2. *A Treatise on Porisms*. 3. *A Tract on Logarithms*. 4. *On the Limits of Quantities and Ratios*; and 5. *Some Geometrical Problems*. Besides these, Dr. Simson's MSS. contained a great variety of geometrical propositions, and other interesting observations on different parts of mathematics, but not in a state fit for publication. Among other designs was an edition of the works of Pappus, in a state of considerable advancement, and which, had he lived, he might perhaps have published. What he wrote is in the library of the college of Glasgow; and a transcript was obtained by the delegates of the Clarendon Press. To this university he left his collection of mathematical books, supposed to be the most complete in the kingdom, and which is kept apart from the rest of the library.

SINCLAIR, MISS CATHERINE. This lady, equally distinguished by her numerous writings and deeds of benevolence, was a daughter of the late Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart., and was born at Edinburgh in 1800. A pleasing picture has been given of the domestic education of Sir John's family, in which the delights of home and college life were happily blended together, and where each member advanced and animated the rest by intellectual trials and competitions. It was a course of home training in which their acquirements at the public school were developed and matured, and the mutual affection of the pupils strengthened. Under these circumstances Miss Catherine Sinclair naturally grew up into an authoress, and the first productions by which she distinguished herself were two volumes, the one entitled *Modern Accomplishments*, and the other *Modern Society*. In the first of these works she exposed with much wit and good humour and strong powers of delineation the prevalent absurdities of female education; and in the latter the characteristic sentiments and conversation among the circles of fashionable life. In these exposures of a vitiated taste which had effected a lodgment in the upper classes of society she could speak as one having authority, seeing she was a member of the community which she thus strove to enlighten. Both works were favourably received, and enjoyed an extensive circulation.

Having thus made a favourable commencement, Miss Sinclair's pen did not lie idle; and her other works followed as rapidly as if she had been an author by profession and from necessity, instead of writing with the sole desire of elevating and improving society. Her works were too numerous even to give their titles, they followed each other in rapid succession, and when collected they formed thirty-

seven volumes. We can only mention her *Hill and Valley*, *Scotland and the Scotch*, *Shetland and the Shetlanders*, *Modern Flirtations*, *Beatrice*, and *Holiday House*, the last being a work written for children, with whom it soon became a distinguished favourite, as it described in a truthful manner, and in language which they could understand, the feelings, tastes, and habits with which they are most conversant; and it now holds among them the same honoured place which Day's *Sandford and Merton* occupied among the children of the preceding generation. A proof of the popularity of Miss Catherine Sinclair's works in general was given by the fact, that they were as well known and as much in demand in the United States of America as in Britain, where they were sold not in thousands, but in tens of thousands. It has also been stated by the publishers, that the popularity of her *Beatrice* was even greater than that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in England, and that above 100,000 copies of it were sold in a few weeks. It is pleasing to add, that this universal welcome accorded to her productions was obtained without any such sacrifices as are too often made to conciliate the popular favour. "The main object of Miss Sinclair's writings," the narrative states from which we derive this short notice, "was not fame or profit, but usefulness. She adopted as her motto the saying of Sir William Temple, 'Of all the paper I have blotted, I have written nothing without the intention of some good.' Among her numerous publications there is not a single line which, on religious or moral grounds, she could have desired to obliterate."

But with all this amount of work, it was not merely, nor even chiefly, as an authoress that the useful life of Miss Sinclair was spent. She was essentially a woman of action as well as of studious habits, and her spirit of enterprise went out into fields from which the more fastidious of her sex would have turned away. While she therefore contributed to the charitable purposes of the day, she particularly devoted herself to those works of public utility which were greatly needed, but which as yet were uncared for, and for which her native Edinburgh afforded ample scope. She was the first to introduce cooking-dépôts into the city, where, for sums varying from 7d. to 3½d., the tradesman can obtain a comfortable dinner, and the poorest artisan an abundant meal; and thither many a poor student resorts whose narrow finances cannot obtain the luxury of regular cooking in his scantily-fitted attic. She erected the first public fountain in Edinburgh, at which both horse and driver can conveniently quench their thirst, and on which the graces of architecture added beauty to usefulness. She exerted herself in the erection of cab-stands, where drivers of cabs, while waiting for a fare, might stand under comfortable shelter, instead of shivering in the open-air, or having recourse to the dangerous refuge of the tap-room. And going higher still in her benevolent aspirations, she established a mission-station in a populous but neglected suburb of Edinburgh. These were but a few of her many endeavours to better the physical and social condition of the poor and the industrious. Some of them might appear sufficiently original or *outré*; but a glance at Miss Catherine Sinclair was enough to show that she would be no mere copyist, or afraid to follow out any plan of which her conscience approved.

After a long life of literary honour and public usefulness, this benevolent lady died at Kensington on the 6th of August, 1864.

SINCLAIR, GEORGE, a well-known mathematical writer, was professor of philosophy in the

university of Glasgow in the latter part of the seventeenth century. No particulars of his early life have been ascertained. He was admitted a professor of Glasgow university April 18, 1654,¹ and was ejected in 1662 for declining to comply with the Episcopal form of church government then thrust upon the people of Scotland. He had in the previous year published at Glasgow his first known work, "*Tyrolina Mathematica*, in Novem Tractatus, viz. Mathematicum, Sphericum, Geographicum, et Echometricum, Divisa," 12mo. After his ejection he betook himself to the business of a mineral surveyor and practical engineer, and was employed in that profession by several proprietors of mines in the southern parts of Scotland, and particularly by Sir James Hope, who, having sat in Barebones' parliament, was probably nowise averse to his Presbyterian principles. In 1669 he published at Rotterdam, *Ars Nova et Magna Gravitatis et Levitatis*, 4to. He was employed by the magistrates of Edinburgh about 1670 to superintend the introduction of water from Cormiston into the city—a convenience with which the capital of Scotland had not previously been furnished. Considerable attention seems to have been paid by him to such branches of hydrostatics as were of a practical nature; and it has been said that he was the first person who suggested the proper method of draining the water from the numerous coal-mines in the south-west of Scotland. In 1672 he published at Edinburgh a quarto, entitled "*Hydrostatics*; or, the Force, Weight, and Pressure of Fluid Bodies made evident by Physical and Sensible Experiments, together with some Miscellany Observations, the last whereof is a short History of Coal." And in 1680 he published at the same place, in 8vo, what appears to have been a modification of the same work, "*Hydrostatical Experiments*, with Miscellany Observations, and a Relation of an Evil Spirit; also a Discourse concerning Coal." Sinclair's writings, in the opinion of a very able judge, are not destitute of ingenuity and research, though they may contain some erroneous and eccentric views. The work last named contained a rather strange accompaniment to a scientific treatise—an account of the witches of Glenluce—which, if there had been no other evidence of the fact, shows the author to have not been elevated by his acquaintance with the exact sciences above the vulgar delusions of his age. It must be recollected, however, that other learned men of that age were guilty of like follies. The self-complacency of Sinclair and his Presbyterian principles provoked the celebrated James Gregory, then a professor at St. Andrews, to attack his *Hydrostatics* in a pamphlet published with the quaint title of the *Art of Weighing Vanity*, and under the thin disguise of Patrick Mather, archdeacon of the university of St. Andrews. It is curious to observe, that with all his eagerness to heap ridicule on his antagonist, Gregory never once touches on what would now appear the most vulnerable point—the episode about the witches. After a long interval Sinclair wrote an answer to Gregory, entitled "*Cacus pulled out of his Den by the Heels*, or the Pamphlet entitled the New and Great Art of Weighing Vanity examined, and found to be a New and Great Act of Vanity." But this production was never published: it remains in manuscript in the university library at Glasgow, to which the author appears, from an inscription, to have presented it in 1692. Sinclair was among the first in Britain who attempted to measure the heights of mountains by the barometer. It is said that Hartfell, near Moffat, was the first hill in Scot-

land of which the height was thus ascertained. In the years 1668 and 1670 he observed the altitudes of Arthur's Seat, Leadhills, and Tinto, above the adjacent plains. He followed the original mode of carrying a sealed tube to the top of the mountain, where, filling it with quicksilver, and inverting it in a basin, he marked the elevation of the suspended column, and repeated the same experiment below—a very rude method certainly—but no better was practised in England for more than thirty years afterwards. To the instrument fitted up in a frame Sinclair first gave the name *baroscope*, or *indicator of weight*—a term afterwards changed for *barometer*, or *measurer of weight*. In these rude attempts at measuring weights by the mercurial column the atmosphere was regarded simply as a homogeneous fluid, and possessing the same density throughout its whole mass—a supposition which, it is needless to point out, must have led the observer wide of the truth where the elevation was considerable.

The work by which Sinclair is now best remembered is his *Satan's Invisible Works Discovered*, which was published about the year 1685, and has since been frequently reprinted. This is a treatise on witches, ghosts, and diablerie, full of instances ancient and modern, and altogether forming a curious record of the popular notions on those subjects at the period when it appeared: it was for a long time a constituent part of every cottage library in Scotland. In Lee's *Memorials for Bible Societies in Scotland* is given the following decree of the privy-council in favour of Mr. Sinclair's copyright in this precious production: "Apud Edinburgh, 26 Feb. 1685. The lords of his majesties privy council considered an address made to them by Mr. George Sinclair, late professor of philosophie at the college of Glasgow, and author of the book entitled *Satan's Invisible Works Discovered*, &c., doe hereby prohibit and discharge all persons whatsoever from printing, reprinting, or importing into the kingdome any copy or copies of the said book, during the space of eleven years after the date hereof without licence of the author or his order, under the pain of confiscation thereof to the said author, besydes what further punishment we shall think fitt to inflict upon the contraveners." The first edition contains a very curious dedication to the Earl of Winton, not to be found in the rest, but which has been republished in the *Historie of the Hous and Name of Scoun*, printed by the Maitland Club.

It is curious to find science and superstition so intimately mingled in the life of this extraordinary person. In 1688 he published at Edinburgh, in 12mo, the *Principles of Astronomy and Navigation*. The only other publication attributed to him is a translation of David Dickson's *Truth's Victory over Error*. It is hardly possible to censure delusions which seem to have been entertained with so much sincerity, and in company with such a zeal for the propagation of real knowledge.

Mr. Sinclair was recalled at the Revolution to the charge from which he was expelled twenty-six years before. On the 3d of March, 1691, the faculty of the college revived the professorship of mathematics, which had been suppressed for want of funds; and at the same time appointed Mr. Sinclair to that chair. He died in 1696.

SINCLAIR, SIR JOHN, Bart. of Ulbster. Among the many benefactors of Scotland, whose labours were devoted to its agricultural improvement, we know of none who has surpassed, or even equalled, the subject of our present notice.

Sir John was born at Thurso Castle, in the county

¹ Records of the University.

of Caithness, on the 10th of May, 1754. He was the eldest son of George Sinclair of Ulbster, by his wife Lady Janet Sutherland, daughter of William Lord Strathnaver. George, the father, having died suddenly at Edinburgh in 1770, John Sinclair, then in his sixteenth year, succeeded to the family property, which, until he was of age, was superintended by his mother. Having received his early education at the high-school of Edinburgh, and under the direction of Logan, his tutor, afterwards author of *Runnymede*, he studied successively at the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Oxford. At Glasgow he was so fortunate as to be a pupil of Adam Smith, at that time professor of moral philosophy in the university, with whose acquaintanceship he was also honoured at this early period—and it may be that the bias of the future father of Scottish agriculture received its first impulses from his conversations with the author of the *Wealth of Nations*. The intellectual ambition of the young student's mind was also manifested at the age of fifteen among the printed columns of our periodicals. After he had completed his studies at Oxford, he turned his attention to law, not, however, to follow it as a profession, but to be aided by the light it threw on our national institutions. In 1775 he became a member of the faculty of advocates, and was afterwards called to the English bar. In the following year he married Sarah, only daughter and heiress of Alexander Maitland, Esq., of Stoke-Newington, Middlesex, by whom he had two daughters, one of them being Miss Hannah Sinclair, authoress of the excellent letters *On the Principles of the Christian Faith*; the other, Janet, who was married to Sir James Colquhoun, of Luss, Bart. In 1780 Mr. Sinclair was elected member of parliament for the county of Caithness, an honour which was repeated in the years 1790, 1802, and 1807. But as this county enjoyed the privilege of only an alternate representation, he was elected during the intervals for the boroughs of Lostwithiel in Cornwall, and Petersfield in Hampshire.

Mr. Sinclair had not been long in parliament when he began to take an active part in the important questions of the day. It was not, however, by mere forensic eloquence, for his strength did not lie in oratory; his reflective mind and profound calculations were better suited for the silence of the press than the arena of parliamentary debate. Accordingly, in 1782, he published a tract, entitled "*Lucubrations during a Short Recess; with some Thoughts on the Means of Improving the Representation of the People*." This work, upon a theme at that time so dreaded, excited great attention, and called forth not a few replies, among which especially was one from Lord Camelford. In the same year he published another pamphlet, entitled "*Thoughts on the Naval Strength of the British Empire*", in answer to the late Lord Mulgrave, one of the Lords of the Admiralty." At this time our warfare by sea was carried on with such timid caution, and our naval victories were so few, that the national faith in our "wooden walls" was sorely depressed; while Lord Mulgrave had predicted that, in the event of a continental peace, the united navies of France and Spain would be more than a match for that of Britain. Mr. Sinclair endeavoured to prove the superiority of our fleets above those of the enemy, and to explain the causes of that superiority; while the subsequent victories of Nelson showed that the argument was a sound one. Another tract which he published about the same period bore the title of *Considerations on Militias and Standing Armies*, and was the substance of those considerations upon the subject which he had brought before the ministers of the day. His

suggestions were favourably received, and some of the more important adopted. His last published production, during this stage of his authorship, was the *Propriety of Retaining Gibraltar impartially Considered*. This, like the foregoing tracts, was published without the author's name, and had the honour of being attributed to the first Lord Camelford.

It was not, however, with political authorship alone that Mr. Sinclair was wholly occupied at this season; for in 1782 a public emergency occurred that called forth the utmost of his philanthropic care. This was a season of famine in Scotland, on account of the lateness of the summer, so that, at the close of September, the oats and barley were still green, while, at the commencement of next month, the winter began with such sudden intensity, that both field and garden produce was blighted as in an instant; one night often sufficed to annihilate the subsistence of whole districts. In some parishes the oats were reaped or rather excavated from ice and snow in the middle of November, and in others so late as the following February. The consequence was, that many were obliged to kill their cattle, and eat the flesh without bread; many, who had no such resource, lived on soup made of nettles and snails, which were salted for winter sustenance; while the poor along the coasts were reduced to the insufficient diet of whelks, limpets, and other such shell-fish. This calamity, which bore hardest upon the north of Scotland, extended over several counties, and included a population of 110,000 souls. It was here that Mr. Sinclair bestirred himself; and not content with appeals to private philanthropy, he brought the subject before the House of Commons, by whom it was referred to a committee. No precedent as yet existed in the annals of the house for a parliamentary grant made upon such an occasion, but the emergency was unprecedented also. Accordingly, forms were waived, and a grant of money decreed in favour of the sufferers, by which their present wants were supplied, and the pestilential diseases attendant upon famine arrested. The obtaining of such relief for his suffering countrymen constituted a happy era in the public life of Mr. Sinclair; and he was often afterwards heard to declare, that no part of his parliamentary career had ever afforded him such intense satisfaction.

Having distinguished himself as an author upon miscellaneous questions of public interest, Mr. Sinclair was now to obtain reputation as a writer on the difficult subject of finance. The close of our war with America had been followed in Britain, as is usual at the close of all our wars, with a fit of economical calculation. The nation sat down to count the cost, and found itself of course on the brink of bankruptcy; and the murmur that rose was all the louder, as there was neither glory nor success as an offset to the expenditure. It was now demonstrated for the one hundred and fiftieth time, that Britain was ruined beyond recovery, and not a few of these gloomy reasoners were something better than mere political grumblers. While the public despondency was at the height, Mr. Sinclair's *Hints on the State of our Finances* appeared in 1783. The accurate calculations and masterly reasoning of this production convinced the reflective and cheered the despondent at home; while abroad, it disabused both friend and enemy of the conclusions they had formed upon the coming national insolvency. But it did more than this; it established his character so completely as a sound financier, that his advice was taken upon those measures by which the real evils of the present crisis were to be effectually averted. Such was especially the case when the extension of the banking

system in England was the subject of consideration. On this occasion he was consulted by Sir James Eisdale, the eminent London banker, to whom he recommended the system of the Scottish country banks, the nature and principles of which he fully and clearly explained. Sir James, on finding these so completely accordant with his own views, adopted them into his plan, and the result was, the establishment of twenty branch banks in the country in connection with his own house. The example was speedily multiplied, and banks were established in every part of England. But still, one important part of the Scottish system was omitted; this was the security which country banks are obliged to give for the paper money they issue—a wholesome check, by which dishonest speculation is cut short, and the risk of bankruptcy avoided. This part, so essential to public confidence in banking, was strangely dispensed with in the English system, notwithstanding Sinclair's earnest remonstrances with Mr. Pitt upon the subject; and hence the difference in the stability and efficacy of these English banks as contrasted with those of Scotland. An application which he soon after made on his own account to Mr. Pitt was better attended to: this was for the rank of baronet, to which he had a hereditary claim, as heir and representative of Sir George Sinclair of Clyth. The application was made in 1784, and in 1786 it was gratified more largely than he had expected; for not only was the title of baronet conferred upon him, but a reservation made of it in favour of the heirs-male of the daughters of his first wife, in the event of his dying without a direct representative.

The inquiries of Sir John Sinclair upon the subject of political economy, which he had hitherto turned to such useful account, were still continued, and in 1785 he published an essay *On the Public Revenue of the British Empire*. This was but the first and second parts of a series, of which a third appeared in 1790. But during the same year in which the first portion of the work was published, he sustained a heavy domestic affliction by the death of his wife, to whom he had been married eight years. So intense was his sorrow at this bereavement, that he had serious thoughts of resigning his seat in the House of Commons for Lostwithiel, and retiring into private life. Fortunately for his country he was persuaded to try the effects of travel, and accordingly he went over to Paris during the Christmas recess, where the society of this gay and intellectual capital not only tended to console his sorrow, but to animate him for fresh public exertion. It was no ordinary good fortune that led him to a city where a mind like his could associate in daily intercourse with such distinguished characters as Necker, Madame de Stael, and Madame de Genlis, of Joseph Montgolfier, Argand, and Reveillon. While he thus associated with the master-spirits of the practical and useful, he never lost sight of the welfare of his own country. In this way, having studied the machines for coinage invented by M. Droz, and used by the French government, he suggested their adoption to Mr. Bolton of Birmingham, by whom they were introduced into the British mint. Having learned from M. Clouet, the superintendent of the gunpowder manufactory of France, the mode of distilling that article in cylinders, by which a superior commodity was produced at less expense than the gunpowder in common use, he communicated the improvement to our own government, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing it adopted by the board of ordnance.

From France Sir John continued his route through Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Austria, and Prussia, where he had personal interviews

with the crowned heads of an age that has departed, but whose influence we still experience. Among these the most distinguished were the Emperor Joseph, the most hasty of reformers; Catherine, the Semiramis of the north; Stanislaus, the unfortunate minion-king of Poland; and the chivalrous but evildestined Gustavus III. of Sweden. But the men of those several dominions who most promoted the improvement of their respective countries were the principal objects of his solicitude; and with several of these he established a permanent correspondence, the chief subject of which was the improvement of European agriculture and commerce, and the extension of the comforts of life. In Germany his attention was especially directed to the manufactures of that country, and the causes of their success, by which he was enabled, at his return, to impart very valuable suggestions to the heads of our manufacturing departments. This long tour, comprising nearly 8000 miles, and accomplished without the aid of steam, was terminated in 1787. The fruits of his observations during these travels were afterwards fully communicated to the public in 1830, when, during his old days, he published, in two volumes, the interesting correspondence that had originated in his northern tour.

On his return to Britain, the first object of Sir John was the improvement of our national agriculture. It was not, however, by propounding theories and publishing books that this work in the first instance was to be accomplished. Instead of this, the barren waste must be reclaimed, the hard soil overturned with the ploughshare, and an expenditure of time, labour, and capital patiently endured, until the obstinacy of nature as well as the indolence of man were compelled into full activity, and the sterile surface covered with a profitable harvest. No one knew this better than Sir John Sinclair, and accordingly he had turned himself in good earnest, even at the early age of eighteen, to the self-denying labour of a practical teacher, by showing what could be done upon his own property. And, verily, this was no easy or hopeful task! His estate, consisting of 100,000 acres, comprised about a sixth of the county of Caithness. On these, besides a few large farms, there were about 800 or 900 small ones, cultivated according to the most unproductive modes of the Scottish husbandry of the day, and yielding a miserable rent, of which but a small part was money, while the rest was in grain, lamb, poultry, and other such produce. An English holder of Scottish acres thus surrounded on his first rent-day would have fled across the Tweed, and made no halt until he had reached the shelter of Middlesex. This fashion of rent payment, which had prevailed for centuries among a people the most tenacious of ancient usages, must be torn up root and branch before a step in advance could be won. Here, then, Sir John commenced with the improvement of agriculture in Caithness—and not only in Caithness, but Scotland at large, and finally in England also. Large farms were established, to which skill and capital were attracted by the prospect of a profitable return; and to set the example to their occupants, he took one of them, originally consisting of eight small farms, into his own hands. This, when brought into cultivation, he let at a moderate rent, after having allotted it into cottage-farms, where the tenants were induced to build comfortable houses, and carry out the improvements that had been already commenced. In this way the example was begun that soon gathered a population together, while villages and hamlets gradually rose up in those cultivated localities where subsistence and comfort were thus provided as the

reward of industry. Every tenant was bound down to a regular rotation of crops, to a certain annual amount of marling and liming, and to a certain amount as well as mode of occupation in the improvement of his farm. Every facility was also afforded to industry, by furnishing the small farmers with marl and lime at the cheapest rate, and the best seeds, especially of turnip, clover, and rye-grass; while instructions upon farming were readily communicated, and a spirit of active competition excited by the distribution of small premiums. Thus the old-established drawbacks in our agriculture were one by one removed. Each farmer was required to start with a capital, however small, instead of commencing on credit; to confine his cultivation to the extent he could manage, and do it well; to economize his labour so as to produce results with the least expenditure; and to aim continually at raising the best grain, and keeping the best stock. The old system of thirlage, also, or restriction to particular mills, as well as the other feudal services, were abolished, and the casting and drying of peats for fuel, which diverted the attention of farmers from their work, was superseded by the general introduction of coal. Such are but a few of those important principles which Sir John introduced into his system of land cultivation; and such an improvement of his Caithness property ensued as was enough to awaken the attention of the whole country. One specimen of this was afforded in the estate of Langwell, which he purchased for £8000, and improved so greatly, that he afterwards sold it for £40,000. But far beyond the benefit of a doubled or trebled rental was that of active industry and honourable enterprise, and intellectual and moral improvement, which were introduced among his numerous tenantry, who, though at first they went doggedly to work, were gradually animated with the conviction that work is the greatest of pleasure when something worth working for is to be gained. Produce being thus created, roads were needed for its conveyance as an article of traffic; but to make these in Caithness was a task of peculiar difficulty, as the soil chiefly consisted of peat or clay, while the materials for road-making were of too soft a quality. As no private fortune could have sustained the necessary outlay, and as the undertaking was a public benefit, Sir John invoked the aid of government, which was readily granted, and to such an extent, that in one day six miles of road were laid down along the side of Bennichiel Hill. In this manner highways were constructed for the heaviest waggons in places where hitherto every article, down to manure itself, had been conveyed upon the backs of horses.

It was not enough, however, that agriculture alone should be encouraged. Even the most active and industrious, if they find no outlet for their surplus produce, will labour for nothing more than the mere necessities of life, and thus speedily relapse into laziness. This Sir John knew well, and therefore the commercial as well as the agricultural prosperity of Caithness was the subject of his solicitude. The seas that begirt two-thirds of the promontory which is formed by the county, had hitherto hemmed in the people, and made the adjacent land rocky and sterile; but they abounded in fish for home or foreign consumption, and thus the water might be made as profitable as the land. Here, then, was another standing-place for his philanthropy. He obtained the re-establishment of the cod-fishery, which for many years had been almost abandoned. He supplied capital for the commencement of a herring-fishery upon the east coast of Caithness. He applied to government for aid in harbour extension, through

which the harbour of Wick was completed, and that of Thurso commenced. In this way the commerce of Caithness, hitherto unnoticed, now rose into distinction, and sent the produce of its agriculture and fisheries to the shores of the Baltic and the West Indies. A nucleus was needed for all this enterprise—a strong heart to concentrate and send forth this new circulation of vitality—and therefore a town adequate to such a task was forthwith in demand. For this purpose Sir John Sinclair selected the old town of Thurso as the germ of a new. In point of population it was little better than a third-rate English village, while its wretched houses were so irregular, and so huddled together, as to be too often mere receptacles for filth, discomfort, and sickness. But the locality was not only excellent for the fisheries, but for commerce, being within a few hours' sail of the German and Atlantic Oceans, with the communication of an excellent river. Sir John drew out the plan of the new town of Thurso. And there it stands, with its churches and schools, its market-places and warehouses, its shops and houses, and throngs of living beings—a something better far as a monument of departed worth, than the silent mausoleum, however stately its construction, or however flattering its epitaph.

In the agricultural improvements which Sir John Sinclair commenced in Caithness, the subject of sheep-farming occupied much of his thoughts. The greater part of his property was unfitted for the plough; but he had traversed too many mountainous countries not to know that mere surface can always be turned to some account. "Of all the means," he said, "of bringing a mountainous district to a profitable state, none is so peculiarly well calculated for that purpose as the rearing of a valuable breed of sheep. A small proportion alone," he added, "of such a description of country can be fit for grain; and in regard to cattle, for every pound of beef that can be produced in a hilly district, three pounds of mutton can be obtained, and there is the wool into the bargain." This plan he therefore introduced into his cottage farms, to which only two acres of arable land could be allotted, and with such success, that the spinning-wheel soon set those arms in motion that had hitherto rested a-kimbo; while good store of warm clothing in every cottage superseded the rags or the threadbare garments in which indolence had hitherto been fain to ensconce itself. But still, it was not enough for Sir John that the sheep naturalized among his people should possess the usual weight of fleece and nothing more, as long as one kind of wool was better than another. Could not the Cheviot sheep be made to live and thrive even in the hyperborean climate of Caithness? He propounded the idea and was laughed at for his pains. But of most men he was the least liable to be convinced or refuted by laughing, and therefore he commenced the experiment, and commenced it, as was necessary, on an ample scale. He sent a flock of 500 Cheviots to Caithness, under the care of experienced shepherds; and although the winter that followed was a severe one, they thrived even better than upon their native hills, so that his flock at length increased to 6000 sheep. After such success, Sir John turned his attention to the improvement of British wool in general. He saw that the wool of Britain had been gradually deteriorating, and that the importation of foreign sheep had yearly become more necessary, so that our national manufactures laboured under serious detriment. But why should the Shetland Islands the while produce fleeces of such soft and delicate texture? Surely this tempest-beaten Colchos of the north was not more highly favoured in soil or

climate than the hills of Lothian or the downs of Lancashire. Was not the evil we endured to be traced to our injudicious modes of feeding sheep upon turnips and other coarse articles of food, which had lately obtained among us? He must study, and obtain information at every point. So earnest was he, that he carried his inquiries into the General Assembly itself, to which he went as a lay member in 1791, and where he found a Shetland minister thoroughly conversant with the whole theory and practice of the growing of wool, by whom his conjectures were confirmed, and his views enlightened. He had previously laid his proposals before the Highland Society; but finding that they could not second his views from want of funds, he had resolved to institute a new society, that should have the improvement of British wool for its object. This was done accordingly at the beginning of the year; and to announce the purposes of the institution, and enlist the interest of the public in its behalf, a great inaugural meeting, called the Sheep-shearing Festival, was held at New Hall Inn, near Queensferry, on the 1st of July, 1791, at which seventy gentlemen and fifty ladies were present, attired in rich and gay costume, of which wool formed the principal ornament, while the grass plot of a neighbouring garden was covered with fleeces from different breeds and sheep of various countries; and to wind up the business of the day, this national gala was terminated with a due amount of eating, drinking, firing of guns, and dancing. It was a grand patriarchal festival of the primitive ages, with the usages and costume of the eighteenth century ingrafted upon it; and, as such, it was well calculated to pass off with *délat*, and be long remembered with pleasure by all who had shared in it or witnessed it.¹ And most diligently had the infant society already worked to deserve such a holiday; for, besides sending out inquiries into every district of the island respecting its woollen produce, and ascertaining the qualities of the different breeds of sheep, it had distributed throughout Scotland the choicest specimens of the Cheviot, and imported valuable additions from England, from France, and Italy, and even from Iceland, the East Indies, and Abyssinia.

The important objects of such an institution, and its results, suggested another, for a different but still more important department. This was the well-known Board of Agriculture. No one who has witnessed the relics of agricultural barbarism that still survive in Scotland, and more especially in England, can fail to be struck with the clamant necessity of its reform; in the one country an excess, and in the other a deficiency of means, was used to produce the same effect, from the slim wooden Scottish plough, drawn by a sheltie and held by a woman, to the huge earth-crusher of the fat fields of England, managed by a whole string of elephantine horses, superintended by two or more farm-servants. It was full time that a bold innovator should step forward; and from his past labours no one had a better right to assume such a dangerous office, or was better qualified to carry it into effect, than Sir John Sinclair. After much thought he published and circulated his plan, and on the 15th of May, 1793, he brought it, in the form of a motion, before the British parliament. The advantages to be derived from an agri-

cultural board were the following:—It would form a reservoir of agricultural intelligence, to which every inquirer might have access. By its surveys it would collect every fact or observation connected with the improvement of soil and live-stock. By its foreign correspondence it would gather and diffuse over the country a knowledge of those foreign improvements to which our untravelling yeomen and peasantry had no access. And, finally, it would be the means of obtaining a full statistical account of England, a work that had hitherto been attended with insuperable difficulties. These advantages he stated in bringing the measure before the house, and he suggested that the experiment should at least be tried for five years, with a grant from parliament of only £3000 per annum to defray its necessary expenditure, while the members of the board should give their services gratuitously. It was well that such a plan, which many stigmatized as utopian, was backed by all the influence of Mr. Pitt, without which it would probably have been unsuccessful. Perhaps it was equally fortunate that George III. was on the throne, that most agricultural of sovereigns, than whom, the poet tells us,

“A better farmer ne'er brush'd dew from lawn.”

The proposal for the establishment of the Agricultural Society was passed in the house by a majority of seventy-five, and the board was appointed and chartered by his majesty, Sir John himself being nominated its first president. As the society was composed of the highest in rank, wealth, talent, and enterprise, it commenced its operations with spirit and success. In a twelvemonth the agricultural survey of the country was completed. The waste lands and common fields were reported and marked out, an immense circulation of papers on the subject of agriculture effected, and a general interest kindled upon the subject, manifested by a new demand for every published work connected with farm and field operations. The results of this important movement constitute an essential chapter in the modern history of Britain. Such had been the zeal for manufactures and commerce, that the agricultural interests of the country, without which the former would soon lose half their value, had gradually been falling into neglect. But now, the one as well as the other was made the subject of parliamentary legislation and national interest. And even independently of the vast improvement effected upon every kind of husbandry, and increase of the means of subsistence, under the agency of this new institution, the survey of the country alone, which it had accomplished, would have been a national boon, well worth a greater amount of labour and expenditure. This estimate, upon the correctness of which the welfare and progress of a country so greatly depend, but which has always been attended with such difficulties as to make it in former times incorrect and unsatisfactory, even when persevered in to the close, was made by the society, under the directions of Sir John, so thoroughly, that at last the survey of the whole of Great Britain had been twice gone over, and was published in seventy octavo volumes.

We must now turn to a similar department in the labours of Sir John Sinclair, with which his and our own country of Scotland is more exclusively connected. It will at once be seen that we advert to his *Statistical Account of Scotland*. It was in May, 1790, the year previous to the establishment of the Society for the Improvement of British Wool, that he contemplated this great work. He was then a lay member of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. Such an account as he desired—so often

¹ The following characteristic incident is related by Miss Catherine Sinclair:—“In subsequent years Sir John, always desirous of exemplifying what energy can achieve in accelerating labour, caused one of his own sheep to be publicly shorn at a cattle show, after which the wool was spun, dyed, woven, and made into a coat, which he wore the same evening at a rural fête, which he gave to the assembled farmers and their families.”

attempted in other kingdoms, but hitherto so imperfectly—he saw could only be accomplished by hundreds of learned and talented men united in one aim, and working under the direction of one presiding mind. And where in Scotland could he find these so readily and so fully as in the General Assembly? Each of these men, too, was located in a particular district, with which he had better opportunities of being acquainted than any other resident; and thus the precise state of every parish throughout the length and breadth of Scotland could be obtained from its own minister. After having carefully deliberated his plan, Sir John, as was his wont, began the work in earnest. He drew up, in the form of a circular, a long list of queries upon the geography, natural history, productions, and population of the parish. These were followed by a copious addenda, in which every minute particular that a parish could possess was specified, and everything connected with its changes, history, and present condition. The towns were queried with the same minuteness, while the questions were adapted to the civic character and condition of each. These he transmitted to the ministers, and awaited their replies. The answers dropped in according to the readiness of the writers, and some of these were so regular and so full, that out of them he extracted and published a specimen volume, containing the account of four parishes, a copy of which he sent to the other clergymen, by way of directing and stimulating them in the work. This was in the beginning of 1791, and by the middle of the year his materials had so much increased, that he was enabled, although with great personal study and exertion, to publish, by the middle of the year, the first volume of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. Even this, though but a commencement, was a great achievement. When he first proposed his plan, men were astonished that he should undertake, and that too with the hope of success, a work which the wealth of kings, the decrees of senates, and even the authority of despots, had hitherto failed to effect; and prophecies of utter discomfiture, mingled with ridicule of the attempt, were loud and frequent from every quarter. But the volume which now appeared, so superior to every former undertaking of the kind, quickly drowned their murmur in universal approbation; and the appearance of the second, which soon followed, increased the public feeling, on account of the greater interest of the materials with which it was filled.

But let no man say that in every case the beginning is more than the half: in those bold and generous undertakings that transcend the spirit of the age the undertaker often finds that the beginning is less than nothing, from the failure and disappointment that follow. With this Sir John was soon threatened, in consequence of the shortcomings of his assistants. The most enthusiastic had been first in the field, and had already tendered their contributions: but these were few compared with the hundreds that still hung back. Many of the clergymen having, in the first instance, predicted that such a work could never go on, were unwilling to falsify their vaticinations. Many were but new entrants into their parishes, while not a few were old men, ready to leave them, and willing to spend the remainder of their days in quiet. Besides, the task of collecting information was not always pleasant in districts where such queries were suspected as the prelude of a rise of rent from their landlords or a fresh tax from government. Where an unpleasant work is extended over a whole class of men, and where the performance is wholly voluntary, we know with what adroitness each individual can find an excuse for withholding

his expected quota. This Sir John experienced when, after waiting a twelvemonth in expectation, he found, by the middle of 1792, that he was still 413 parishes short of the mark. But “despair” was not a word in his vocabulary. About the period of commencement a plan had been formed in Scotland to establish the “Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy,” and Sir John had arranged that the profits of the *Statistical Account* should be devoted to that purpose, while his application, through Lord Melville, in behalf of the society, obtained for it a royal grant of £2000, by which it was enabled to commence its operations much sooner than had been anticipated. He also obtained a recommendation of his undertaking from the General Assembly at large, while its most eminent leaders, Principal Robertson, Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Dr. Blair, and Dr. Hardie, bestirred themselves personally with their brethren in its behalf. And yet it flagged—for it was now the residue that had to be spurred into action, after the bold and brave had done their duty. Finding at last that better might not be, he appointed five statistical missionaries over as many of the more remiss districts, including the Western and Orkney Islands, and by these means twenty-five parishes were added to the list. And now all his material was in readiness; the whole of Scotland lay piled up in his study in the form of a mountain of manuscript, upon which he commenced his beloved work of arranging, classifying, and editing. But, lo! twelve whole parishes had disappeared! He had received them, as he thought, but now they were nowhere to be found. The omission of twelve such links reduced the whole chain to as many fragments. After he recovered from his consternation—and it was such as he had never experienced during the whole of this Herculean labour—he set to work anew, and gave himself no rest till the deficiency was repaired. The task was finished on the 1st of January, 1798, seven years and a half from the period of its commencement, and was comprised in twenty thick volumes octavo, to which another was subsequently added. Had he done nothing more, the toil he endured and the difficulties he had surmounted in such an undertaking, would have insured him the testimony of a well-spent life, both from contemporaries and posterity.

It would be difficult to describe the wonder and delight with which the *Statistical Account of Scotland* was hailed at its completion. How one man—and he a private individual—should have achieved such a task, and achieved it so thoroughly, appeared a miracle. His simple but admirable plan of engaging the whole national clergy in the work, the happy adaptation they had shown for it, and his untiring energy as well as skill in procuring, arranging, and adapting the materials, were each made the subject of congratulation and applause. It was not alone to Britain that these feelings were confined; it was regarded as a MODEL BOOK OF THE NATION for every country in Europe, and as such it was lauded by their most distinguished statesmen and rulers. The 900 ministers, also, by whom, with but a few exceptions, the labours of Sir John Sinclair had been so ably seconded, were not neglected; for besides the honour which this great national production reflected upon them as a body, not only in England but throughout Europe, and the royal grant by which the Society for the Sons of the Clergy had been so highly benefited, it went far, also, to procure for them that parliamentary assistance by which the many miserably small livings in the church were raised into charges of comfort and respectability. Attention was also called by the *Statistical Account* to the scanty

salaries of schoolmasters, which in many cases were improved, and to several oppressive feudal rights, which were speedily abolished.

The year 1793 will always be remembered in the mercantile history of Great Britain as a season of panic. Failures were frequent, public confidence was at a pause, and national bankruptcy apprehended even by the least despondent. To avert this emergency by the restoration of mercantile credit, Sir John Sinclair suggested to Mr. Pitt the issue of exchequer bills—and in a happy moment the suggestion was adopted. By this remedy the panic was stilled, and our great mercantile institutions restored to full activity. In the transmission of this government relief for Scotland, it was of great importance to Glasgow that its share should reach the city before a certain day; and aware of this important fact, Sir John plied the exchequer agents so urgently, that, contrary to all expectation, the money was sent within the critical period. On the same evening he repaired to the House of Commons, and meeting with Pitt, he intended to explain to him how it had been accomplished; but the premier, mistaking his drift, interrupted him with "No, no, you are too late for Glasgow; the money cannot go for two days." "It is gone already," was Sir John's laughing reply; "it went by the mail this afternoon." Glasgow can well comprehend the mercantile value of time in such a case, and the debt of gratitude it owes to the memory of Sir John Sinclair. But he was not contented with suggesting a relief merely for the crisis; his wish was to prevent a reaction, by compelling bankers to find security for their notes, and thus to limit the issue within the power of payment. To this, however, the minister would not, or perhaps we might say more correctly *could* not, accede, as he had the whole banking interest against the measure. Matters went on as before, and thus the calamity, which Sir John foresaw, and had striven to prevent, returned in 1797, when the country was compelled to impose restrictions on cash payments. Sir John once more interposed to establish the system of licensing country bankers, but was again defeated, through the selfishness of those whose interests were bound up in the old system of unlimited banking.

In looking back upon the preceding events of Sir John Sinclair's life, it is impossible not to be struck with the energy that could plan, and activity that could execute, such a variety of important undertakings. He was the Napoleon of peace—if such an epithet may be permitted—incessantly daring, doing, and succeeding, and always advancing in his career, but leaving at every step a token of his progress in the amelioration of some general evil or the extension of a public benefit. The welfare of his numerous tenantry in Caithness, the improvement of British wool, the improvement of agriculture, the drawing up of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*—all these labours pressing upon him at one and the same time, and each sufficient to bear most men to the earth, he confronted, controlled, and carried onward to a prosperous issue. And with all these duties his senatorial avocations were never remitted, so that his attendance upon the House of Commons was punctual, and his support of no little weight to the leading statesmen of the day. He had to add to his many avocations that of a soldier also. In 1794, when the wars of the French revolution were shaking Europe with a universal earthquake, and when Britain was summoned to rally against the menaces of invasion, it was necessary that every one who could raise a recruit should bring him to the muster. Sir John's influence in this way as a Highland landlord was justly calculated, and accordingly it was

proposed to him by Mr. Pitt to raise a regiment of fencibles among his tenantry for the defence of Scotland. Sir John acceded at once, and agreed to raise, not a regiment, but a battalion, and that too, not for service in Scotland only, but in England also. He accordingly raised, in the first instance, a regiment of 600 strong, consisting of the tall and powerful peasantry of Caithness, clothed in the full Highland costume, and headed by officers, nineteen of whom were above six feet high, and therefore called among their countrymen the *Thier-nan-more*, or "Great Chiefs," with himself for their colonel. This was the first regiment of the kind that served in England, such services having hitherto been confined to Scotland alone. In the spring of the following year he raised a still larger regiment, consisting of 1000 men, equally well appointed, who were destined for service in Ireland. Sir John's post was Aberdeen, in command of the encampment raised there in 1795 for the purpose of defending the town against the threatened invasion from Holland. A camp life is idle work at the best; but Sir John contrived to find in it the materials of activity, by the care which he took of the health, comfort, and efficiency of his soldiers. After studying the modes of living in his own encampment, and making these the data of his arguments, he also drew up a tract suggesting improvements in the mode of camp-living in general. The alarm of invasion passed away, but owing to the dearth by the failure of the crops in 1795, the services of Sir John and his agricultural board, in their proper capacity, were called into full exercise in the following year. He recommended in parliament the cultivation of waste and unimproved lands, and procured the passing of a bill by which linseed or oil-cake and rape-cakes were allowed to be imported in British vessels free of duty. This last appeared but a paltry permission at the time, the articles in question being little known in our husbandry; but a far different opinion now prevails, from their extensive use in British agriculture.

After this period we find Sir John fully occupied with the commercial, financial, and agricultural interests of the country, and always upon the alert for their improvement. One of his proposals was such as no mere hunter after political popularity would have ventured. From the surveys of the board of agriculture he had found that nearly 7,000,000 of acres lay as yet uncultivated in England; and he brought before parliament a "general bill of inclosure," by which these lands, held in common, should be inclosed for cultivation. But against this measure there was such an opposition among all classes, from the tourist to the tinker, that although the bill passed through the House of Commons it was thrown out by the Lords. Still, the discussion had awakened general attention, and prepared the way for private enterprise. Another subject that again occupied his attention was our national finance, upon which he had already written a work in two separate parts, to which a third was added in 1790. The whole, with many additions and improvements, was finally published in three octavo volumes, under the title of a "*History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire*, containing an Account of the Public Income and Expenditure, from the Remotest Periods recorded in History to Michaelmas, 1802." In two years this work passed through three editions, and was regarded as an authority and text-book in both houses of parliament. The income-tax, and the redemption of the land-tax, two questions at this period under discussion, also occupied Sir John's attention; and in parliament he strongly advocated the necessity of a paper instead of a metal currency.

He was also opposed to free-trade, already a great popular question; and held—as many still do with all the advantages of practical experience—that “no country can be happy at home, or powerful abroad, unless it be independent of other countries for circulation and sustenance.”

After so much labour, it is not to be wondered at that, toward the close of the century, Sir John's health began to decay. Already he had only reached the prime of manhood, and was distinguished by temperate and active habits; but he felt as if the shadows of a premature old age were coming upon him while his sun had scarcely passed the hour of noon. Most people in such cases resign themselves as to a dire necessity, and forsake the bustle of public life for the charms of an easy chair and home enjoyment. But Sir John had no idea of such selfish resignation; and though he knew as well as any man that he “owed Heaven a death,” still he also felt that “it was not due yet,” and that he was bound to work on until his Master called him home. The subject therefore of health, in relation to longevity, occupied his researches; and the result, in the first instance, was a pamphlet, which he published in 1803, entitled *Hints on Longevity*. His strict attention to the rules which he recommended in this production seems to have renewed his lease of life, so that he started upon a fresh occupancy of more than thirty years. At the close of this century, also, his reputation was so completely European, that the fellowships of societies and diplomas of universities had been sent to him from almost every country, while the general sense entertained of him abroad was thus aptly stated by Bottinger, in the *Jena Universal Literary Gazette* of June, 1801: “To whom is Scotland indebted for the attempt to purify her language? Who has exhibited the English finances in the clearest manner and on the surest basis? Who has erected for Europe a model of statistical information, and carried it the length of twenty volumes in the face of all difficulties? Who has created a centre for Great Britain's best and dearest interests—her agricultural produce? Who has provided the means of improvement for a chief staple of England—her wool? Who has toiled most earnestly for converting waste land into fertile fields and inclosing dreary commons? And who has essentially opposed the inveteracy of bad habits, and the indolence of traditional customs, even among our farmers? To whom do we owe this, and more? All this, we must own, we owe to Sir John Sinclair, and almost to him alone.”

The investigations of Sir John on the subject of health, with reference in the first case to himself, had been so beneficial to others, by the publication of his pamphlet on *Longevity*, as farther to interest his benevolence; and he resolved to continue his inquiries into the subject. The result was his *Code of Health and Longevity*—a work in four volumes octavo, which was published at Edinburgh in 1807. It comprised an enormous amount of reading, subjected to his favourite processes of analysis and arrangement. His friends were alarmed at this new adventure, and thought that after obtaining such distinction in other departments, he should have left the physicians in possession of their own field. The latter also were wroth at his entrance, and rose in a body to drive the intruder from their premises. It is a grievous offence in their eyes that one even of their own order should betray the sacred mysteries of healing to the uninitiated; but that it should be done by a knight, statesman, financier, and agriculturist, who ought therefore to know little or nothing of the matter, was a monstrous trespass, for which

no punishment could be too great. The faculty took up their pens, and few medical prescriptions could be more bitter than the criticisms they emitted as an antidote to the *Code*. But it was an excellent code notwithstanding, and the rules of health which he had gathered from every quarter were founded upon the principles of temperance and active exertion, and tested by common sense and long-confirmed experience. Not only individuals but communities were considered, and not one, but every class, could find in it directions, not merely for the recovery, but the preservation of a sound, healthy temperament. To sedentary persons of every kind, to students, and to hypochondriacs, this work was especially useful; and such, by attending to his simple directions, could not only hold despondency and dyspepsia in defiance, but retain that *mens sana in corpore sano* which is so often sacrificed as the price of their occupation.

The *Code of Longevity* was followed by another of a different description: this was the *Code of Agriculture*, which Sir John published in 1819. For this, in truth, there was much need. The Agricultural Society had done much, in multiplying, to an almost indefinite extent, the results of their inquiries and discoveries in the cultivation of the soil and improvement of live-stock; but these were scattered over such a vast extent of publication as to be inaccessible to those who most needed such instruction. Few farmers, few even of our country gentlemen “who live at home at ease,” could be expected to pursue their researches in agricultural improvements through forty-seven octavo volumes, in which the English county reports were comprised, and the thirty which contained those of Scotland, besides seven volumes more of communications from correspondents. It was necessary that the pith of this huge mass should be so concentrated as to be both accessible and intelligible to general readers. This was suggested by Sir Joseph Banks, who, in writing to Sir John Sinclair upon the subject, stated “that an account of the systems of husbandry adopted in the more improved districts of Scotland would be of the greatest advantage to the agricultural interests of the United Kingdom; and that it was incumbent upon a native of Scotland, while presiding at the board of agriculture, and possessing all the means of information which that situation afforded, to undertake the task.” All this was true—but what a task! This was fully explained by Sir John in his excuse for declining the attempt: but Sir Joseph Banks would not be thus satisfied; and he returned to the charge, declaring “that agriculture has derived, is deriving, and will derive more benefit from Scottish industry and skill, than has been accumulated since the days when Adam first wielded the spade.” Having allowed himself to be persuaded, Sir John Sinclair went to work, and not content with the voluminous materials already on hand, he visited every district noted for the cultivation both of heavy and light soils, and scattered queries in all directions among the farmers respecting their best processes of cultivation. It was no wonder that this labour occupied as long a period as the siege of Troy; so that, although it commenced in 1809, it was not finished until 1819. Three editions of the *Code of Agriculture* have since appeared; it was also published in America, and translated into the French, German, and Danish languages. One of these translators, M. Mathieu Dombasle, of Lorraine, the most distinguished agriculturist of his nation, thus correctly characterized the work in a letter to Sir John:—“I have been for some time occupied in translating your excellent *Code of Agriculture*. If anything can contribute to raise agriculture in France to the rank of a science, which we

could not till now pretend to do, it will certainly be the publication of this work in France, being the most systematic, the most concise, and, in my opinion, the most perfect which has hitherto been written in any language."

From the foregoing account, in which we have endeavoured to present the beneficent and most valuable exertions of Sir John Sinclair in an unbroken series, it must not be thought that his career was without interruption. Had he escaped, indeed, the obloquy and opposition that have ever requited the great benefactors of mankind, he would have formed a singular exception to that universal rule which has prevailed from the days of Triptolemus to our own. His first annoyance was from Pitt himself, once his attached friend, but finally alienated from him upon certain great political questions of the day. It was strange that this should react upon him as president of the agricultural board, from which all political resentments ought to have been excluded. But his sentiments upon such questions as the Warren Hastings trial, the government of Ireland, and the Westminster scrutiny, were destined to unseat him from a chair which he had so nobly filled, and that too of a society that owed its very existence to himself. And where was another to be found that could occupy his room? But upon such a question political resentment seldom condescends to pause; and after he had been for five years chairman of the board of agriculture, another was proposed, and chosen by a majority of one. This new election was made in favour of Lord Sommerville, who assumed the appointment with reluctance, while the public were indignant at the movement. Thus matters continued for eight years, when Sir John was restored to his proper office—an unsalaried office, that not only involved much labour, but personal expense to boot. This Sir John felt in weary days of anxiety and toil, and such a diminution of his private fortune, that in 1813 he was obliged to resign it. Two years before this took place he was appointed cashier of excise for Scotland, in consequence of which he resigned his seat in parliament. He had previously, in 1810, been raised to the rank of a privy-councillor. On his resignation of the presidency of the board of agriculture, an event justly deemed of the highest national importance, in consequence of his great public services during forty years, many a grateful survey of his past life was made, and the worth by which it had been distinguished was affectionately commemorated.

Although the remainder of Sir John Sinclair's life was equally distinguished by active enterprising usefulness, our limits permit nothing more than a hasty summary of its chief events. In 1814 he made an excursion to the Netherlands, being his fourth visit to the Continent, and on this occasion his object was to examine the comparative prices of grain in Great Britain and the continental countries, and ascertain the best means of putting a stop to inequality of price for the future. He then passed over to Holland, to investigate the management of the Dutch dairies, so superior in their produce to those of other countries. The escape of Napoleon from Elba interrupted his farther progress, and on returning to England he published his *Hints on the Agricultural State of the Netherlands compared with that of Great Britain*; in which he explained at full the improvements of foreign agriculture, for the imitation of British farmers. After the battle of Waterloo Sir John revisited Holland and the Netherlands, and afterwards France, where he made a close agricultural inspection of its provinces; but the minute subdivision of landed property in that country gave him

little hope of the improvement of French agriculture. On his return to England he saw, with much anxiety, the sudden recoil which peace had produced in our trade, commerce, and agriculture, and carefully sought for a remedy. The result of his speculations was a pamphlet, which he published in October, 1815, entitled "*Thoughts on the Agricultural and Financial State of the Country, and on the Means of Rescuing the Landed Farming Interests from their Present Depressed State.*" These evils he traced to the return of peace prices of produce, while war taxes were continued; and the remedy he proposed was an increase in the currency, a bounty on exportation, and public loans for the benefit of landlord and tenant.

In passing on to 1819 we find Sir John Sinclair as busy as ever, and employed in the way most congenial to his intellectual character. This was the task of code-making, which he was anxious to apply to matters still more important than those that had hitherto been subjected to his industry. He contemplated a great work, to be entitled *A Code or Digest of Religion*, in which the mind of the reader was to be led, step by step, from the first simple principles of natural religion, to the last and most profound of revelation. This plan, of which he sketched the first portion, and printed for private distribution among his friends, he was obliged to lay aside, in consequence of the more secular public questions that were daily growing and pressing upon his notice. His theory, however, was afterwards realized in part by other agencies in the *Bridgewater Treatises*. Another printed paper which he circulated among his friends, was *On the Superior Advantages of the Codean System of Knowledge*. It was his wish that every department of learning, science, and literature, hitherto spread over such a boundless field, and so much beyond the reach of common minds, should be collected, condensed, and simplified for the purposes of general instruction—and for this purpose to associate the learned and talented of every country "for the collection and diffusion of useful knowledge." We know how ably this plan was afterwards taken up, and realized by a mind well fitted for such a task. From these theories for the elevation of human character, Sir John again turned to the improvement of sheep and oxen, of which he had never lost sight since his great sheep-shearing festival of 1792; and in 1821 he proposed the plan of sheep and cattle shows to the Highland Society. This time the proposal was favourably received, and forthwith put into practice, so that the first annual show of this society was held in Edinburgh at the close of 1822, while the prizes, appointed according to his suggestion, for the best specimens of sheep, cattle, breeding-stocks, seeds, and agricultural implements, excited a spirit of ardent industrious competition over the whole kingdom. So great a machinery having thus received such an impetus as secured the easy continuance of its motion, Sir John returned to the other manifold subjects of his solicitude, and with such diligence, that after the year 1821 thirty pamphlets and tracts issued from his pen, besides many others whose authorship has not been traced. These, as might be expected, were chiefly connected with finance and agriculture. The proof-sheet of the last of these tracts, bearing the date of 1835, contains additions and corrections written in his own hand, but so tremulous and indistinct as to be almost illegible. The brain that had never rested, the hand that never was folded in idleness, the heart that had never been weary of well-doing, were all alike to be stilled; and these were the tokens of the final effort; the last throb, after which

all was to be the wondrous change of motionless silence and repose.

The last illness of Sir John occurred on the 15th of December, 1835, when he was in the eighty-second year of his age. Its approach was sudden, as only the day previous he had taken a long drive, and conversed cheerfully with his friends. It was the rapid collapse of a healthy old age, in which our patriarchs are frequently removed from the world without sickness or suffering, rather than a regularly formed disease; and in this way Sir John lingered for a few days, and expired on the 21st.

Sir John Sinclair was twice married. By his first wife, as has been already mentioned, he had two daughters. By his second marriage, in 1788, to Diana, daughter of Alexander Lord Macdonald, he had thirteen children, of whom seven were sons. He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Sir George Sinclair, the late member for the shire of Caithness.

SKINNER, REV. JOHN, the well-known author of several popular poems, and of an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, was born at Balfour, in the parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire, October 3, 1721. His father was schoolmaster of that parish, and his mother was the widow of Donald Farquharson, Esq., of Balfour. Having in boyhood displayed many marks of talent, he was placed at thirteen years of age in Marischal College, Aberdeen, where his superior scholarship obtained for him a considerable bursary. After completing his academical education, he became assistant to the schoolmaster of Kenmay, and subsequently to the same official at Monymusk, where he was so fortunate as to gain the friendship of the lady of Sir Archibald Grant. The library at Monymusk House, consisting of several thousands of well-selected works, in every department of literature, was placed by Lady Grant at his command, and afforded him better means of intellectual improvement than he could have hoped for in any other situation. He now found reason to forsake the Presbyterian Establishment, in which he had been reared, and to adopt the principles of the Scottish Episcopal Church, of which he was destined to be so distinguished an ornament. After spending a short time in Shetland as tutor to the son of Mr. Sinclair of Scalloway, and marrying the daughter of Mr. Hunter, the only Episcopal clergyman in that remote region, he commenced his studies for the church; and, having been ordained by Bishop Dunbar of Peterhead, was appointed, in November, 1742, to the charge of the congregation at Longside, over which he presided for sixty-five years, probably without a wish to "change his place." Of the severities with which the Episcopal clergy were visited after the rebellion of 1745 Mr. Skinner bore his full share. His chapel was one of those which were burned by the ruthless soldiers of Cumberland. After that period, in order to evade an abominable statute, he officiated to his own family within his own house, while the people stood without, and listened through the open windows. Nevertheless, he fell under the ban of the government for having officiated to more than four persons, and was confined for that offence in Aberdeen jail, from May 26th to November 26th, 1753. This was the more hard, as Mr. Skinner was by no means a partisan of the Stuart family.

Mr. Skinner's first publication was a pamphlet, entitled *A Preservative against Presbytery*, which he published in 1746, to reassure the minds of his people under the alarming apprehension of the total extirpation of Scottish Episcopacy. In 1757 he published at London a *Dissertation on Job's Prophecy*,

which received the high approbation of Bishop Sherlock. In 1767 he published a pamphlet, vindicating his church against the aspersions of Mr. Sieve-wright of Brechin. The life of this good and ingenious man passed on in humble usefulness, cheered by study and by the cultivation of the domestic affections. His home was a small cottage at Lins-hart, near Longside, consisting simply of a kitchen and parlour, the whole appearance of which was, in the highest degree, primitive. Here, upon an income resembling that of Goldsmith's parson, he reared a large family, the eldest of whom he had the satisfaction to see become his own bishop long before his decease. His profound biblical and theological knowledge is evinced by his various works, as collected into two volumes, and published by his family. The livelier graces of his genius are shown in his familiar songs—"Tullochgorum;" "The Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn;" "O why should Old Age so much wound us, O?" &c. In 1788 he published his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, in which an ample account is given of the affairs of the Episcopal church from the time of the Reformation till its ministers at length consented, on the death of Charles Stuart, to acknowledge the existing dynasty. This work, consisting of two volumes octavo, is dedicated *Ad Filium et Episcopum*, to his son and bishop. It may be remarked that he wrote Latin, both in prose and verse, with remarkable purity.

In 1799 Mr. Skinner sustained a heavy loss in the death of Mrs. Skinner, who for nearly fifty-eight years had been his affectionate partner in the world's warfare. On this occasion he evinced the poignancy of his grief, and the depth of the attachment with which he clung to the remembrance of her, in some beautiful Latin lines, both tenderly descriptive of the qualities which she possessed, and, at the same time, mournfully expressive of the desolation which her departure had caused. Till the year 1807 the even tenor of the old man's course was unbroken by any other event of importance. In the spring of that year, however, the scarcely healed wound in his heart was opened by the death of his daughter-in-law, who expired at Aberdeen, after a very short but severe illness. Each by a widowed hearth, the father and son were now mutually anxious that what remained of the days of the former should be spent together. It was accordingly resolved that he should remove from Lins-hart, and take up his abode with the bishop and his bereaved family. To meet him, his grandson, the Rev. John Skinner, minister at Forfar, afterwards Dean of Dunblane, repaired, with all his offspring, to Aberdeen. This was in unison with a wish which himself had expressed. To use his own affecting language, it was his desire to see once more his children's grand-children, and peace upon Israel.

On the 4th of June he bade adieu to Lins-hart for ever. We may easily conceive the profound sorrow which, on either side, accompanied his separation from a flock among whom he had ministered for sixty-five years. He had baptized them all; and there was not one among them who did not look up to him as a father. After his arrival in Aberdeen, he was, for a week or ten days, in the enjoyment of his usual health. Surrounded by his numerous friends, he took a lively interest in the common topics of conversation; sometimes amusing them with old stories, and retailing to them anecdotes of men and things belonging to a past generation. Twelve days after his arrival he was taken ill at the dinner-table, and almost immediately expired. He was buried in the churchyard of Longside, where his congregation have erected a monument to his

memory. On a handsome tablet of statuary marble is to be seen the simple but faithful record of his talents, his acquirements, and his virtues.

SMELLIE, WILLIAM, an eminent naturalist and useful miscellaneous writer, was born in Edinburgh about the year 1740, being the son of Mr. Alexander Smellie, a builder, who belonged to the stricter order of Presbyterians, and was the constructor of the martyrs' tomb in the Grayfriars' Churchyard. William Smellie received the rudiments of his education at the parish school of Duddingston, and, though destined for a handicraft profession, was afterwards for some time at the high-school of Edinburgh. His father at first wished to apprentice him to a stay-maker, but the business of a printer was ultimately preferred, and he was indentured to Messrs. Hamilton, Balfour, and Neil, then eminent professors of that art in the Scottish capital. While yet very young, he had the misfortune to lose his father; but the exemplary conduct of the young printer soon placed him above the necessity of depending upon others for his subsistence. Every leisure moment was devoted to study or literary pursuits; and only a few years of his apprenticeship had elapsed when he was appointed by his employers to the responsible office of corrector of the press, with a weekly allowance of ten shillings, instead of his stipulated wages of three shillings. Instead of wasting his earnings on frivolity or dissipation, young Smellie took the opportunity of attending a regular course of the university classes. The result of this was soon evidenced by his producing an edition of *Terence*, in duodecimo, wholly set up and corrected by himself; which Harwood, the philologist, declares to be "an immaculate edition;" and which gained to his masters an honorary prize, offered by the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, for the best edition of a Latin classic. Upon the expiry of his indentures, Mr. Smellie, then only nineteen years of age, accepted employment from Messrs. Murray and Cochrane, printers in Edinburgh, as corrector of their press, and conductor of the *Scots Magazine*, a work published by them, and which, begun in 1739, kept a conspicuous station in the literary world for a long time. For these duties, besides setting types and keeping accounts "in cases of hurry," Mr. Smellie at first received the sum of sixteen shillings per week. Notwithstanding, however, his severe professional labours, he still prosecuted his classical studies with great ardour; and nothing perhaps can better illustrate the self-tasking nature of Mr. Smellie's mind than the fact that he instructed himself in the Hebrew language, solely that he might be thereby fitted for superintending the printing of a grammar of that tongue, then about to be published by Professor Robertson. It appears that about this time he was strongly disposed to renounce his mechanical employment, and adopt one of the learned professions, having already almost fitted himself either for that of medicine or theology. But prudential motives, induced by the certainty of a fixed source of emolument, determined him to adhere to the business of a printer, which he did throughout life. It is here worthy of notice, that, during his engagement with Messrs. Murray and Cochrane, a dispute having arisen between the masters and journeymen printers of Edinburgh respecting the proper mode of calculating the value of manual labour by the latter, Mr. Smellie devised a plan for regulating the prices of setting up types, on fixed principles, being in proportion to the number of letters, of differently sized types, in a certain space. This useful plan has since been almost universally adopted throughout the kingdom.

Mr. Smellie continued in the employment of the above gentlemen for six years; that is to say, until the year 1765, during which time we find him steadily advancing himself in life, extending his acquaintance amongst the *literati* of the day, and improving himself by every means within his reach. One plan for the latter purpose which he adopted was that of entering largely into an epistolary correspondence with his acquaintances, with the view of giving him freedom and facility in committing his thoughts to paper. He likewise co-operated with a number of young men of similar habits and pursuits to his own in establishing a weekly club, which they termed the Newtonian Society, and which included the names of President Blair, Dr. Hunter, Dr. Blacklock, Dr. Buchan (author of the *Domestic Medicine*), Dr. Adam, and many others who afterwards became celebrated in their respective walks in life. After the discontinuance of this society, another was instituted in 1778, called the Newtonian Club, of which Mr. Smellie was unanimously chosen secretary. This latter institution comprised the names of Dr. Duncan, Dr. Gregory, Dugald Stewart, Professor Russell, Dr. Wardrope—in short, the whole senatus of the university, with many other illustrious individuals. Mr. Smellie had a decided preference for the study of natural history, especially of botany, and about the year 1760 collected an extensive *Hortus Sicus* from the fields around Edinburgh, which he afterwards presented to Dr. Hope, professor of botany in the university. He likewise in the same year gained the honorary gold medal given by the professor for the best botanical dissertation; and soon afterwards wrote various other discourses on vegetation, generation, &c., all of which were subsequently published in a large work solely written by himself, entitled the *Philosophy of Natural History*. He was besides no mean chemist, at a time when chemistry had scarcely been reduced to a science, and was generally held as alike visionary and vain. Upon the publication of the essays of the celebrated David Hume, printed by Mr. Smellie, an extended correspondence took place between them, in which the latter contested, with great logical force and acumen, many of the heterodox doctrines advanced by the former, particularly that respecting the credibility of miracles. Mr. Smellie afterwards drew up, in a masterly manner, an abstract of the arguments for and against that principle of our religious faith, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and which was published in the first edition of that work.

Mr. Smellie lived in terms of great intimacy with Dr. William Buchan, author of the well-known *Domestic Medicine*. That work passed through the press in Messrs. Murray and Cochrane's printing-office, and entirely under Mr. Smellie's superintendence, Dr. Buchan himself then residing in England. It is well ascertained that Mr. Smellie contributed materially, both by his medical and philological knowledge, to the value and celebrity of the publication; and from the fact, indeed, of his having rewritten the whole of it for the printers, he was very generally considered at the time, in Edinburgh, to be the sole author of it. The work has now naturally become almost obsolete from the rapid progress in the medical and other sciences therewith connected since its composition; but the fact of its having passed through between twenty and thirty editions, ere superseded, fully establishes the claim of the author, or rather authors, to a reputation of no mean note. It appears, by their correspondence, that Dr. Buchan was particularly anxious that Mr. Smellie should qualify himself as M.D., and share his for-

tunes in England, in the capacity of assistant; but, with his constitutional prudence, the latter declined the invitation. The correspondence, however, induced him to give a marked attention to the practice and theory of medicine, as well as to stimulate him in his favourite study of natural history; thus qualifying himself for the excellent translation of Buffon, which he subsequently executed.

In 1763, being then only twenty-three years of age, Mr. Smellie married a Miss Robertson, who was very respectably connected. By this marriage he had thirteen children, many of whom he lost by death. In 1765, upon the conclusion of his engagement with Messrs. Murray and Cochrane, he commenced business as a master printer, in conjunction with a Mr. Auld, Mr. Smellie's pecuniary proportion of the copartnership being advanced for him by Dr. Hope and Dr. Fergusson, professors in the university. In 1767 a new copartnership was formed by the introduction of Mr. Balfour, bookseller, who brought along with him the property of a newspaper called the *Weekly Journal*, which had for a considerable time previously been established. The management of the latter was solely intrusted to Mr. Smellie; but as it happened to be a losing concern, he shortly afterwards insisted on its discontinuance. This led to disputes which finally terminated in a dissolution of the copartnership in 1771; when a new contract was entered into between Mr. Balfour and Mr. Smellie only. About the same time he appears to have been on terms with the eminent Mr. William Strahan, to undertake the management of the vast printing concern carried on by him in London; but from some cause not clearly explained the treaty was broken off. It is worthy of mention, as showing the respect in which Mr. Smellie was at this time held, that upon his entering on this new copartnership, Lord Kames became security for a bank credit in favour of the younger printer to the amount of £300. His lordship appears to have had a particular regard for Mr. Smellie, and at his suggestion the latter commenced the composition of a series of lectures on the philosophy of natural history. About the same time the professorship of natural history in the Edinburgh university fell vacant, and great exertions were made to procure Mr. Smellie's appointment to it; but the political interest of his rival, Dr. Walker, prevailed, and was even strong enough to prevent him from delivering his lectures publicly, although the Antiquarian Society, of whose museum he was keeper, offered him the use of their hall for that purpose.

Mr. Smellie's acquaintance with Lord Kames originated in his venturing to send, anonymously however, some animadversions on his lordship's *Elements of Criticism*, whilst that work was going through the press of Messrs. Murray and Cochrane in 1764. Lord Kames replied by thanking the young critic, and requesting him to reveal himself. The result was a strict and intimate friendship during their lives; Lord Kames uniformly submitting all his subsequent works to the critical judgment of Mr. Smellie, who, after the death of Lord Kames, wrote the life of his illustrious friend for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in the third edition of which it appeared in 1800.

Amongst Mr. Smellie's many literary undertakings one of the earliest was the compilation and entire management of the first edition of the work just named, which began to appear in numbers at Edinburgh in 1771, and was completed in three volumes in quarto. The plan and all the principal articles were devised and written or compiled by him, and he prepared and superintended the whole of that work, for which he only received the sum of £200 from its proprietors, Mr. Andrew Bell, engraver,

and Mr. Colin Macfarquhar, printer. Had Mr. Smellie adhered to this literary project there is little doubt that he would thereby ultimately have realized an ample fortune, as both the proprietors died in great affluence, arising solely from the labours of Mr. Smellie in the original construction of the work.

Unfortunately, however, when applied to by the proprietors to undertake the second edition, he fastidiously refused to meddle with it on account of their desiring to introduce a plan of biography into it, which Mr. Smellie imagined would detract from its dignity as a dictionary of arts and sciences.

It will, we should think, be interesting to our readers to learn something of the early history of a work which has latterly swelled out into such bulk and importance. Of the original edition—the entire work, as we have said, of Mr. Smellie—it is not exactly known how many copies were thrown off. The second edition, which consisted of 1500 copies, extended to ten volumes quarto. A third edition in eighteen volumes was commenced in 1786, and extended to 10,000 copies. By this edition the proprietors are said to have netted £42,000 of clear profit, besides being paid for their respective work as tradesmen—the one as printer, and the other as engraver. The fourth edition extended to twenty quarto volumes, and 3500 copies. In the fifth and sixth editions only part of the work was printed anew; and to these a supplement in six volumes was added by Mr. Archibald Constable, after the property of the work had fallen into his hands. An eighth edition, under the editorship of Professor Traill, has been lately finished.

In the year 1773 Mr. Smellie, in conjunction with Dr. Gilbert Stuart, commenced a new monthly publication, the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, which was conducted for some years with great spirit and talent, but was dropped in 1776 after the production of forty-seven numbers, forming five octavo volumes. Its downfall was attributed to a continued series of harsh and wanton attacks from the pen of Dr. Stuart on the writings of Lord Monboddo, which disgusted the public mind. Edinburgh did not at that time afford such ample scope for literary stricture as at the present day. Lord Monboddo, nevertheless, continued to be warmly attached to Mr. Smellie, and they lived on terms of the strictest intimacy till his lordship's death.

In the year 1780, on the suggestion of the Earl of Buchan, a society for collecting and investigating the antiquities of Scotland was instituted at Edinburgh. Of this society Mr. Smellie was personally invited by his lordship to become a member; which he did, and was appointed printer of their journals and transactions. Next year he was elected keeper of their museum of natural history; and in 1793 he was elected secretary, which office he held till his death.

It is not, we believe, generally known, that with Mr. Smellie originated that admirable scheme of a statistical account of all the parishes of Scotland, which was afterwards brought to maturity by Sir John Sinclair. At the desire of the Antiquarian Society, Mr. Smellie, in 1781, drew up a regular plan of the undertaking, which was printed and circulated; but the individuals to whom the circular was addressed do not seem to have understood the important nature of the application, and only a very few complied with the directions given in it.

In 1780 Mr. Smellie commenced the publication of his *Translation of Buffon's Natural History*; a work which has ever stood deservedly high in the opinion of naturalists, being illustrated with numerous notes and illustrations of the French author,

besides a considerable number of new observations. It is worthy of notice that Mr. Smellie's knowledge of the French tongue, which is acknowledged to have been profound, was entirely acquired by himself, without the aid of a master; and it is a curious fact, that of a language he so thoroughly understood, he could scarcely pronounce one word. This fact gave unbounded surprise to a friend of Buffon, who came to Edinburgh on a visit, and waited on Mr. Smellie. The stranger noted it down as one of the greatest wonders of his travels, intending, he said, to astonish the French naturalist by relating it to him. It is perhaps the best of all tests as regards the merits of Mr. Smellie's translation, that Buffon himself was highly pleased with it, and even requested him to translate some of his other works; but this, from prudent motives, Mr. Smellie declined.

In the year 1780 the partnership between Mr. Smellie and Mr. Balfour was dissolved, when the former entered into partnership with Mr. William Creech, bookseller. This connection continued to the end of 1789, when Mr. Smellie commenced and ever afterwards carried on business entirely on his own account.

In 1790 Mr. Smellie published the first volume of his *Philosophy of Natural History*, the origin of which has been already noticed. The copyright was at the same time purchased by Mr. Elliot, bookseller, Edinburgh, for 1000 guineas. The second and concluding volume was not published until four years after his death. Besides this and the other larger works which we have before adverted to, as the production of Mr. Smellie, we have seen a list of upwards of forty miscellaneous essays, upon almost all subjects—from politics to poetry, from optics to divinity—which he composed at different times, and under various circumstances; and from his indefatigable industry and wonderful facility of writing, it is supposed that these are scarcely a moiety of his literary effusions.

Mr. Smellie's acquaintance with Robert Burns commenced in the year 1787, upon the occasion of the poet's coming to Edinburgh to publish his poems, which were printed by Mr. Smellie. From their similarly social dispositions and mutual relish of each other's wit, an immediate and permanent intimacy took place betwixt them. After Burns' departure from Edinburgh they corresponded frequently; but the greater part of the communications were afterwards destroyed by Mr. Smellie, equally, perhaps, on the bard's account and his own. Of the high opinion which the latter entertained, however, of his friend—and it is well known how fastidious was his taste on the score of talent, honesty, and real friendship amongst his fellow-creatures—we have sufficient evidence in the poetical sketch published in the works of Burns, commencing—

———“To Crochallan came
The old cock'd hat, the brown surtout, the same,” &c.

Mr. Smellie expired, after a long illness, on the 24th June, 1795, in his fifty-fifth year; and we regret to add his name to the long list of men of genius who have terminated a career of labour, anxiety, and usefulness, amid the pressure of pecuniary difficulties. Some years after his death a small volume was published under the care of his son, containing memoirs of three distinguished men with whom he had been acquainted—Lord Kames, Dr. John Gregory, and Mr. David Hume: it formed part of a more extended design which Mr. Smellie had sketched out, but found not time to execute. A memoir of Mr. Smellie himself was published by Mr. Robert Kerr,

in two volumes octavo; a work, perhaps, disproportioned to the subject, but containing many curious anecdotes.

SMETON, THOMAS, an eminent clergyman of the sixteenth century, was born at the little village of Gask, near Perth, about 1536. Nothing satisfactory seems to be known respecting his parentage: Wodrow conjectures it to have been mean, but upon no better ground than the fact of his having been born at an obscure place. It is certain, however, that he enjoyed the advantages of the best instructors that his country then afforded. He received his elementary education at the celebrated school of Perth, then taught by Mr. A. Simson, and no less famous under some of its subsequent masters. Smeton is believed to have had, as his schoolfellows, James Lawson and Alexander Arbuthnot, both of whom afterwards acted a conspicuous part in the ecclesiastical transactions of their country. The thorough knowledge of the Latin language displayed by our author leaves little room to doubt that he profited by the honourable emulation which was doubtless excited among such scholars. At the age of seventeen (1553) he was incorporated a student in St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews; and here he had the satisfaction of joining Arbuthnot, who had entered St. Mary's two years earlier.¹ Smeton is believed to have studied philosophy under the provost of his college, Mr. William Cranstoun; but how far he prosecuted his studies none of his biographers mention. He ultimately became one of the regents in the college, and continued in that situation till the doctrines of the Reformation began to be warmly agitated in the university. When the Protestant party at length gained the ascendancy, Smeton, still zealously attached to the Popish system, left his native country, and resided for many years with his continental brethren. The history of his life for about twenty years is most fortunately preserved, as related by himself, in the *Diary* of Mr. James Melville; a work, as we have already mentioned (see article JAMES MELVILLE), of so interesting a character, that we feel gratified by every opportunity of quoting from it. Luckily the narrative, while it is perfectly distinct, is so much condensed as to be completely suited to our limits; and we therefore make no apology for its introduction.

“At the reformation of religion, Mr. Smeton, being put from the auld college of S. Andros, past to France, whare in Paris he thought mikle vpon the trew way of saluation; and be dealling of diwers of his acquaintance, namlie, Mr. Thomas Matteland, a young gentilman of guid literature and knowlage in the treuthe of religion, was brought to ken and be inclynde to the best way: whar also he was acquentit with my vncle, Mr. Andro and Mr. Gilbert Moncreiff. Yit lothe to alter his mynd wherin he was brought vpe, and fand himself sum tyme fullie perswadit in the mater of his fathe and saluation. He thought he wald leaue na thing vntryed and esseyit pertening herto; and, vnderstanding that the ordour of the jesuists was maist lerned, halie, and exquisit in the papistrie, he resolut to enter in thair ordour during the yeirs of probation; at the end wharof, giff he fand himself satted in his auld fathe, he wald continow a jesuist; and, giff he fand nocht amangs tham that might remoue all the douttes he was cast into, it was bot folie to seik fardar, he wald yeild vnto that light that God be the earnest delling of his lowing frinds and companions haid enterit him into. And sa he enterit in the Jesuists

¹ Records of the University of St Andrews.

college at Paris, whar he fand Mr. Edmont Hay, a verie lowing frind, to whom he communicat all his mynd. Mr. Edmont, seing him worthie to be win to tham, and giffen to lerning and light, directes him to Rome; and be the way he cam to Geneu, whar Mr. Andro Meluill and Mr. Gilbert Moncreiff being for the tyme, he communicat with tham his purpose, and cravit thair prayers. Of his purpose they could gie na guid warand; but thair prayers they promissit hartlie. Sa making na stey ther, he past fordward to Rome, whar he was receavit in the Jesuist's collage gladlie. In the quihilk collage was a father, hauldin of best lerning and prudence, wha was ordeanit to trauell with sic as wer deteinit in pressone for religion, to convert tham: of him he cravit that he might accompanie him at sic tymes when he went to deal with these presoners, quihilk was granted to him. Be the way as they cam from the presoners to the collage, quihilk was neir a myle, Mr. Thomas wald tak the argument of the presoners, and mentein it against the jesuist, for reasoning's cause, and indeid to be resolut; and the more he enisisted he fand the treuthe the strangar, and the jesuist's answers never to satisfie him. This way he continowit about a yeir and a half in Rome, till at last he becam suspitiu, and therfor was remitted back to Paris throw all the collages of the jesuists be the way, in all the quihilks he endeworit mair and mair to haiff his douttes resolut, bot fand himself ay fordar and fordar confirmid in the veritie. Coming to Paris again, he abaid ther a space verie lowingly interteined be Mr. Edmont; till at last he could nocht bot discover himself to Mr. Edmont, to whom he says he was als mikle behauldin as to anie man in the warld; for, nochtwithstanding that he perceavit his mynd turned away from thair ourdour and religion, yit he ceased nocht to counsall him frindlie and fatherlie, and suffered him to want na thing. And being a verie wyse man, he thinks to keipe Mr. Thomas quyet, and nocht to suffer him to kythe an aduersar against them. Perceaving, therfor, the young man giffen to his buik, he giffes him this counsall, to go to a quyet collage, situat in a welthie and pleasant part in Lorain, whair he sould haiff na thing to do, but attend vpon his buiks; whair he sould haiff all the antient doctors, and sic buiks as yie [he] pleisit to reid; he sould leak na necessaris; thair he sould keip him quyet, till God wrought fordar with him, vtherwayes he wald cast himself in grait danger. Thair was na thing that could allure Mr. Thomas mair nor this, and therfor he resolved to follow his counsall; and, taking jorney, went towards Lorain, whair be the way the Lord leyes his hand vpon him, and visites him with an extream fever, casting him in vttermaist pean and perplexitie of body and mynd. Thair he focht a maist strang and ferfull battelle in his conscience: bot God at last prevealling, he determines to schaw himself, abandone that damnable societie, and vtter, in plean professon, the treuthe of God, and his enemies' falsheids, hypocrisie, and craft. Sa coming bak to Paris again, he takes his leiuie of Mr. Edmont, wha yit, nochtwithstanding, kythes na thing bot lowing frindschipe to him; and at his parting, giffes thrie counsalls:—1. To reid and studie the antient doctors of the kirk, and nocht to trow the ministers. 2. To go ham to his awin country. And, thridly, To marie a wyff.—From that he manifested himself amangs the professors of religion, till the tyme of the massacre, quihilk schortlie ensewit; at the quihilk, being narrowlie

sought, he cam to the Engliss ambassador, Mr. Secretarie Walsingham, in whase house, lyand at Paris for the tyme, as in a comoun girthe, he, with manie ma, war seaff. With whome also he cam to Eeingland soone efter, whar he remeaned schoolmaister at Colchester, till his coming to Scotland.

"At his coming to Scotland he was gladlie content to be in companie with my vnclie, Mr. Andro [Melville], and sa agreit to be minister at Pasley, in place of Mr. Andro Pulwart, wha enterit to the subdeanrie of Glasgw, when Mr. David Cuninghame was bishopit in Aberdein. A little efter his placing, Mr. Andro, principall of the collage, put in his hand Mr. Archibald Hamiltone's apostats' buik, *De Confusione Calviniane Secte apud Scotos*; and efter conference theranent, movit him to mak answer to the sam, quihilk was published in print the yeir following, to the grit contentment of all the godlie and lernit. Mr. Thomas was verie wacryff and peanfull, and skarslie tuk tyme to refreche nature. I haiff sein him oft find fault with lang denners and suppers at general assemblies; and when vthers wer therat, he wald abstain, and be about the penning of things (wherin he excellit, bathe in langage and form of letter), and yit was nocht rustic nor auster, bot sweit and affable in companie, with a modest and naive grautie; verie frugal in fude and reymtent; and walked maist on fuf, whom I was verie glad to accompanie, whylis to Sterling, and now and then to his kirk, for my instruction and comfort. He louit me exceiding weill, and wald at parting thrust my head into his bosom, and kis me.

"He being weill acquainted with the practizes of papists, namelie, jesuists, and their deuyces for subuerting the kirk of Scotland, bathe publiclie and privatlie, ceasit nocht to cry and warn ministers and schollars to be diligent vpon ther charges and buiks, to studie the controuersies, and to tak head they neglected nocht the tyme, for ther wald be a strang vnseatt of Papists. Also, he was careful to know the religion and affection of noble men, insinuating him in thair companie, in a wyse and graue maner; and warning tham to be war of euill companie, and nocht to send thair berns to dangerus partes. And, finalie, Mr. Andro and he marvelouslie conspyring in purposes and iudgments, war the first motioners of an anti-seminarie to be erected in St. Andros to the jesuist seminaries, for the course of theologie, and cessit never at assemblies and court, till that wark was begun and sett fordward."

There perhaps never was a period more calculated to bring forth the talents of our countrymen, than that of the Reformation. Accordingly, Mr. Smeton was soon required by his brethren to take an active part in the more public transactions of the church. In October, 1578, he was nominated one of the assessors to the moderator of the General Assembly; an appointment conferred at that time upon the most learned and judicious of the members. But his talents were considered as fitting him for the performance of functions still more important. He was chosen moderator of the next assembly, which met in July, 1579, and which was called to the consideration of many important questions. Among these may be mentioned the finishing of the first Scottish edition of the Bible. In 1580 he became the opponent of Nicol Burn, a professor of philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, who had turned Papist.² Of this controversy Dr. Mackenzie promised an account in his *Life of Burn*, but his biographical work never reached that point.

James Melville has alluded, in the passage we have

¹ According to Dempster, Smeton taught humanity in the university of Paris, and afterwards in the college of Clermont, with great applause. (See M'Crie's *Melville*, 2d. edit. p. 380, note.)

² Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii.

quoted from his *Diary*, to the anxiety of his uncle and Smeton that the young noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland should be educated at home, and to the measures which they proposed for the attainment of that object. They had at length the satisfaction of seeing their new constitution of the university of St. Andrews approved by the church and ratified by parliament. Melville was chosen principal of St. Mary's, or the New College, and after much opposition, arising, however, from no other motive than a conviction of his usefulness as minister of Paisley, Smeton was appointed his successor by letters under the privy-seal, dated the 3d of January, 1580. Most unfortunately the records of the university of Glasgow are almost wholly lost for the period during which this excellent man presided over it. His duties, however, are known to have been of no light description; he was the sole professor of divinity, and had also the charge of the religious instruction of the parish of Govan. Besides the mere literary department, as it may be termed, of his duties, he had the general superintendence of the university, in which was included the by no means pleasant office of inflicting corporal punishment on unruly boys. Almost equally little has been preserved respecting Smeton's share in the ecclesiastical transactions during the remainder of his life. He was chosen moderator of the General Assembly held in April, 1583. We have already alluded in the life of Mr. ROBERT PONT to the removal of that learned man for a short period to St. Andrews, and to the reasons which obliged him to relinquish that charge. Andrew Melville was anxious that his place should be supplied by Smeton, and, it is not improbable, intended to adopt some measures for bringing the state of that town under the notice of this Assembly. But it was the policy of the prior and his dependants to frustrate the settlement, whatever might be the merits of the intended minister, that they might spend in extravagance or debauchery the funds which were destined for his support. The king, therefore, probably instigated by that ecclesiastic (the Earl of March), but under the specious pretext of a fatherly care over the university of Glasgow, forbade the Assembly to "meddle with the removing of any of the members thereof, and especially of the principal." Smeton's old schoolfellow, Arbutnot, now principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was soon afterwards chosen by the kirk-session of St. Andrews; but this election produced no more favourable result.

Principal Smeton attended the following General Assembly (October, 1583), and was again employed in some of its most important business. But the course of honour and usefulness on which he had now entered was destined to be of very short duration. Soon after his return to Glasgow he was seized with a high fever, and died, after only eight days' illness, on the 13th of December, 1583. About six weeks earlier his friend Arbutnot, with whom he had been so long and intimately connected, had been cut off in his forty-sixth year, and thus was the country at once bereaved of two of its greatest lights at a period of no common difficulty. That was indeed "a dark and heavie wintar to the kirk of Scotland."

The habits and acquirements of Smeton must have peculiarly adapted him for the charge of a literary, and, more particularly, of a theological seminary. While the latter were unquestionably inferior to those of his predecessor in the principalship of Glasgow College, his manners were of a milder and more conciliatory character. Yet even his learning was greatly beyond that of the mass of his brethren. He wrote Latin with elegance and facility, and was a

Greek and Hebrew scholar. Nor had he, like many of our travelled countrymen, neglected the study of his native tongue, in which he wrote with great propriety. His knowledge of controversial divinity, derived most probably from the circumstances attending his conversion to the Protestant faith, is represented as superior to that of almost any of his contemporaries. Of the works which he has left behind him the best known is his reply to Hamilton, which was published at Edinburgh in 1579, with the following title: "*Ad Virulentum Archibaldi Hamiltonii Apostata Dialogum de Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos impie conceptum Orthodoxa Responsio Thomæ Smetonio Scoto Auctore, in qua celebris illa Quæstio de Ecclesia, de Universalitate, Successione, et Romani Episcopi Primatu brevitè, dilucide, et accurate, tractatur: Adjecta est Vera Historia extremæ Vitæ et Obitus eximii Viri Joannæ Knoxii Ecclesiæ Scotticane Instauratoris Fidelissimi*," 8vo. The General Assembly held in April, 1581, ordered the method of preaching and prophesying by . . . "to be put in Scottish be their brother Mr. Thomas Smetone;" but if this supposed translation of Hyperius *De Formandis Concionibus* was ever printed, it has escaped the researches of all our bibliographers. The Dictates of Principal Smeton—that is, the notes which he dictated to his students—were preserved in Archbishop Spotswood's time, and are said by that author to have been highly esteemed. Dempster also ascribes to Smeton *Épithaphium Metallani*, lib. i.

Principal Smeton adopted the advice of his excellent friend Edmond Hay, and "married a wyff," but at what time is uncertain. We are equally uncertain whether he left any children behind him. The name of Smeton, and in one or two instances that of Thomas Smeton, occur in the records of the university of Glasgow in the early part of the seventeenth century, and as the name was by no means common, these persons were not improbably his descendants.¹

SMIBERT, JOHN. This Scottish artist of an early period, when art was still in its infancy in Scotland, was born in the Grassmarket, Edinburgh, and, as is supposed, about A.D. 1684, for the precise year has not been ascertained. He was of lowly origin, being the son of a dyer, and in early life was apprenticed to a common house-painter. Ambitious, however, of higher occupation than the decoration of Edinburgh houses, he went to London; but instead of finding occupation for his talents there, he was forced to content himself with working for coach-painters, and subsisting for a time upon such inferior employment. After this he gained a step in advance, by being employed in copying for picture-dealers, when he learned to draw the figure by designing after casts. Still ardent to improve himself he went to Italy, where he spent three years in copying portraits by Titian, Vandyck, and Rubens, and with such success, that he obtained considerable employment as a portrait-painter on his return to England. While he was thus prospering in his profession, the illustrious, amiable, and somewhat eccentric Dean Berkely, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, found for him a new sphere. Having conceived the benevolent design of establishing a college in the Bermuda islands to train pastors for the colonies and missionaries for the American Indians, the dean's eloquence and enthusiasm engaged both sovereign

¹ Abridged from Wodrow's *Life of Smeton*, inter *MSS.* in Bibl. Acad. Glasg. vol. i. See also James Melville's *Diss.*, p. 56-58; and M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, second edition, i. 158, ii. 379-383.

and court in favour of his scheme; and in Smibert he recognized the qualifications that are best fitted to instruct a barbarous people, and by his artistic skill he hoped to lay a good foundation for a school of art in America. Smibert, as great an enthusiast in art as the dean in philanthropy, was persuaded to embark in the scheme, and against the remonstrances of his friends he set sail for that land of promise, the beauty and amenity of which had been described to him in such glowing colours. With the dean he resided for two years at Newport, Rhode Island; and there is shown in Yale College a painting by which Smibert commemorated this landing in America. It consists of portraits grouped of Dean Berkely and his family, and other members of the expedition, among whom is the painter himself. This is believed to have been the first picture of more than a single figure ever painted in the United States.

The project of the establishment of the university at Bermuda having been destroyed by the death of the king, and the failure of promised aid from home, the dean was compelled to return to England. Smibert, instead of following the example, made America the land of his adoption; but instead of passing onward to Bermuda, as professor of drawing, painting, and architecture, he settled at Boston in New England. Here he married a daughter of Dr. Williams, the Latin schoolmaster of that town, was successful as a painter, and lived at Boston from 1725 to 1751, the year of his death, leaving a widow and two children. It does not appear that he attempted anything beyond portraiture; but his portrait-painting secured him both fame and fortune in the growing states of America, and the best portraits of eminent magistrates and divines of New England and New York who lived between 1725 and 1751 are attributed to his pencil. It appears also that he had a son named Nathaniel, whom he brought up to his own profession, but who died young, after giving promise of great excellence. After Smibert had settled in America, he kept up his correspondence with his acquaintances at home, the chief of whom was Allan Ramsay, author of the *Gentle Shepherd*. Considering the distinction which the United States are attaining in art, it is gratifying to the pride of Scotsmen to be told that the two founders of painting as an art in America were Scots. The first was John Watson, who settled in the capital of New Jersey, Perth Amboy, in 1715; the other was John Smibert, the subject of this memoir.

SMITH, ADAM, LL.D. and F.R.S. both of London and Edinburgh, one of the brightest ornaments of the literature of Scotland, was born on the 5th of June, 1723, at the town of Kirkcaldy, in the county of Fife. He was the only child of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs at Kirkcaldy, and Margaret Douglas, daughter of Mr. Douglas of Strathenny. His father having died some months before his birth, the duty of superintending his early education devolved entirely upon his mother.

A singular accident happened to him when he was about three years of age. As he was amusing himself one day at the door of his uncle Mr. Douglas's house in Strathenny, he was carried off by a party of gipsies. The vagrants, however, being pursued by Mr. Douglas, were overtaken in Leslie Wood, and his uncle, as Mr. Stewart remarks, was thus the happy instrument of preserving to the world a genius which was destined not only to extend the boundaries of science, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe.

The constitution of Dr. Smith during infancy was infirm and sickly, and required all the delicate

attentions of his surviving parent. Though she treated him with the utmost indulgence, this did not produce any unfavourable effect either on his dispositions or temper, and he repaid her affectionate solicitude by every attention that filial gratitude could dictate during the long period of sixty years.

He received the first rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of Kirkcaldy, which was then taught by Mr. David Miller, a teacher, in his day, of considerable reputation. He soon attracted notice by his passion for books, and the extraordinary powers of his memory. Even at this early period, too, he seems to have contracted those habits of speaking to himself, and of absence in company, for which through life he was so remarkable. The weakness of Dr. Smith's constitution prevented him from engaging in the sports and pastimes of his school-companions, yet he was much beloved by them on account of his friendly and generous dispositions. Having remained at Kirkcaldy till he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent in 1737 to the university of Glasgow, where he prosecuted his studies during three years. Mr. Stewart mentions, on the authority of one of Smith's fellow-students, Dr. MacLaine of the Hague, that his favourite pursuits while attending that university were mathematics and natural philosophy. He attended, however, during his residence in Glasgow, the lectures of the celebrated Dr. Hutcheson on moral philosophy; and it is probable that they had a considerable effect in afterwards directing his attention to those branches of science in which he was to become so distinguished.

Dr. Smith's friends having directed his views towards the English church, he went, in 1740, to Balliol College, Oxford, as an exhibitor on Snell's foundation, where he remained seven years. At this celebrated seat of classical learning he cultivated with the greatest assiduity and success the study both of the ancient and modern languages, and became intimately acquainted with the works of the Roman, Greek, French, and Italian poets, as well as with those of his own country. With the view of improving his style, he used frequently to employ himself in the practice of translation, particularly from the French, as he was of opinion that such exercises were extremely useful to those who wished to cultivate the art of composition. But Dr. Smith's obligations to the university of Oxford seem to have been confined to his proficiency in classical learning, and a critical acquaintance with the niceties and delicacies of the English tongue. Very little could be learned from the public lectures on philosophy, the logic of Aristotle still maintaining its influence in both the English universities. A circumstance, however, which, upon good authority, is related to have occurred during his residence at Oxford, shows that in his private studies Dr. Smith did not confine his reading in philosophy to the works of Aristotle and the schoolmen. Something having excited the suspicion of his superiors with regard to the nature of his studies in private, the heads of his college entered his apartment one day without any previous notice, and unluckily found the young philosopher engaged in reading Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*. The offender was of course severely reprimanded, and the objectionable work seized and carried off.

Dr. Smith, having found that the ecclesiastical profession was not suitable to his taste, resolved at last to renounce every prospect of rising to eminence by church preferment. He accordingly returned, in 1747, against the wishes of his friends, to Kirkcaldy, and without having determined on any fixed plan of life, resided there nearly two years with his mother.

In the end of the year 1748 Dr. Smith fixed his residence in Edinburgh, and, under the patronage of Lord Kames, delivered lectures during three years on rhetoric and belles-lettres. These lectures were never published, but it appears that the substance of them was communicated to Dr. Blair, who began his celebrated course on the same subject in 1755, and that that gentleman had a high opinion of their merits. In a note to his eighteenth lecture, Dr. Blair thus notices them:—"On this head, of the general character of style, particularly the plain and the simple, and the characters of those English authors who are classed under them in this and the following lecture, several ideas have been taken from a MS. treatise on *Rhetoric*, part of which was shown to me many years ago by the learned and ingenious author, Dr. Adam Smith; and which, it is hoped, will be given by him to the public."

It appears to have been during the residence of Mr. Smith at this time in Edinburgh that his acquaintance with Mr. David Hume commenced, which lasted without the slightest interruption till the death of the latter in 1776. It was a friendship, Mr. Stewart remarks, on both sides founded on the admiration of genius and the love of simplicity; and which forms an interesting circumstance in the history of each of these eminent men from the ambition which both have shown to record it to posterity.

The literary reputation of Dr. Smith being now well established, he was elected in 1751 professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, and in the year following he was removed to the chair of moral philosophy in the same university, vacant by the death of Mr. Thomas Craigie, who was the immediate successor of Dr. Hutcheson. In this situation he remained during thirteen years, a period which he used to consider as the happiest of his life, the studies and inquiries in which his academical duties led him to engage being those which were most agreeable to his taste. It is highly probable that his appointment to the professorship of moral philosophy was the means of inducing him to mature his speculations in ethics and political economy, and to undertake those great works which have immortalized his name in the literature of Scotland. No part of the lectures which Dr. Smith delivered either as professor of logic or of moral philosophy has been preserved, except what has been published in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and the *Wealth of Nations*. The following account of them, however, has been given by Mr. Miller, the celebrated author of the *Historical View of the English Government*, and professor of law in the university of Glasgow, who had the advantage of being one of Mr. Smith's pupils.

"In the professorship of logic, to which Mr. Smith was appointed on his first introduction into this university, he soon saw the necessity of departing widely from the plan that had been followed by his predecessors, and of directing the attention of his pupils to studies of a more interesting and useful nature than the logic and metaphysics of the schools. Accordingly, after exhibiting a general view of the powers of the mind, and explaining as much of the ancient logic as was requisite to gratify curiosity with respect to an artificial method of reasoning which had once occupied the universal attention of the learned, he dedicated all the rest of his time to the delivering of a system of rhetoric and belles-lettres. The best method of explaining and illustrating the various powers of the human mind, the most useful part of metaphysics, arises from an examination of the several ways of communicating our thoughts by speech, and from an attention to the principles of those literary compositions which contribute to per-

suasion or entertainment. By these arts everything that we perceive or feel, every operation of our minds, is expressed and delineated in such a manner, that it may be clearly distinguished and remembered. There is at the same time no branch of literature more suited to youth at their first entrance upon philosophy than this, which lays hold of their taste and their feelings.

"It is much to be regretted that the manuscript, containing Mr. Smith's lectures on this subject, was destroyed before his death. The first part, in point of composition, was highly finished; and the whole discovered strong marks of taste and original genius. From the permission given to students of taking notes, many observations and opinions contained in these lectures have either been detailed in separate dissertations, or engrossed in general collections, which have since been given to the public. But these, as might be expected, have lost the air of originality, and the distinctive character which they received from their first author, and are often obscured by that multiplicity of commonplace matter in which they are sunk and involved.

"About a year after his appointment to the professorship of logic, Mr. Smith was elected to the chair of moral philosophy. His course of lectures on this subject was divided into four parts. The first contained natural theology; in which he considered the proofs of the being and attributes of God, and those principles of the human mind upon which religion is founded. The second comprehended ethics, strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In the third part he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to justice, and which being susceptible of precise and accurate rules, is for that reason capable of a full and particular explanation.

"Upon this subject he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu; endeavouring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages, and to point out the effects of those arts which contribute to subsistence, and to the accumulation of property, in producing correspondent improvements or alterations in law and government. This important branch of his labours he also intended to give to the public; but this intention, which is mentioned in the conclusion of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, he did not live to fulfil.

"In the last part of his lectures he examined those political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of justice, but that of expediency, and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power, and the prosperity of a state. Under this view, he considered the political institutions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects contained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Sources of the Wealth of Nations*.

"There was no situation in which the abilities of Mr. Smith appeared to greater advantage than as a professor. In delivering his lectures, he trusted almost entirely to extemporary elocution. His manner, though not graceful, was plain and unaffected; and as he seemed to be always interested in the subject, he never failed to interest his hearers. Each discourse consisted commonly of several distinct propositions, which he successively endeavoured to prove and illustrate. These propositions, when announced in general terms, had, from their extent, not unfrequently something of the air of a paradox. In his attempts to explain them he often appeared at first

not to be sufficiently possessed of the subject, and spoke with some hesitation. As he advanced, however, the matter seemed to crowd upon him; his manner became warm and animated, and his expression easy and fluent. In points susceptible of controversy, you could easily discern that he secretly conceived an opposition to his opinions, and that he was led upon this account to support them with greater energy and vehemence. By the fulness and variety of his illustrations the subject gradually swelled in his hands, and acquired a dimension which, without a tedious repetition of the same views, was calculated to seize the attention of his audience, and to afford them pleasure as well as instruction, in following the same subject through all the diversity of shades and aspects in which it was presented, and afterwards in tracing it backwards to that original proposition, or general truth, from which this beautiful train of speculation had proceeded.

"His reputation as a professor was accordingly raised very high; and a multitude of students from a great distance resorted to the university merely upon his account. Those branches of science which he taught became fashionable at this place, and his opinions were the chief topics of discussion in clubs and literary societies. Even the small peculiarities in his pronunciation or manner of speaking became frequently the objects of imitation."

The first publications of Mr. Smith, it is understood, were two articles which he contributed anonymously to a work called the *Edinburgh Review*, begun in 1755 by some literary gentlemen, but of which only two numbers ever appeared. The first of these articles was a review of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, which displays considerable acuteness; and the other contained some general observations on the state of literature in the different countries of Europe.

In 1759 his great ethical work, entitled "*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, or an Essay towards an Analysis of the Principles by which Men naturally Judge concerning the Conduct and Character, first of their Neighbour, and afterwards of Themselves," made its appearance. This work contributed greatly to extend the fame and reputation of the author; and is unquestionably entitled to a place in the very first rank in the science of morals. Dr. Brown, in his eighteenth lecture, thus speaks of it: "Profound in thought, it exhibits, even when it is most profound, an example of the graces with which a sage imagination knows how to adorn the simple and majestic form of science; that it is severe and cold only to those who are themselves cold and severe, as in these very graces it exhibits in like manner an example of the reciprocal embellishment which imagination receives from the sober dignity of truth. In its minor details and illustrations, indeed, it may be considered as presenting a model of philosophic beauty of which all must acknowledge the power who are not disqualified by their very nature for the admiration and enjoyment of intellectual excellence; so dull of understanding as to shrink with a painful consciousness of incapacity at the very appearance of refined analysis; or so dull and cold of heart, as to feel no charm in the delightful varieties of an eloquence, that, in the illustration and embellishment of the noblest truths, seems itself to live and harmonize with those noble sentiments which it adorns." But it is chiefly in its minor analysis that the work of Dr. Smith possesses such excellence. Its leading doctrine has been often shown to be erroneous, and by none with more acuteness than by Dr. Brown. We shall very shortly explain the nature of that leading doctrine, and endeavour to show how it has been refuted.

It is impossible for us to contemplate certain actions performed by others, or to perform such actions ourselves, without an emotion of moral approbation or disapprobation arising in our minds; without being immediately impressed with a vivid feeling, that the agent is virtuous or vicious, worthy or unworthy of esteem. An inquiry regarding such moral emotions must form the most interesting department of the philosophy of the mind, as it comprehends the whole of our duty to God, our fellow-creatures, and ourselves. This department of science is termed ethics, and is sometimes, though not very correctly, divided into two parts: the one comprehending the theory of morals, and the other its practical doctrines. The most important question to be considered in the theoretical part of ethics is the following:—What is essential to virtue and vice—that is to say, what is common, and invariably to be found in all those actions of which we morally approve, and what is in the same way peculiar to those which we morally condemn? Philosophers have formed various opinions upon this subject. Hobbes and his followers contended that all merit and demerit depends upon political regulations: that the only thing essential to a virtuous or vicious action, is its being sanctioned or discountenanced by the association of men among whom it is performed. Mr. Hume and others have supported the more plausible theory, that what is utility to the human race, unavoidably makes itself the measure of virtue: that actions are virtuous or vicious, according as they are generally acknowledged to be, in their final effects, beneficial or injurious to society in general. These, and many other theories of morals, have been often shown to be erroneous; and it would be out of place here to enter into any discussion regarding them. We pass on to notice the theory of Dr. Smith.

According to him all moral feelings arise from sympathy. It is a mistake to suppose that we approve or disapprove of an action immediately on becoming acquainted with the intention of the agent, and the consequences of what he has done. Before any moral emotion can arise in the mind, we must imagine ourselves to be placed in the situation of the person who has acted, and of those to whom his action related. If, on considering all the circumstances in which the agent is placed, we feel a complete sympathy with the feelings that occupied his mind, and with the gratitude of the person who was the object of the action, we then approve of the action as right, and feel the merit of the person who performed it, our sense of the propriety of the action depending on our sympathy with the agent; our sense of the merit of the agent on our sympathy with the object of the action. If our sympathies be of an opposite kind, we disapprove of the action, and ascribe demerit to the agent.

In estimating the propriety or merit of our own actions, on the other hand, we, in some measure, reverse this process, and consider how our conduct would appear to an impartial spectator. We approve or disapprove of it according as we feel from the experience of our own former emotions, when we imagined ourselves to be placed in similar circumstances, estimating the actions of others, that it would excite his approval or disapprobation. Our moral judgments with respect to our own conduct are, in short, only applications to ourselves of decisions which we have already passed on the conduct of others.

But in this theory of Dr. Smith, the previous existence of those moral feelings which he supposes to flow from sympathy, is in reality assumed; for the most exact accordance of sentiment between two

individuals is not sufficient to give rise to any moral sentiment. In the very striking emotions of taste, for example, Dr. Brown remarks, we may feel, on the perusal of the same poem, the performance of the same musical air, the sight of the same picture or statue, a rapture or disgust, accordant with the rapture or disgust expressed by another reader, or listener, or spectator; a sympathy far more complete than takes place in our consideration of the circumstances in which he may have had to regulate his conduct in any of the common affairs of life. If mere accordance of emotion, then, imply the feeling of moral excellence of any sort, we should certainly feel a moral regard for all whose taste coincides with ours; yet however gratifying the sympathy in such a case may be, we do not feel, in consequence of this sympathy, any morality in the taste that is most exactly accordant with our own. There is an agreement of emotions, but nothing more; and if we had not a principle of moral approbation, by which, independently of sympathy, and previously to it, we regard actions as right, the most exact sympathy of passion would, in like manner, have been a proof to us of an agreement of feelings, but of nothing more. It proves to us more; because the emotions which we compare with our own are recognized by us as moral feelings, independently of the agreement.

But though the leading doctrine of Dr. Smith's theory be considered by many, apparently on just grounds, as erroneous, his work is still unquestionably one of the most interesting which have been produced on moral science. It abounds in faithful delineations of characters and manners, and contains the purest and most elevated maxims for the practical regulation of human life. The style, though perhaps not sufficiently precise for the subject, is throughout eloquent, and serves, by the richness of its colouring, to relieve the dryness of some of the more abstract discussions.

Dr. Smith's *Dissertation on the Origin of Languages*, which is now generally bound up with the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, made its first appearance with the second edition of that work. In this ingenious and beautiful tract the author gives a theoretical history of the formation of languages, in which he endeavours to ascertain the different steps by which they would gradually arrive at their present so artificial and complicated state.

As the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* contains the most important part of Dr. Smith's ethical doctrines, he was enabled, after the publication of that work, to devote a larger part of his course of lectures, than he had previously done, to the elucidation of the principles of jurisprudence and political economy. From a statement which he drew up in 1755, in order to vindicate his claim to certain political and literary opinions, it appears that, from the time when he obtained a chair in the university of Glasgow, and even while he was delivering private lectures in Edinburgh, he had been in the habit of teaching the same liberal system of policy, with respect to the freedom of trade, which he afterwards published in the *Wealth of Nations*. His residence in one of the largest commercial towns in the island must have been of considerable advantage to him, by enabling him to acquire correct practical information on many points connected with the subject of his favourite studies; and Mr. Stewart states, as a circumstance very honourable to the liberality of the merchants of Glasgow, that, notwithstanding the reluctance so common among men of business to listen to the conclusions of mere speculation, and the direct opposition of Dr. Smith's leading principles to all the old maxims of trade, he was able, before leaving the

university, to rank some of the most eminent merchants of the city among the number of his proselytes.

The publication of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* served greatly to increase the reputation of its author. In 1762 the Senatus Academicus of the university of Glasgow unanimously conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, in testimony, as expressed in the minutes of the meeting, of their respect for his universally acknowledged talents, and of the advantage that had resulted to the university from the ability with which he had, for many years, expounded the principles of jurisprudence.

Towards the end of 1763 an important event occurred in Dr. Smith's life. Having received an invitation from Mr. Charles Townsend, husband of the Duchess of Buccleuch, to accompany the young duke, her grace's son, on his travels, he was induced, from the liberal terms in which the proposal was made, and the strong desire he entertained of visiting the Continent, to resign his chair at Glasgow, and accept of the offer. "With the connection which he was led to form, in consequence of this change in his situation," Mr. Stewart remarks, "he had reason to be satisfied in an uncommon degree; and he always spoke of it with pleasure and gratitude. To the public it was not, perhaps, a change equally fortunate, as it interrupted that studious leisure for which nature seems to have destined him, and in which alone he could have hoped to accomplish those literary projects which had flattered the ambition of his youthful genius."

Dr. Smith having joined the Duke of Buccleuch at London in the early part of the year 1764, they set out for the Continent in the month of March. After remaining only ten or twelve days in the capital of France, they proceeded to Toulouse, where they resided during eighteen months. Toulouse was at that time the seat of a parliament; and the intimacy in which he lived with some of its principal members afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the most correct information in regard to the internal policy of France.

After leaving Toulouse they proceeded through the southern provinces to Geneva; and having spent two months in that city, returned to Paris about Christmas, 1765, where they remained nearly a year. During their abode in Paris Dr. Smith, through the recommendation of Mr. Hume and his own celebrity, lived on the most intimate terms with the best society in the city. Turgot (afterwards comptroller-general of finance), Quesnay, Necker, d'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, the Duc de la Rochefoucault, and Madame Ricaboni, were among the number of his acquaintances; and some of them he continued ever afterwards to reckon among his friends. It is highly probable that he derived considerable advantage from his intercourse with Quesnay, the celebrated founder of the sect of Economists. Of this profound and ingenious man Dr. Smith entertained the highest opinion; and he has pronounced his work upon *Political Economy*, with all its imperfections, to be the nearest approximation to the truth that had then been published on the principles of that very important science. Dr. Smith intended to have dedicated to Quesnay the *Wealth of Nations*, but was prevented by his death.

Although Dr. Smith had made some very severe remarks in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* on the celebrated *Maxims* of the Duke of Rochefoucault, this did not prevent him from receiving the utmost kindness and attention from the author's grandson. A short time before Dr. Smith left Paris he received a flattering letter from the Duke of Rochefoucault, with a copy of a new edition of the *Maxims* of his

grandfather; and informing Dr. Smith, at the same time, that he had been prevented from finishing a translation of his *Theory of Morals* into French, only by the knowledge of having been anticipated in the design.

Dr. Smith returned with his pupil to London, in October, 1766; and soon after took up his residence with his mother at Kirkcaldy, where, with the exception of a few occasional visits to London and Edinburgh, he resided constantly during the next ten years, engaged habitually in intense study. Mr. Hume, who considered the town as the proper scene for a man of letters, made many ineffectual attempts to prevail upon him to leave his retirement. During this residence of Dr. Smith at Kirkcaldy, he was engaged chiefly in maturing his speculations upon economical science. At length, in 1776, the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* made its appearance: a work which holds nearly the same rank in political economy, that Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* does in the philosophy of the mind, or the *Principia* of Newton in astronomy.

Our limits prevent us from giving anything like a particular analysis of this great work, but we shall endeavour to give some brief account of it. We shall notice very shortly the state of the science at the time when Dr. Smith wrote, the different leading principles which the illustrious author endeavours to establish, and the principal merits and defects of the work.

The object of political economy is to point out the means by which the industry of man may be rendered most productive of the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life; and to ascertain the laws which regulate the distribution of the various products which constitute wealth among the different classes of society. Though these inquiries be in the highest degree interesting and important, the science of political economy is comparatively of recent origin. It was not to be expected that, among the Greeks and Romans, who considered it degrading to be engaged in manufactures or commerce, and among whom such employments were left to slaves—where moralists considered the indulgence of luxury to be an evil of the first magnitude—that the science which treats of the best methods of acquiring wealth should be much attended to. At the revival of letters, these ancient prejudices still maintained a powerful influence, and, combined with other causes, long prevented philosophers from turning their attention to the subject.

The first inquirers in political economy were led away by a prejudice, which is perhaps one of the most deeply rooted in the human mind; namely, that wealth consists solely in gold and silver. From this mistake grew up that system of commercial policy which has been denominated the mercantile system, according to the principles laid down in which the commerce of Europe was, in a great measure, regulated at the time when Dr. Smith's work appeared. The leading doctrine of the commercial system was, that the policy of a country should be directed solely to the multiplication of the precious metals. Hence the internal commerce of a nation came to be entirely overlooked, or viewed only as subsidiary to the foreign: and the advantage derived from foreign trade was estimated by the excess of the value of the goods exported above that of those which were imported; it being supposed that the balance must be brought to the country in specie. To the radical mistake upon which the mercantile system was founded, may be traced those restrictions upon the importation, and the encouragement given

to the exportation of manufactures, which till lately distinguished the commercial policy of all the nations in Europe. It was imagined that, by such regulations, the excess of the value of exports over imports, to be paid in gold, would be increased.

During the seventeenth, and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, various pamphlets had appeared, in which some of the fundamental principles of political economy were distinctly enough laid down, and which had a tendency to show the futility of the mercantile theory. For a particular account of these publications, and their various merits, we must refer to Mr. M'Culloch's able introductory discourse to his edition of the *Wealth of Nations*. We shall here only remark, that though several of these treatises contain the germs of some of the truths to be found in the *Wealth of Nations*, yet the principles laid down in them are often stated only in a cursory and incidental manner. Their authors frequently appear not to be aware of the importance of the truths which they have discovered; and in none of them is anything like a connected view of political economy to be found.

The only work that was given to the world before the *Wealth of Nations*, in which an attempt was made to expound the principles of political economy in a logical and systematic manner, was the *Economical Table* of the celebrated Quesnay, a French physician, which was published in 1758: but the theory of this distinguished economist is very erroneous. Having been educated in the country he was naturally inclined to regard agriculture with partiality; and he had come to the conclusion that it was the only species of industry which could possibly contribute to increase the wealth of a nation. Everything which ministers to the wants of man must be originally derived from the earth; and the earth, therefore, Quesnay contended, must be the only source of wealth. As manufacturers and merchants do not realize any surplus in the shape of rent, he conceived that their operations, though highly useful, could not add any greater value to commodities than the value of the capital consumed by them. Into this erroneous theory he seems to have been led, from being unable to explain the nature of rent; and from being unacquainted with that fundamental principle in political economy, that labour is the cause of exchangeable value.

But though Quesnay conceived agriculture to be the only source of wealth, the principles of his system fortunately did not lead him to solicit for it any exclusive protection. On the contrary, he contended that the interest of all the different classes of society would be best promoted by the establishment of a system of perfect freedom. It must, he conceived, be advantageous to the cultivators of the soil, that the industry of manufacturers and merchants should not be fettered; for the more liberty they enjoyed, the greater would be their competition, and in consequence the cheaper would their services be rendered to the agriculturists. On the other hand, it was the interest of the manufacturers, that the cultivators of the soil should also have perfect freedom; for the greater liberty they enjoyed the more would their industry increase that surplus fund from which, according to his theory, the whole national revenue was ultimately derived.

It was in the work of Dr. Smith that the sources of the wealth and prosperity of nations were first fully and correctly explored, and, in a systematic manner, distinctly explained; and that the advantages to be derived from commercial freedom were first satisfactorily established. In opposition to the principles of the commercial system, Dr. Smith

showed that wealth does not consist in gold and silver, but in the abundance of the various necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life; that labour is the only source of wealth; and, in opposition to the French economists, that labour is productive when employed in manufactures and commerce, as well as in agriculture. He has investigated the various causes by which labour may be rendered most productive; and has shown how immensely its powers are increased by being divided among different individuals or nations. He has proved, with great power of reasoning, that all restrictions upon either the internal or external commerce of a country are in the highest degree absurd and pernicious; and that the progress of real opulence will be most rapidly accelerated, when the industry of every individual and nation is employed in the production of those articles for which, either from natural or artificial causes, they are best adapted, and when the most unlimited freedom of making exchanges is everywhere allowed. "It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family," he remarks, b. iv. c. 2, "never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker; the shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a tailor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers; all of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours, and to purchase with a part of its produce whatever else they have occasion for." "What is prudence in the conduct of any private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage." "The natural advantages which one country has over another in producing particular commodities are sometimes so great, that it is acknowledged by all the world to be in vain to struggle with them. By means of glasses, hot-beds, and hot-walls, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine can be made of them, at about thirty times the expense for which at least equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reasonable law to prohibit the importation of all foreign wines, merely to encourage the making of claret and burgundy in Scotland? But if there would be a manifest absurdity in turning towards any employment thirty times more of the capital and industry of the country than would be necessary to purchase from foreign countries an equal quantity of the commodities wanted; there must be an absurdity, though not altogether so glaring yet exactly of the same kind, in turning towards any such employment a thirtieth, or even a three-hundredth part more of either."

But though Dr. Smith contended upon correct principles for unlimited freedom of trade and commerce, and conceived that all the different branches of industry must be advantageous to society, he was of opinion that all were not *equally* advantageous. Agriculture he conceived to be the most productive employment in which capital could be engaged; the home trade to be more productive than the foreign; and the foreign than the carrying trade. But these distinctions are evidently erroneous. The self-interest of individuals will always prevent them from employing their capital in manufactures or in commerce, unless they yield as large profits as they would have done if they had been employed in agri-

culture: and a state being only a collection of individuals, whatever is most beneficial to them must also be most advantageous to the society. Dr. Smith has made another mistake in regard to the productiveness of labour. He divides all labourers into two classes, the productive and the unproductive; and he limits the class of productive labourers to those whose labour is immediately fixed, and realized in some vendible commodity. But certainly all labour ought to be reckoned productive, which, either directly or *indirectly*, contributes to augment the wealth of a society. It is impossible to hold that the labour of an Arkwright or a Watt was unproductive.

Few chapters in the *Wealth of Nations* are more valuable than that in which the illustrious author explains the causes of the apparent inequality in the wages and profits derived from different employments. He has shown, in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, that when allowance is made for all the advantages and disadvantages attending the different employments of labour and stock, wages and profits must, in the same neighbourhood, be either perfectly equal, or continually tending to equality. The circumstances which he enumerates as making up for a low state of wages in some employments, and counterbalancing a high one in others, are five in number. First, the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the employments themselves; secondly, the easiness and cheapness, or the difficulty and expense, of learning them; thirdly, the constancy or inconstancy of employment in them; fourthly, the small or great trust which must be reposed in those who exercise them; and, fifthly, the probability or improbability of success in them. Differences in the rate of profit seem to be occasioned chiefly from the risk to which capital is exposed, being greater in some employments than in others.

One of the most important inquiries in political economy is the investigation of the laws which regulate the exchangeable value of the different productions of industry; and the disquisitions of Dr. Smith on this subject are extremely valuable. He has shown, in opposition to the opinion commonly before entertained on the subject, that the price of commodities, the quantity of which may be indefinitely increased, does not depend upon their scarcity or abundance, but upon the cost of their production; that although variations in the supply of any article, or in the demand for it, may occasion temporary variations in its exchangeable value, the market price is permanently regulated by the natural price, and on an average corresponds with it. In estimating the elements, however, which form the necessary price of commodities, he has fallen into some very important errors, particularly with regard to rent, which, from being unacquainted with the causes that produce it, he considered to be one of the component parts of price. It was subsequently suggested by Dr. Anderson, and more specifically laid down by Ricardo and others, that rent is the difference between the product of the fruitful soil of a country (in comparison with the amount of labour and capital expended on it), and the product of such less fruitful soil as the pressure of population renders it necessary to bring into cultivation; and that rent being the difference between returns from an equal amount of capital applied to superior soils, and to that which is the most unproductive, is the effect, and not the cause, of the dearthness of agricultural products; and cannot therefore form an element in their natural price.

The error which Dr. Smith has fallen into with regard to rent is certainly the most important mis-

take in the *Wealth of Nations*, and has vitiated a considerable part of the work.¹ Among other mistakes it has led him into error in regard to the ultimate incidence of different taxes, and the circumstances which determine the rate of wages and profits. Had the illustrious author, too, been acquainted with the true theory of rent, he would not have contended that corn, upon an average, was the most invariable of all commodities in its value.

Many other important subjects besides those we have so briefly noticed are discussed by Dr. Smith; but we cannot farther extend our remarks. With all its defects the *Wealth of Nations* will ever remain a great standard work in the science of political economy, and an illustrious monument of the genius and talents of its author. The publication raised him to the highest rank in the literary world; and he enjoyed, during fifteen years, the fame which he had so justly acquired. His work soon after being published was translated into all the languages of Europe; his opinions were referred to in the House of Commons, and he himself consulted by the minister. Before his death, too, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the principles of commercial freedom which he had so ably advocated were beginning to influence the councils of Great Britain and other European states.

A few months after the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* Dr. Smith lost his highly esteemed friend Mr. Hume, who died upon the 25th of August, 1776. Dr. Smith was most assiduous in his attentions during the last illness of this illustrious man; and gives an interesting account, in a letter to Mr. Strahan of London, of the circumstances attending his death, and an eulogium upon his character. To those who are acquainted with Mr. Hume's religious opinions, some parts of this eulogium must certainly appear too high; and the author was accordingly attacked on the subject by Dr. Horne, Bishop of Norwich, who rashly ascribed to him, without any evidence, the same sceptical opinions which had been entertained by his illustrious friend.

Dr. Smith resided chiefly in London for about two years after his great work had been given to the public, during which time his society was courted by the most distinguished persons in the metropolis. In 1778 he was appointed one of the commissioners of customs in Scotland, through the unsolicited application of his friend and former pupil the Duke of Buccleuch. Upon obtaining this appointment he removed to Edinburgh, where he spent the remaining years of his life, enjoying comparative affluence, and the society of his earliest and most esteemed friends. His mother, who was then in extreme old age, accompanied him to town; and his cousin, Miss Jane Douglas, who had formerly been a member of his family in Glasgow, undertook the superintendence of his domestic arrangements.

The accession to his income which he had now obtained enabled him to gratify, to a much greater extent than formerly, the natural generosity of his disposition. "The state of his funds at the time of his death," Mr. Stewart remarks, "compared with his very moderate establishment, confirmed beyond a doubt, what his intimate acquaintances had often suspected, that a large proportion of his savings was allotted to offices of secret charity."

In 1787 Dr. Smith was elected lord-rector of the university of Glasgow. A letter addressed to the principal of the university on the occasion shows the high sense he felt of this honour. "No preferment," he writes, "could have given me so much real satis-

faction. No man can owe greater obligations to a society than I do to the university of Glasgow. They educated me: they sent me to Oxford. Soon after my return to Scotland they elected me one of their own members; and afterwards preferred me to another office, to which the abilities and virtues of the never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Hutcheson had given a superior degree of illustration. The period of thirteen years which I spent as a member of that society I remember as by far the most useful, and therefore as by far the happiest and most honourable, period of my life: and now, after three and twenty years' absence, to be remembered in so very agreeable a manner by my old friends and protectors, gives me a heartfelt joy which I cannot easily express to you."

During the last residence of Dr. Smith in Edinburgh his studies appear to have been almost entirely suspended. The petty routine duties of his office, though requiring little exertion of thought, were sufficient to occupy a considerable portion of his time and attention; and it is deeply to be regretted, that, in all probability, these duties alone prevented him from giving that "Account of the General Principles of Law and Government, and of the Different Revolutions they have undergone in the different Ages and Periods of Society," which he had stated in the concluding paragraph of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* it was his intention to do.

In 1784 Dr. Smith lost his mother, to whom he had been most tenderly attached; and her death was followed, four years afterwards, by that of Miss Douglas. These domestic afflictions contributed to hasten the decline of his health. His constitution had never been robust, and began early to give way. His last illness, which arose from a chronic obstruction of the bowels, was lingering and painful. He had the consolation, however, of receiving the tenderest sympathy of his friends; and he bore his affliction with the most perfect resignation. His death took place in July, 1790.

A few days before his death, when Dr. Smith found his end rapidly approaching, he caused all his manuscripts to be destroyed excepting a few essays, which he intrusted to the care of his executors, Dr. Black and Dr. Hutton. The intention of destroying all those of his manuscripts which he did not think worthy of publication he had long entertained, and seems to have proceeded from a laudable anxiety in regard to his literary reputation. It is not exactly known what were the contents of the manuscripts which were destroyed, but there is every reason to believe that they consisted in part of the lectures on rhetoric and belles-lettres which he had delivered at Edinburgh in 1748, and of the lectures on natural religion and jurisprudence, which formed an important part of the course he had delivered at Glasgow. Of the essays which were left to the care of his friends six were published a few years after his death by his illustrious executors. Three of them are fragments of a great work which he at one time intended to write on the principles which lead and direct philosophical inquiries, but which he had long abandoned as far too extensive. The first contains the history of astronomy, which seems to be the most complete of the three; the second contains the history of ancient physics; and the third gives the history of the ancient logics and metaphysics. To these essays, which are all written upon the plan of his *Essay on the Formation of the Languages*, are subjoined other three, which treat, 1st. Of the nature of that imitation which takes place in what are called the imitative arts. 2d. Of the affinity between certain English and Italian verses; and 3d. Of the external senses.

¹ Dr. Smith's theory of rent, however, is not without its defenders. See, in particular, the *Westminster Review*.

As to the merits of these essays the distinguished editors express their hopes "that the reader would find in them that happy connection, that full and accurate expression, and that clear illustration which are conspicuous in the rest of the author's works; and that though it is difficult to add much to the great fame he so justly acquired by his other writings, these would be read with satisfaction and pleasure." The library which Dr. Smith had collected during his life, though small, was valuable. The books were well selected, and he was particularly careful that the bijoux which he admitted into his collection should be in excellent order. Mr. Smellie, in his life of Dr. Smith, says, "The first time I happened to be in his library, observing me looking at the books with some degree of curiosity and perhaps surprise, for most of the volumes were elegantly, and some of them superbly bound,—'You must have remarked,' said he, 'that I am a beau in nothing but my books.'" This valuable library, together with the rest of his property, Dr. Smith bequeathed to Mr. David Douglas, advocate, his cousin.

We shall close this sketch of Dr. Smith's life with a few observations on his habits and private character, extracted from the valuable account of his life and writings given by Mr. Stewart.

"To his private worth the most certain of all testimonies may be found in that confidence, respect, and attachment which followed him through all the various relations of life; the serenity and gaiety he enjoyed under the pressure of his growing infirmities, and the warm interest he felt to the last in everything connected with the welfare of his friends will be long remembered by a small circle, with whom, as long as his strength permitted, he regularly spent an evening in the week; and to whom the recollection of his worth still forms a pleasing though melancholy bond of union.

"The more delicate and characteristic features of his mind it is perhaps impossible to trace. That there were many peculiarities both in his manners and in his intellectual habits was manifest to the most superficial observer; but although, to those who knew him, these peculiarities detracted nothing from the respect which his abilities commanded; and although to his intimate friends they added an inexpressible charm to his conversation, while they displayed in the most interesting light the artless simplicity of his heart; yet it would require a very skilful pencil to present them to the public eye. He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the business of active life. The comprehensive speculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention continually supplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects and to common occurrences; and he frequently exhibited instances of absence which have scarcely been surpassed by the fancy of *La Bruyère*. Even in company he was apt to be engrossed with his studies; and appeared, at times, by the motion of his lips as well as by his looks and gestures, to be in the fervour of composition. I have often, however, been struck at the distance of years, with his accurate memory of the most trifling particulars, and am inclined to believe, from this and some other circumstances, that he possessed a power, not perhaps uncommon among absent men, of recollecting, in consequence of subsequent efforts of reflection, many occurrences which at the time when they happened did not seem to have sensibly attracted his notice.

"To the defect now mentioned it was probably owing that he did not fall in easily with the common

dialogue of conversation, and that he was somewhat apt to convey his own ideas in the form of a lecture. When he did so, however, it never proceeded from a wish to engross the discourse or to gratify his vanity. His own inclination disposed him so strongly to enjoy in silence the gaiety of those around him, that his friends were often led to concert little schemes in order to engage him in the discussions most likely to interest him. Nor do I think I shall be accused of going too far when I say, that he was scarcely ever known to start a new topic himself, or to appear unprepared upon those topics that were introduced by others. Indeed, his conversation was never more amusing than when he gave a loose to his genius upon the very few branches of knowledge of which he only possessed the outlines.

"The opinions he formed of men upon a slight acquaintance were frequently erroneous; but the tendency of his nature inclined him much more to blind partiality than to ill-founded prejudices. The enlarged views of human affairs on which his mind habitually dwelt, left him neither time nor inclination to study in detail the uninteresting peculiarities of ordinary characters, and accordingly, though intimately acquainted with the capacities of the intellect and the workings of the heart, and accustomed in his theories to mark with the most delicate hand the nicest shades both of genius and of the passions; yet in judging of individuals it sometimes happened that his estimates were in a surprising degree wide of the truth.

"The opinions too, which, in the thoughtlessness and confidence of his social hours, he was accustomed to hazard on books and on questions of speculation, were not uniformly such as might have been expected from the superiority of his understanding, and the singular consistency of his philosophical principles. They were liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances, and by the humour of the moment: and when retailed by those who only saw him occasionally, suggested false and contradictory ideas of his real sentiments. On these, however, as on most other occasions, there was always much truth as well as ingenuity in his remarks; and if the different opinions which at different times he pronounced upon the same subject had been all combined together, so as to modify and limit each other, they would probably have afforded materials for a decision equally comprehensive and just. But, in the society of his friends, he had no disposition to form those qualified conclusions that we admire in his writings; and he generally contented himself with a bold and masterly sketch of the object from the first point of view in which his temper or his fancy presented it. Something of the same kind might be remarked when he attempted in the flow of his spirits to delineate those characters which from long intimacy he might have been disposed to understand thoroughly. The picture was always lively and expressive, and commonly bore a strong and amusing resemblance to the original, when viewed under one particular aspect; but seldom, perhaps, conveyed a just and complete conception of it in all its dimensions and proportions. In a word, it was the fault of his unpremeditated judgments to be systematical and too much in extremes.

"But in whatever way these trifling peculiarities in his manners may be explained, there can be no doubt that they were intimately connected with the genuine artlessness of his mind. In this amiable quality he often recalled to his friends the accounts that are given of good *La Fontaine*; a quality which in him derived a peculiar grace from the singularity of its combination with those powers of reason and

of eloquence which in his political and moral writings have long engaged the admiration of Europe.

"In his external form and appearance there was nothing uncommon. When perfectly at ease, and when warmed with conversation, his gestures were animated, and not ungraceful; and in the society of those he loved his features were often brightened with a smile of inexpressible benignity. In the company of strangers his tendency to absence, and perhaps still more his consciousness of this tendency, rendered his manner somewhat embarrassed—an effect which was probably not a little heightened by those speculative ideas of propriety which his recluse habits tended at once to perfect in his conception, and to diminish his power of realizing. He never sat for his picture; but the medallion of Tassie conveys an exact idea of his profile, and of the general expression of his countenance."

SMITH, ALEXANDER. After the great poets of the nineteenth century had passed away, and when Wordsworth, the earliest and latest of the illustrious throng, was silent, a change occurred similar to that which succeeded the poetical eras of Elizabeth and Anne in the history of British literature. It was thought that the tuneless interval had commenced which generally interposes as a law of nature betwixt the setting of the old constellation of poets and the rise of a new, while the practical and scientific studies of the present utilitarian generation confirmed the suspicion. The present interval, however, as in the preceding instances, has not been wholly a void, and solitary voices have succeeded the chorus, by which the anthem is continued until it shall burst again into full swell. Of these poets who have succeeded the demise of Scott, Southey, Byron, Moore, Campbell, Wordsworth, and their scarcely illustrious contemporaries, and whose touches upon the British harp still "tell that yet it lives," there are two whose memory will not be consigned to the oblivion that may await the rest. Of these two the distinguished name of Tennyson will at once occur to the reader. The other, who evinced a similar spirit, but whom adverse circumstances and a premature death prevented from ripening into the maturity of which he gave so fair a promise, was Alexander Smith, the subject of our present memoir.

This amiable and distinguished poet was born at Kilmarnock on the 31st of December, 1830. His father, of whom he was the eldest son, was a designer of patterns; his mother, whose maiden name was Murray, was of a respectable Highland family. With the usual education of Scottish boyhood Alexander Smith combined a remarkable love of poetry, and his early attention and extensive reading of the works of our best poets already indicated the direction in which his tendencies lay. The notice he attracted as a diligent and apt scholar suggested to his parents the idea of devoting him to the church, and his studies were accordingly directed to his ultimate education for the ministry; but in consequence of a severe illness, his literary studies for the clerical profession were first interrupted, and finally abandoned. Turning his attention to his father's occupation of a pattern-designer, his good taste and natural quickness soon made him a master in this artistic department of trade, while he still continued to cling to his poetical studies; and on removing to Glasgow, it was with the double object of finding employment among its manufacturers, and intellectual improvement among its literary society. In the latter and more important aim he was especially successful; and by the society of J. P. Nichol, professor of astronomy in the university of Glasgow, Mr. James

Hedderwick, and Mr. Hugh Macdonald, the talented conductors of the *Glasgow Citizen*, and other men of literary standing in the capital of the west, his sphere of information was extended, his taste regulated, and his first attempts in authorship encouraged and patronized.

Under this irregular but still effective training of a poet, the time had arrived when this divided allegiance between business must be severed, and the choice of a life occupation adopted. He must wholly become a pattern-designer, in which he had already manifested great proficiency, or wholly abandon this comfortable calling for the precarious chances of literature. The choice was made, and made at an early period: he would be a poet in spite of all the ills that poetry is heir to. It was at an early period of his life also that the die was cast. Before he had reached his twentieth year he had written, and in 1851-2 he published his *Life Drama*, a wonderful poem, especially when the youth of the author is taken into account. Ambitious as the attempt was, it was recognized as a poem of the highest order, while its faults were excused as the youthful redundancies of a great genius which a few years would suffice to correct. Accordingly every review and newspaper, from the highest metropolitan to the humblest provincial, caught and re-echoed the prevalent commendation, and announced, that after so many disappointments, a true poet had at length appeared. The effect of this sudden outburst of popularity was, that edition after edition of the volume was published with unprecedented rapidity, and admiration, instead of being pallid, was increased by each repetition. To the *Life Drama* were also appended a collection of sonnets; and these, tried by the severe standard allotted to such productions, were declared to be noble specimens of poetical sentiment, expressed in the purest and happiest style. Such criticisms, however, in many cases overcharged, were not always correct, and in not a few instances the overstrained language and descriptions of the youthful poet were selected as beauties to be admired and commended. A reaction of dissent was the consequence among a party of the severely critical, headed by Professor Aytoun, author of *Lays of the Cavaliers*, who produced on this occasion a burlesque tragedy, called *Firmilian*, in which Smith and his chief laudator, Gilfillan, were held up to ridicule, and their style of poetry nicknamed the "Spasmodic School." But the satire was too severe to be mischievous, and Aytoun himself, on the return of better thoughts, found cause to revoke his judgment. In the meantime, amidst such instant and overwhelming popularity, it was well that the young poet was not carried off his feet and borne away. Moved indeed he must have been, and not a little giddy with his sudden elevation to so high a rank; but the feeling found in him no correspondent vanity to cherish it, so that it quickly died out, and left him as he was before. This is attested by one of his friends, who knew him well, and knew him to the last. "Rarely, indeed," he says, "has such an example been found in the annals of literature, of a nature so richly gifted with the elements of poetry and passion, and yet so firmly tempered by natural piety and common sense. In this respect alone the life and character of Alexander Smith have been full of precious instruction to young literary aspirants. The brilliancy of his first appearance before the world, and the flattering testimonies that greeted his entrance into the charmed circle of poets, had no effect whatever in disturbing the serene balance of his nature, or perverting the simplicity of his belief in faithful and honest work as the true avocation of every man, and the ulti-

mate test of his worth. If he had been capable of being spoiled, he had every opportunity for being so. But he was too good for that; and amid all our sorrow for the untimely shortening of his promising career, it is a deep satisfaction to think that his was not a wasted and fruitless life—that already, before the mid-time of his days, which were destined to have no decline, he had proved to the world how well he knew the right exercise, and faithfully employed them to the last.”

When Burns had fully established his reputation as the best poet of Scotland, public gratitude could devise no higher reward than to save him from absolute starvation by making him a gauger. The present age is improved in that respect, and Alexander Smith was to reap the benefit of the improvement. To place the young poet not only in a position of independence, but of literary respectability, was thought to be nothing more than a duty, and he was accordingly appointed secretary of the university of Edinburgh in 1854. Feeling that he could now afford to write poetry as his appointed work, instead of a chance recreation, and partaking in the universal stir occasioned by the breaking out of the Crimean war, Smith in 1855, and in conjunction with Dobell, a brother poet of the Spasmodic School, produced a volume of sonnets. Even already, however, a reaction had occurred in the public estimation: a suspicion arose that the poet had been rated too highly, and the recoil was of that indignant nature which men are apt to exhibit when their suffrage has been stolen from them they know not how. Severely was Smith now to learn the value of popularity. Earnestly and faithfully he had been labouring to improve himself in poetry since the appearance of his much-praised *Drama*—and this was the requital that awaited him! Such was especially the case on the appearance of his *City Poems* in 1857, and the welcome that had been received by his first production was now delivered grudgingly, and with bated breath. And yet these poems were greatly in advance upon his earliest, and showed how sedulously, and also how successfully, he had laboured in the duty of self-improvement. This was especially conspicuous in some of the minor pieces, particularly those entitled “Barbara” and “Glasgow;” the former of which contains some passages of his own history. Animated rather than deterred by the abatement of the popular favour, and resolute to vindicate his claims to poetic excellence, Smith addressed himself anew to the task, and after two years of labour produced his best and largest poetical work, and also his most ambitious, called *Edwin of Deira*. This production, by which his poetical powers have been and will continue to be the most especially judged and estimated, had to contend with unfavourable circumstances. The wonderful history of this amiable heptarchon, Edwin the King of Deira, has been so beautifully and touchingly told by the venerable Bede, that few poets would have cared to disturb it, and a repetition, however excellent, of the tale would always be deemed inferior to the original. At the same time also with the appearance of Smith’s poem, Tennyson published his *Idyls of the King*, and this greatly superior production was thought, although erroneously, to have served as the model of the other. As it was, Edwin with his nobles, knechts, and huscarles, had little chance against Arthur and his knights of the round table, and as a poem it was thrown into the shade by the other. Public opinion even went in some cases to allege that because Tennyson was so much the superior as a poet, therefore Smith was no poet at all. It is needless to dwell upon the absurdity of this conclusion. Alexander Smith was

still under his probation, and the progress he had already made was such as to warrant the hope that all he had hitherto produced would be greatly surpassed by his subsequent efforts. By more than one or two long strides he was still behind the more talented laureate; but with every year the distance would be lessened in the aim to reach his more fortunate brother. Alas that time was wanting for the experiment, and that the only termination of the trial was to be Alexander Smith’s premature grave!

We must now turn to the everyday life and prosaic history of the poet. Although as secretary of the university of Edinburgh he occupied apparently a high literary position, his salary, which was only £150 per annum, only equalled that of the college janitor. His duties also continued to be increased, while the remuneration remained stationary. He received, indeed, an additional £40 as registrar, and £10 as secretary to the university council; but even with these additions, his salary was small for a literary man, and for the performance of duties which kept him closely occupied from ten o’clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. The necessity of improving his limited resources was also increased by his marriage in 1854 to Flora M’Donald, eldest daughter of Captain M’Donald of Ord, in the isle of Skye. He must accordingly devote his evenings to literary occupation, and such occupation as would be remunerative. But he had already experience that poetry did not fall under this description, the whole sum derived from his *Edwin of Deira* being less than twelve pounds. A poet from choice, he must become a prose-writer from necessity, and his beloved vocation must be kept in the back-ground. With a sigh he yielded to the prevalent demand, and the same genius that made him a superior poet enabled him to produce good, popular, prose articles, which he threw off with a ready pen for the principal journals of the day. In this way he became an active contributor to *Blackwood’s* and *Macmillan’s Magazines*, to the *North British Review*, the *Museum*, the *West of Scotland Magazine*, *Good Words*, and latterly the *Argosy* and *Quiver*. At the same time he contributed several articles to the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and a great many to Chambers’ *Encyclopædia*. For several years also he wrote one or two papers weekly for the newspaper press. The merits of the articles so hastily produced are various; but while not a few of them attained to high reputation, all of them were more or less impressed with the stamp of original genius. Of these we would particularly refer to his biographical articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; his series of papers under the title of “Alfred Hagart’s Household,” which appeared in *Good Words*; and his collection of papers called *Dreamthorpe*, published in 1862. In 1865 he published his excellent and painstaking edition of Burns, with a memoir of the poet and a glossary. During the same year appeared his *Summer in Skye*, in two volumes, a work of brilliant character, which has allured many a tourist to that long-forgotten island. It gives us a high idea of Smith’s industry, when we find that in the years 1865 and 1866 his literary labours would fill seven volumes. But much as he wrote, he could not meet the demands of publishers that poured in upon him, especially after the appearance of *Dreamthorpe* in 1862, for most of the new magazines were eager to commence with an article from the popular pen of Alexander Smith. But even already, and in the full flush of this growing celebrity, his task was ended. In the summer of 1865 he exhibited symptoms of an exhausted constitution, the effect of over-work, but an autumn of holidays in the High-

lands seemed to restore him to his wonted health and vigour. He still, however, seemed to feel a premonition of evil, and the flattering promise turned out a delusion. Shortly after the opening of the winter session of 1866, his college duties were found too much for him, a severe and alarming illness succeeded, and he died in his house at Wardie, on the 5th of January, 1867, having just entered his thirty-seventh year.

Thus died this overtaken son of genius before his day, and before he had completed the rich promise of his fame. But a stronger promise of perpetuity is attached to his works than usually falls to the lot of those who die so early. To this brief sketch of Alexander Smith's life we can only add this picture of his character and everyday life, from a friend who knew him well and loved him dearly:—"Those only who knew him intimately—in the seclusion of his study, at his own fireside, in the companionship of a summer-day's ramble—can adequately feel what a justness and generosity of sentiment, what a nobleness of nature, what a perennial stream of kindness and geniality, have vanished with Alexander Smith. Never shall we forget the rare and tender delight which his presence gave to many a genial gathering of literary friends, or the poetic grace which he unconsciously threw around many a joyous symposium commemorative of some 'guest of the evening.' Never shall we forget the happy flow of ideas, the elastic good humour, the bright flashes of true poetic wit with which his company would enliven the long summer-day's excursion! Never shall we forget the quiet felicity with which he would discuss controverted points of ethics or of art in his own quaint and hospitable student-room! For us his favourite walks, his favourite places of resort, will ever be sad with his memory; and, like the thorn that flourishes at mid-winter, will perennially return to us the melancholy morning on which this good and gifted Scotchman went down to his rest."

SMITH, JAMES, Esq., of Jordanhill, F.R.S., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S., M.W.S., &c. &c., born in Glasgow on the 15th August, 1782, was the eldest son of Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, an eminent West India merchant, who died in 1821, and Isabella Ewing, known to many as the friend and correspondent of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, to whom many of the *Letters from the Mountains* were addressed, and whose great powers of mind and warm affections continued unimpaired till her death in 1855, in her 101st year.

Mr. Smith was educated at the university of Glasgow, where he was the contemporary and friend of John Wilson (Christopher North), Dr. Alexander Blair, John Richardson. He afterwards served for some years in the Renfrewshire militia, then chiefly quartered in the south of England, the dread of invasion not having entirely passed away. In 1809 he married Mary Wilson (who died in 1847), granddaughter of Dr. Alexander Wilson, professor of astronomy in the university of Glasgow, whose reputation as an original thinker has recently been revived, from the now very general acquiescence in his speculations on the nature of the solar spots. In 1812 Mr. Smith retired from the militia, and resided, till his father's death, in the then remains of the old castle of Roseneath. The greater part of the stately residence of the Duke of Argyll had been burned down ten years before, and the present castle had not been built. And in this charming residence, in the most beautiful spot of the west of Scotland, he spent the next ten happiest years of his life, indulging in that strong taste or passion for yachting which

with him was lifelong, and for which Roseneath afforded unequalled facilities. In 1821 Mr. Smith's father died, and he shortly afterwards removed to Jordanhill, where he principally resided, and where he died on the 17th of January, 1867, in his eighty-fifth year. In early life Mr. Smith's attention was chiefly given to literature and the fine arts. He was also an ardent cultivator of geographical science. He was an enthusiastic book-collector, particularly in the department of early voyages of discovery, of which he has left a large and valuable collection. He was keenly interested in the Arctic voyages, which excited so much interest at that time, and was the warm personal friend of several of the distinguished officers engaged in them, particularly the lamented Captain Douglas Clavering, R.N., and General Sabine, R.A., the present president of the Royal Society. It may be interesting to mention that it was by a Dutch chart cut from a volume in Mr. Smith's library that Captain Clavering steered to the coast of Greenland and found Gael Hamke's Inlet in the exact situation there laid down, in memory of which he gave the two capes at its entrance the names Cape James and Cape Mary, and to the island at its head the name of Jordanhill. And it is in fact on a MS. copy of Captain Clavering's original chart which Mr. Smith had made for his own use that the geography of East Greenland from latitude 72° to 76° depends, the original having been unfortunately lost. Mr. Smith was also an accomplished linguist, reading with facility most of the Roman and Teutonic languages; and he was a practical as well as theoretical architect; and was a zealous student of family and historical antiquities. Later in life Mr. Smith devoted himself principally to the science of geology, and particularly to that part of it for which the possession of a yacht offered peculiar facilities, viz. the comparison of the shells in the most recent geological deposits with those existing in the present seas. This comparison, originally suggested to him by Sir Charles Lyell, was commenced about the year 1834, and continued with unflagging zeal for many years. The results of his researches were remarkable, and form an era in the history of post-tertiary geology. The deposits which he examined are those of finely laminated clay, with marine remains, which occur at many places and at different elevations, up to several hundred feet, on the west of Scotland. By far the greater proportion of shells in these deposits still inhabit the British seas, but many are no longer to be found. The missing shells are generally of an Arctic type, and most of them have been found in the Arctic seas. From this Mr. Smith drew the conclusion announced by him to the Geological Society in 1839 of the existence before the present geological epoch of a period of greater cold. This conclusion, which was contrary to the general opinion of geologists, is now generally accepted, and the epoch in question is now known as the glacial epoch.

From 1839 to 1847 the health of members of his family caused Mr. Smith to reside successively at Madeira, Gibraltar, Lisbon, and Malta, and he published interesting papers on the geology of each of these localities. Mr. Smith's residence at Malta was the occasion and commencement of the remarkable series of researches connected with the writings of the three earliest Christian writers, by which he is now best known. The first results of these researches were published in 1848, under the title "*The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, with Dissertations on the Life and Writings of St. Luke, and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients." The primary object of the work was to examine the nar-

rative contained in the 27th chapter of Acts, and the method of investigation and the results may be stated in his own words: "I do not even assume the authenticity of the narrative of the voyage and shipwreck contained in the Acts of the Apostles, but scrutinise St. Luke's account of the voyage as I would those of Baffin and Middleton, or of any antient voyage of doubtful authority or involving points on which controversies have been raised. A searching comparison of the narrative with the localities where the events so circumstantially related are said to have taken place, with the aids which recent advances in our knowledge of the geography and the navigation of the eastern part of the Mediterranean supply, accounts for every transaction, clears up every difficulty, and exhibits an agreement so perfect in all its parts as to admit but of one explanation, namely, that it is a narrative of real events, written by one personally engaged in them, and that the tradition respecting the locality is true" (Introduction).

The reader of this sketch will easily see how many qualifications united to fit Mr. Smith for this important subject. The work was at once received by the unanimous verdict of all critics and theologians, both English and foreign, as finally settling all disputed questions as to the narrative of the voyage and the locality of the shipwreck. The minute study of the writings of St. Luke required for this work led Mr. Smith to a view of the much contested question of the connection of the first three Gospels, which was first published in the *Dissertation on the Life and Writings of St. Luke* above referred to, afterwards with much more detail in a separate *Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels* (Blackwood, 1853). The conclusions to which Mr. Smith was led are—1st, That the Gospel of St. Mark (Marcus interpres Petri) is almost entirely a translation made by St. Mark of a contemporary memoir made by St. Peter in Hebrew (Aramaic). 2d. That St. Matthew composed and published his Gospel in both languages, Greek and Aramaic, making use as an authority of St. Peter's memoir. 3d. That St. Luke composed his Gospel, making use, among other authorities, of St. Peter's memoir and of St. Matthew's Greek as well as Aramaic Gospel. These conclusions arrived at by Mr. Smith in 1848 were supported by him with wonderful ingenuity and sagacity, and received remarkable confirmation from the subsequent publication of Dr. Cureton of his translation of the lately discovered Syriac version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which Mr. Smith, as well as Dr. Cureton, considered as being the representative not of the Greek but of the original Aramaic edition of St. Matthew's Gospel.

The publication of the lately discovered Codex Sinaiticus likewise confirmed in many important particulars the conclusions at which Mr. Smith had arrived in both his works.

Mr. Smith was in politics a Conservative, but inclining to the liberal side. He contested the burgh of Greenock at the general election in 1837, but unsuccessfully, and made no other attempt to enter parliament.

In all that concerned the Church of Scotland he took a deep interest. He was for many years a member of the General Assembly as elder for the parish of Renfrew, and at his death was the senior lay member of that body. He deeply deplored the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, and was one of those who were most anxious to remove every ground for it.

Mr. Smith enjoyed vigorous health till the spring of 1866, when a slight stroke of paralysis enfeebled

his body without affecting his mind. A great part of the last summer of his life was spent in his yacht in the quiet waters of the Frith of Clyde, and the lochs and kyles which branch from it. A second attack, in November, 1866, was followed by his death at Jordanhill on the 17th of January, 1867.

Mr. Smith was succeeded by his only son, Archibald Smith, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., barrister-at-law, late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Married in 1853 to Susan Emma, youngest daughter of the late Vice-chancellor Sir James Parker.

SMITH, JAMES. This distinguished agriculturist, who was so successful in propagating the system of deep ploughing and thorough draining, was born at Glasgow on the 3d of January, 1789. His father, who had been in business in that city, died when James was only two months old, so that the infant was left to the charge of his mother, who was a daughter of Mr. Buchanan of Carston in Stirlingshire. After her husband's death Mrs. Smith resided with her brother, the manager of an extensive cotton manufactory at Deanston, near Stirling, and James, after being educated at home, was sent to the university of Glasgow. Whether he distinguished himself as a student we are unable to learn, but his future excellence lay in those departments with which the universities of his day had little connection. After his course of education at college was finished he returned to his uncle, who had removed to the Catrine works in Ayrshire; and being desirous of attaining a complete knowledge of the trade, he became a workman through all its different grades, labouring for the purpose twelve hours a day. Such commendable perseverance was worthily rewarded, as he was intrusted at the early age of eighteen with the entire management of the works at Deanston, and into these he introduced such improvements for promoting the health of the operatives employed in it, that they were mentioned with commendation by Mr. Chadwick in 1841, when he drew up "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population in Great Britain."

It was not, however, to improved processes in manufacturing that the energies of James Smith were to be confined. Agriculture had from an early period occupied his attention; while his training in the factory and acquaintanceship with its machinery, had taught him the best means of compelling the soil to yield its produce. During the war, when labour was very scarce, the Dalkeith Farmers' Club offered a prize of £500 for an effective reaping-machine. This was a fit competition for Mr. Smith, who produced one; and although it did not obtain the prize, the committee were so greatly pleased with it that they requested him to attempt another. This he did in 1813, and though still the prize was not awarded to him, chiefly owing, it is said, to accident, its merits were not the less appreciated. This was shown by a prize which he received from the Dalkeith Farmers' Club of a splendid piece of plate valued at fifty guineas; from the Highland Society of Scotland another piece of plate; from the Gargunnoch Farmers' Club in his own neighbourhood a pair of silver cups; and from the Imperial Agricultural Society of St. Petersburg a massive gold medal, transmitted through the Russian ambassador at the British court. To add to the merit of these achievements, both manufacturing and agricultural, they were effected before he had passed his twenty-fourth year.

Until 1823 Mr. Smith had the management of his uncle's farm, in which he introduced several successful experiments, although his attempts were generally

discountenanced by his kinsman, who was of the old agricultural school, and hated or despised all changes. But in the year we have last mentioned the farm of Deanstoun came into his own hands, and he was free to try upon it what experiments he pleased. There was full need too for change, as the property consisted of about 200 acres of very poor, unproductive land, with a soil not averaging more than four inches in depth, with a subsoil partly of sandy clay and partly of a compact soil with stones, and the whole producing little but rushes in the watery hollows and broom on the dryer portions. It was a field of action well fitted to task the energy and resources of any agricultural projector. To work, however, he went with a will, and intersected the whole farm with drains at distances of twenty-one feet, and at a depth of thirty inches; and these, with the operation of a subsoil plough to stir the ground deeply, without raising the subsoil to the surface, soon changed the whole character and aspect of the place, so that good crops succeeded to the rushes, pools of water, and stone boulders, that had formerly been the chief produce of the land. Encouraged by his success, and desirous that others should partake in it, he published in 1831 a pamphlet on *Thorough Draining and Deep Ploughing*, which secured the attention and awoke the imitation of his immediate neighbourhood; and although a considerable time elapsed before his recommendations were adopted, they at length came into general practice, and Mr. Smith is now recognized with grateful remembrance as the inventor of the system of deep draining.

His success having made him be regarded as an authority upon this and other cognate subjects, he was in 1846 appointed by government one of a commission to inquire into the health and sanitary condition of our manufacturing towns; and one of his recommendations was the removal of the sewage for agricultural purposes, with suggestions of plans to effect the process, which were characterized by great mechanical simplicity and skill. These proposals at first occasioned great demur, and stirred up much opposition in parliament; but an act was finally passed, authorizing large towns to adopt his scheme wherever it was practicable. He also suggested several valuable improvements to the Agricultural Society of Ireland, of which he was a highly honoured member; and to the Glasgow Philosophical Society, in whose *Transactions* several of his contributions appeared. After a life of remarkable activity, in which every hour was turned to account, Mr. Smith's end was sudden and unexpected. On the evening of the 9th of June, 1850, he retired to bed in his usual health, but in the morning was found dead. This occurred at Kingencleugh, Ayrshire, in the sixty-first year of his age.

SMOLLETT, TOBIAS, or, to give him his full name, as it appears in the baptismal record, **TOBIAS GEORGE SMOLLETT**, a celebrated novelist, poet, and miscellaneous writer, was born in the old house of Dalquhurn, near the modern village of Renton, in the parish of Cardross, Dumbartonshire, in the year 1721. His family had held considerable local rank for several centuries. His grandfather, Sir James Smollett, of Bonhill, served as commissioner for Dumbarton in the Scottish parliaments between the Revolution and the Union; in the latter negotiation he was chosen a commissioner on the Scottish side. Archibald, the fourth son of this gentleman, by Jane, daughter of Sir Aulay M'Aulay of Ardincaple, received a liberal education, but was bred to no profession. Without previously consulting his father, he married Barbara Cunningham, daughter

of Mr. Cunningham, of Gilbertfield, near Glasgow—a woman of distinguished understanding, taste, and elegance, but no fortune. Sir James, though displeased with the match, as having been entered into without his knowledge, provided for his son by giving him a liferent of his farm of Dalquhurn; which, with an annuity, made his income about £300 a year.

Archibald Smollett had three children. Soon after the birth of the youngest, the subject of this memoir, he died, leaving his family entirely dependent on the bounty of his father. Tobias very early gave promising indications of a lively wit and vigorous understanding, which were cultivated, not only by the fond partiality of his mother, but by a frequent intercourse with his venerable grandfather, whose long experience “in courts and great affairs” conspired with his natural inclination in directing his attention to the study of the conduct and characters of men, and the science of life. He received the rudiments of education at the neighbouring school of Dumbarton, which was then taught by Mr. John Love, a distinguished grammarian, well known for his controversies with Kuddiman.

The scene of Smollett's childhood was the most favourable that could be conceived for nursing an infant poet; and this circumstance, combined with his romantic disposition, made him wish to be a soldier. He was thwarted, however, in this predilection by his grandfather, who, having already permitted the elder brother, James, to engage in a military career, thought he could better advance the prospects of the younger in a different course of life. Tobias was therefore sent to study at Glasgow College, with a view to some of the learned professions. There he was led, by the intimacy he formed with some of the medical students, to embrace the profession of physic, which he forthwith studied, along with anatomy, under the proper professors, at the same time that he served an apprenticeship in town to a surgeon named Gordon, whom he is supposed to have afterwards caricatured in *Roderick Random*, under the title of *Potion*. His talent for satire and poignant remark was here gradually developed in favour of such specimens of affectation, hypocrisy, and meanness as fell under his observation. He was also given to what are called practical jokes. One winter evening, when the streets were covered with snow, he was engaged in a snow-ball fight with some boys of his own age, among whom was the apprentice of a surgeon, whom he is supposed to have delineated under the name of *Crab* in *Roderick Random*. The master of this apprentice having entered his shop while the youth was in the heat of the engagement, rebuked him very severely on his return for having quitted the shop. The boy excused himself by saying that, while engaged in making up a prescription, a fellow had hit him with a snow-ball, and he had gone in pursuit of the delinquent. “A mighty probable story, truly,” said the master in an ironical tone; “I wonder how long I should stand here before it would enter into any mortal's head to throw a snow-ball at me.” Just as he pronounced these words, Smollett, who had overheard them at the door, gave him a most unexpected answer by throwing a snow-ball, which hit him a very severe blow on the face, and extricated his companion.

But the early years of Smollett were devoted to better pursuits than these. While still studying medicine at the college, he composed a tragedy on the death of James I. of Scotland, entitled the *Régicide*; and which, though not calculated for the stage, certainly displayed considerable ability.

While in his eighteenth year, he had the misfortune to lose his grandfather, who died without making any provision for either him or any of the rest of his father's family. He therefore resolved to seek his fortune in London; while his sister, having married Mr. Telfer, a respectable and wealthy gentleman of Lanarkshire, was able to afford an asylum to his mother. His elder brother, James, who had before this entered the army and reached the rank of captain, was lost at sea off the coast of America.

The stock with which Smollett, at nineteen, entered upon London life, consisted of a small sum of money, a large assortment of letters of introduction, a mind stored with professional knowledge and general literature, a rich vein of humour, and an engaging person and address. He tried, at first, to get his tragedy brought upon the stage; but the attempt only ended in disappointment and chagrin. His friends, however, were able to procure him an appointment as surgeon's mate to a ship of the line; in which capacity he sailed, in 1741, in the unfortunate expedition to Carthage, under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth. Of this blundering affair he published a most faithful and spirited account in his *Compendium of Voyages and Travels*, seven volumes octavo, 1756; as also, what may be styled a personal narrative, in *Roderick Random*. He was so much disgusted with his situation, that, though he had the prospect of promotion, he quitted the service at Jamaica, where he resided for some time. On his return to Britain, in 1746, he was met by accounts of the barbarities exercised by the Duke of Cumberland's army in the north of Scotland; which, notwithstanding that his political principles were Whiggish, drew from him an indignant burst of patriotic eloquence, in the well-known ode, beginning—

"Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn
Thy banished peace, thy laurels torn!"

He is said to have originally finished this production in six stanzas; but some individuals having represented to him that such an expression of sentiment might give offence, and retard his progress in life, he sat down in a fit of still more vehement indignation, and almost instantaneously produced the seventh stanza, beginning—

"While the warm blood bedews my veins,
And unimpaired remembrance reigns,
Remembrance of my country's fate
Within my filial breast shall be."

An anecdote which shows that Smollett, like many other men of distinguished genius, was

"Too fond of the right, to pursue the expedient."

The above anecdote is taken from Dr. Anderson's accurate life of Smollett; but that the subject of our memoir was in London between 1741 and 1746 is abundantly clear from the following letter, which is here for the first time committed to print:—

"Dear Sir,—I am this minute happy in yours, which affords me all the satisfaction of hearing from you, without the anxiety naturally flowing from its melancholy occasion; for I was informed of the decease of our late friend by a letter from Mr. Gordon,¹ dated the day after his death.

"All those (as well as my dear Barclay) who knew the intimacy betwixt us, must imagine that no stroke of fate could make a deeper impression on my soul than that which severs me for ever from one I so entirely loved! from one who merited universal esteem; and who, had he not been cut off in the very blossom of his being, would have been an ornament to society, the pride and joy of his parents, and a most inestimable jewel to such as were attached to him, as we

were, by the sacred ties of love and friendship. O my dear Ritchie, little did I think, at our last parting, we should never meet again! How many hours, days, nay years, of enjoyment did I promise myself on the prospect of seeing thee again! How has my heart throbbed at thy imaginary presence! And how oft have I conversed with thee by the indulgence of a dream! Even when I waked to my disappointment, I flew to pleasing hope for refuge, and reflected on the probability of real gratification! But now, alas! even that forsakes me. Hope itself lies buried with its object, and remembrance strives to soothe itself by recalling the delightful scenes of past intercourse! Dear brother, this is a theme I can scarce quit; my imagination broods o'er my melancholy, and teems with endless sentiments of grief and tenderness. My weeping muse would fain pay a tribute to his manes; and were I vain enough to think my verse would last, I would perpetuate his friendship and his virtue.

"As for the particulars you expect from me, you must wait until I shall be better informed myself: for, to tell you an extraordinary truth, I do not know, as yet, whether you had better congratulate or condole with me. I wish I was near you, that I might pour forth my heart before you, and make you judge of its dictates, and the several steps I have lately taken; in which case, I am confident you and all honest men would acquit my principles, howsoever my prudentials might be condemned. However, I have moved into the house where the late John Douglas, surgeon, died, and you may henceforth direct for Mr. Smollett, surgeon, in Downing Street, West. My respects wait on Mr. John Gordon and family; and please let my condolence and best wishes be made acceptable to the parents of my much lamented friend. At the same time, receive yourself the additional portion of affection he possessed in the heart of

"Your own,
"T^S. SMOLLETT.

"London, May 22d, 1744.

"Willy Wood, who is just now drinking a glass with me, offers you his good wishes, and desires you to present his compliments to Miss Becky Bogle,
"T. S."

In 1746 Smollett published a satirical poem in the manner of Juvenal, entitled *Advice*, and aimed at some of the chief political characters of the day. In the beginning of 1747 appeared a continuation of the same production, under the title of *Reproof*, which attacked all kinds of odious characters, military cowards, army-contractors, usurers, gamblers, poets, &c. The keen and energetic expressions of those poems caused the author to be respected, dreaded, and detested—the usual fate of satirists.

During his residence in Jamaica, Smollett had formed an attachment to Miss Lascelles, an elegant and accomplished young lady of respectable connections in that island, and who had the expectation of a fortune of £3000. He now married Miss Lascelles, and setting up an elegant domestic establishment in London, indulged in a style of life suitable to his own generous disposition and the taste and education of his wife. Being disappointed, however, of the expected fortune of Mrs. Smollett, which cost him an expensive and vexatious lawsuit, without ever being realized, he was obliged to have recourse to his pen for subsistence, and produced his novel of *Roderick Random*, in two volumes (1748); a work founded partly upon the incidents of his own life, though in no very decided manner. The singular humour of this work, its amazing truth to nature, and the entertainment which it is calculated to afford

¹ Probably his former master at Glasgow.

to minds of all orders, secured it a most extensive sale, and raised both the fortune and the fame of the author. It was followed by the publication of the *Regicide*, which was also profitable; and in 1750 Smollett paid a visit to Paris.

In 1751, when as yet only thirty years of age, he produced *Peregrine Pickle*, in four volumes; a more regular, and perhaps more elaborate, novel than *Roderick Random*, but hardly so entertaining, and certainly much more obnoxious than its predecessor to the charge of licentiousness and coarseness in some of its passages. It is somewhat remarkable, that neither in this novel nor in *Roderick Random* does he make his hero a perfect gentleman: in both characters, the mixture of selfishness and want of principle is very great. It is further remarkable, that, while the humour of the two works is beyond all parallel in the English language, there is hardly a single dash of pathos, or even of pure and virtuous feeling. It must be concluded, indeed, from these and all the other productions of Smollett, that though himself an honourable and generous man, he cherished no notions of high and abstract goodness: the fidelity and kindness of Strap and Bowling, though sometimes touching, are too evidently referable to the simplicity of their respective classes to counter-vail against our observations. The fine passage also in *Peregrine Pickle*, where the exiled Jacobites bewail from the quay of Boulogne the land they can still see, but must never again tread, is only an accidental narration of a real anecdote. The chief person alluded to was a Mr. Hunter of Burnside, whom Smollett had met at Boulogne under the circumstances described, when engaged in his French tour.

After a vain attempt to get into practice as a physician—for which purpose he published a medical pamphlet, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Physic—he assumed the character of an author by profession, and retired to a small house at Chelsea, where he lived for some years. The unmerciful manner in which he had lashed the ministry precluded all court patronage, even if it had been the fashion of the court of George II. to extend it. He depended solely on the booksellers, for whom he wrought in the various departments of compilations, translations, criticisms, and miscellaneous essays. In 1753 he produced his novel entitled the *Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*; a work which appears to be founded upon a mistake both in morals and metaphysics. To exhibit the details of a life spent in one uninterrupted series of base and fraudulent transactions cannot be favourable to the morals of the world in any case; but the greatest objection is that such a work is a monstrosity, because no such character ever existed or can exist. In every view of the case it were better for the literary and moral reputation of Smollett that this work had never been written. In the beginning of 1755 he published his translation of *Don Quixote*, which, though esteemed less faithful than others previously given to the English public, conveys more perfectly, because more freely, the humour of the author. This work was very profitable to the translator.

Smollett now revisited his native country, from which he had been absent fifteen years. On arriving at Scotston, in Peeblesshire, where his mother resided with her daughter Mrs. Telfer, it was arranged that he should be introduced to the old lady as a gentleman from the West Indies who was intimately acquainted with her son. The better to support his assumed character, he endeavoured to preserve a very serious countenance, approaching to a frown; but while his mother's eyes were rivetted with the instinct of affection upon his countenance, he could

not refrain from smiling: she immediately sprang from her chair, and, throwing her arms around his neck, exclaimed "Ah! my son, my son!" She afterwards told him that, if he had kept his austere looks and continued to *gloom*, she might have perhaps been deceived; but "your old roguish smile," she added, "betrayed you at once."

After a little tour through the circle of his Scottish acquaintance, he returned to London, and commenced in 1756 the *Critical Review*, which professed to maintain Tory principles against the Whig work called the *Monthly Review*. His contributions to this periodical were numerous and excellent, though sometimes disgraced by intemperance of language. He soon after published his large collection of *Voyages* formerly alluded to.

Passing over a farce entitled the *Reprisal*, which was acted with success in 1757, Smollett's next work was his "*Complete History of England*, deduced from the descent of Julius Cæsar to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748," which appeared in 1758, in 4 vols. 4to. As only a part of Hume's *History* had hitherto appeared, this work was the first of the kind in which any large share of ability or any considerable elegance of composition had been displayed. The judgments of the writer upon political characters and transactions are by no means in the most popular strain, nor are they even consistent; but, nevertheless, the spirit and sprightliness of the narrative secured it approbation. It met with so extensive a sale, that, with the continuation afterwards published in two similar quarto volumes, it brought him £2000, while half as much was made by the bookseller to whom he sold the *Continuation*, from a mere transference of the copyright of that part of the work. It has been declared, and never contradicted, that the four quarto volumes, embracing a period of 1300 years, were composed and finished for the press in fourteen months; an effort to which nothing but the greatest abilities and the most vigorous application could have been equal. The shortness of time bestowed on the *Complete History of England*, joined to the merit of the performance, and the consideration of the infinite pains and perseverance it must have cost him to form and digest a proper plan, compile materials, compare different accounts, collate authorities, and compose, polish, and finish the work, will make it be regarded as one of the most striking instances of facility in writing that is to be found in literary history. The work, in its entire shape, has long been superseded; but it has always been customary to supply the defect of Hume's work with a continuation from Smollett, embracing the period between the Revolution and the accession of George III.

The one grand defect of Smollett's character was his propensity to satire. According to the report of an early companion, his conversation in company was a continued string of epigrammatic sarcasms against one or other of those present; a practice so disagreeable that no degree of talent could excuse it. When he wrote satirically, it was generally in reference to something mean, cowardly, selfish, or otherwise odious to his own upright and generous feelings. It did not occur to him—nor has it properly been considered either by satirists or those who delight in satire—that for a private individual to set himself up in judgment upon a fellow-being, and, without examining any evidence or hearing any defence, to condemn him at once and irremediably to the pillory of the press, is an invasion of the rights of the subject just as wicked as it would be to take away from an ordinary culprit the trial by jury and the privilege of being heard by counsel. Smollett was in the habit of indulging his propensity very frequently

in the *Critical Review*, and, as a natural result of his warm and hasty temper, he often censured and ridiculed without a proper cause. Hence he was perpetually subject to counter-assaults from provoked authors, and occasionally to legal prosecutions, the effect of which was so severe that he is found, September 28, 1758, describing himself to Dr. Moore as sick both of praise and blame, and praying to his God that circumstances might permit him to consign his pen to oblivion! In the end of this year, in consequence of some severe expressions he had used in the *Review* regarding Admiral Knowles, a prosecution was raised against the printer, chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining the author of the offensive article, from whom, in the event of his proving a gentleman, the complainant threatened to demand the usual satisfaction. After every attempt to soften Admiral Knowles had failed, Smollett came boldly forward and screened the printer by avowing himself the author of the article, and offering any satisfaction that might be required. Knowles, who had sailed as a captain in the expedition to Carthage, probably thought it beneath him to fight a man who had been a surgeon's mate in the same fleet, even though that surgeon's mate boasted of some good Caledonian blood, and was besides booked for immortality in the scrolls of fame. The penalty paid by Smollett for his rashness was a fine of £100, and an imprisonment for three months in the King's Bench prison. Yet, in this misfortune, he was not without consolation. His conduct was generally pronounced very magnanimous, and his friends continued to visit him in prison the same as in his neat villa at Chelsea.

To beguile the tedium of confinement, he wrote a fantastic novel, entitled the *Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, which appeared in detached portions through the successive numbers of the *British Magazine* for 1760 and 1761. This is deservedly ranked among the least happy of Smollett's performances. The drollery entirely lies in the adventures of a crazy English gentleman, who sets out armed cap-à-pie, in the character of a knight-errant, and roams through modern England, to attack vice wherever it can be found, to protect defenceless virtue, and remedy the evils which the law cannot reach. While some amusement is afforded by the contrast of such a character with the modern commonplace beings amongst whom he moves, it is only the imperfect amusement yielded by the exhibition of natural madness: the adventures of an imaginary sovereign broken loose from a mad-house could hardly be less drearily entertaining. Smollett, in the haste with which he wrote his novel, has evidently proceeded upon the idea of an English Don Quixote, without recollecting that the work of the illustrious Cervantes had a rational aim, in proposing to counteract the rage of the Spanish people for tales of knightly adventure. His own work, having no such object, labours under the imputation of being an imitation, without any countervailing advantage. Yet, strange to say, such was the *prestige* of Smollett's name and example, that the work not only sold to a great extent as a separate publication, but was followed by many sub-imitations, such as the *Spiritual Quixote*, the *Amicable Quixote*, the *Female Quixote*, &c.

In 1760 Smollett became engaged, with other literary adventurers, in a large and important work, which was finished in 1764, in 42 volumes, under the title of the *Modern Part of an Universal History*. He is supposed to have contributed the histories of France, Italy, and Germany to this work, and to have received altogether, for his share of the labour, no less a sum than £1575. Throughout the

same period he was engaged in his *Continuation of the History of England, from 1748 to 1765*, which first appeared in five successive octavo volumes, and finally in 2 vols. 4to, 1766. It has been already mentioned that for this work he is supposed to have received such a price as enabled the purchaser to sell it to a bookseller at a profit of £1000.

Smollett had been originally a Whig, but he gradually became something very like a Tory. A diffusive philanthropy by which he was inspired, with perhaps some impressions from early education, had made him the first; a disgust at the conduct of some of his party appears to have inclined him to the second. The accession of a Scottish prime minister in the Earl of Bute, as it excited much opposition among the English, so it attracted a proportionate degree of support from the Scotch, who now very generally became adherents of the government, from a motive of nationality, without regard to their former political sentiments. Smollett went into this enthusiasm, and on the very day of the Earl of Bute's elevation, May 29th, 1762, he started a newspaper entitled the *Briton*, in which he laboured to break down the prejudices of the English against a Scottish premier, and undertook the defence of the new administration upon its own merits. Within a week after this event an opposition journal was started by Wilkes, with whom Smollett had previously lived on the most intimate terms of friendship, but who now became his political antagonist. The *North Briton* (so was this paper called), supported by the overpowering national feelings of England, very soon proved too much for its rival; and on the 12th February, 1763, Smollett abandoned the publication. He did not shine as a party writer, wanting that coolness which is necessary in forming replies and repartees to all the paragraphs with which he was assailed: like the most of professed satirists, he could endure nothing so ill as satire. Lord Bute, who resigned in the April following, is said to have never sufficiently acknowledged the services of Smollett.

Among the publications with which Smollett was connected about this time were a translation of the works of Voltaire in twenty-seven volumes, and a work in eight volumes, entitled the *Present State of all Nations*. In the first his name was associated with that of the Rev. T. Francklin, translator of Sophocles; but in neither is it probable that much was written by his own hand.

He had now for many years prosecuted the sedentary and laborious employment of an author by profession. Though little more than forty years of age, and possessed originally of a most robust frame, he began to suffer from ill health. His life, which ought to have been rendered comfortable by the large sums he procured for his works, was embittered by "the slings and arrows" which his own satirical disposition had caused to be directed against himself, and by the loss of friends, which he was perpetually suffering, either from that cause, or from political differences. To add to his other miseries, he had the misfortune at this time to lose his daughter and only child, Elizabeth, a girl of fifteen, whose amiable disposition and elegant accomplishments had become the solace of his life, and promised to be in future a still more precious blessing. Under this accumulation of distresses he was prevailed upon by his wife to seek consolation in travel; and accordingly, in June, 1763, he went abroad, and continued in France about two years.

In the course of his travels Smollett seems to have laboured under a constant fit of ill-humour, the result of morbid feelings and a distempered bodily

system. This is amply visible in the work which he published on his return, entitled *Travels through France and Italy*, 2 vols. 8vo, of which two passages may be here extracted.

"With respect to the famous Venus Pontia, commonly called *de Medicis*, I believe I ought to be entirely silent, or at least conceal my real sentiments, which will otherwise appear equally absurd and presumptuous. It must be want of taste that prevents my feeling that enthusiastic admiration with which others are inspired at sight of this statue. I cannot help thinking there is no beauty in the features of Venus, and that the attitude is awkward and out of character.

"I was much disappointed at sight of the Pantheon, which, after all that has been said of it, looks like a huge cock-pit, open at the top."

These observations upon works of art that had been the subject of universal admiration for centuries could not be attributed to an original and native want of taste in such a man as Smollett: they must therefore be ascribed altogether to the distempered light which disease threw around every object that claimed his attention. The morose style of his *Travels* called forth universal remark; but nothing excited more surprise than what he had said regarding Venus and the Pantheon. His observations upon these subjects drew down upon him the following sarcastic notice from Sterne:—

"The learned Smelfungus travelled from Boulogne to Paris—from Paris to Rome—and so on; but he set out with the spleen and the jaundice, and every object he passed by was discoloured and distorted. He wrote an account of them, but it was nothing but an account of his miserable feelings. I met Smelfungus in the grand portico of the Pantheon; he was just coming out of it; 'It is nothing but a huge cock-pit,' said he; 'I wish you had said nothing worse of the Venus Medicis,' I replied; for, in passing through Florence, I had heard he had fallen foul upon the goddess, and used her worse than a common strumpet, without the least provocation in nature. I popped upon Smelfungus again at Turin, in his return home; and a sad and sorrowful tale of adventures he had to tell, wherein he spoke of moving accidents by flood and field, and of the cannibals which each other eat—the Anthropophagi. He had been flayed alive, and bedeviled, and worse used than St. Bartholomew at every stage he had come at. 'I'll tell it,' said Smelfungus, 'to the world.' 'You had better tell it,' said I, 'to your physician.'"¹

A continental tour having failed to restore health and spirits, he now resolved to try the effect of native air and native scenery. About the beginning of June, 1766, he arrived in Edinburgh, where he passed some time with his mother, who retained, at an advanced age, a strong understanding and an uncommon share of humour, and whom he loved with all the warmth of filial affection.² He then proceeded with his sister, Mrs. Telfer, and his nephew, a young officer in the army, to Glasgow; whence, after a brief stay, they went, accompanied by Dr. Moore, to Cameron, the residence of his cousin Mr. Smollett of Bonhill, on the banks of Lochlomond. During the whole time of his stay he was afflicted with severe rheumatic pains, and with a neglected ulcer in his arm, which almost unfitted him for enjoying society. He afterwards commemorated the impressions, and some of the adventures which he

experienced in his tour, in his last and best novel, *Humphrey Clinker*, which was published in 1771, while he resided in Italy. In the account which he gives in this novel of some branches of Edinburgh society he had real characters and real customs in his eye. The "Mr. M——," at whose house his characters are represented as having seen a *haggis* at table, was Mr. Mitchelson, a writer to the signet, connected with the family of Sir Walter Scott. The "beautiful Miss E—— R——," whom Jerry Melford signalizes at a ball, was Miss Eleonora Renton, daughter of John Renton, Esq., of Lamerton, by Lady Susan, daughter of Alexander ninth Earl of Eglintoun. Her eldest sister became the wife of Mr. Telfer, nephew of Smollett, and communicated the name of Renton to a large manufacturing village, now situated at Dalquhurn, the birthplace of the novelist. The young lady whose elegant person attracted the notice of Smollett in 1766 was the late dowager Mrs. Sharpe of Hoddam, and mother of the ingenious historical antiquary the late Mr. Charles Kilpatrick Sharpe.³

It may perhaps surprise those who have enjoyed the exquisite humour of the Scottish scenes in *Humphrey Clinker*, that, during the whole tour which he has commemorated under that fictitious shape, he suffered so much pain from his arm as to be, in some measure, *mentally affected*: he acknowledges himself, that, from April till November, 1766, he had a kind of *coma vigil*; and that his Scottish journey, therefore, which ended in August, "produced only misery and disgust."⁴

He spent the winter of 1766–7 in Bath, where he was so fortunate as to get quit of his ulcer, and recover a considerable portion of his original health. In 1766 he published his *Adventures of an Atom*, two vols. 12mo; a political romance, or *jeu d'esprit*, exhibiting, under Japanese names, the characters and conduct of the leaders of party, from the commencement of the French war, in 1756, to the dissolution of Lord Chatham's administration, in 1767–8. Soon afterwards, his ailments having recurred with violence, he was recommended to try once more the genial climate of Italy; but his circumstances being inadequate to the expense of the journey, and of his remaining free from all care but what concerned his health, application was made to obtain for him the office of consul at Nice, Naples, or Leghorn. This application was unsuccessful, because the government, as usual, could not spare any patronage, except for its friends. Smollett had therefore to set out for Italy in 1770, under circumstances far from easy, and which must have no doubt materially increased his personal distress. He chose for his residence a cottage near Leghorn, situated on a mountain side overlooking the sea, and surrounded by some of the fairest scenery in Tuscany. While residing here he published, in 1771, the *Adventures of Humphrey Clinker*, in which his own character, as it appeared in later life under the pressure of bodily disease, is delineated in the person of Matthew Bramble. During the summer of 1774 he declined very rapidly; and at length, on the 21st of October, death put a period to his sufferings.

³ The adventures of Lesmahago among the Indians were perhaps suggested by the real story of a Lieutenant Kennedy, who, in the Seven Years' war, married an Indian squaw, and was made a king by her tribe. "General Abercromby gave him a party of Highlanders," says a newspaper of the day, "joined with a party of Indians, to GO A-SCALPING, in which he had some success. He had learned the language; paints and dresses like an Indian; and it is thought will be of service by his new alliance. His wife goes with him, and carries his provisions on her back." Such was the enlightened warfare carried on in those times, notwithstanding the eloquent denunciations of a Chatham! ⁴ Letter to Dr. Moore.

¹ *Sentimental Journey*, vol. i.

² During his residence in Edinburgh he lived in his mother's house, or rather his sister's, at the head of St. John Street, in the Canongate.

Smollett, who thus died prematurely in the fifty-first year of his age, and the bloom of his mental faculties, was tall and handsome, with a most prepossessing carriage and address, and all the marks and manners of a gentleman. His character, laying aside the unhappy propensity to sarcasm and epigram, was of an elevated and generous cast, humane and benevolent; and he only practised virtue too rigorously, and abhorred vice too vehemently, for his own comfort in a world of inferior morality. An irritable and impatient temper, and a proud, improvident disposition, were his greatest, and almost his only, failings. Of his genius as a delineator of human character, his novels form an imperishable monument, though certainly not undeformed by considerable impurity of taste. So long as his *Ode to Leven Water* and his *Ode to Independence* exist, he can never fail to be admired as a poet.

Three years after Smollett's death a round column, of the Tuscan order, with an urn on its entablature, was erected to his memory near the house in which he was born, by his cousin, Mr. Smollett of Bonhill, who is said to have never manifested any kindness towards him while he was alive. For this memorial an inscription was furnished by the united labours of Professor George Stuart of Edinburgh, Mr. Ramsay of Ochertyre, and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Lord Kames also wrote an English epitaph, which was lost to the learned world till it appeared in the work entitled *Traditions of Edinburgh*. A plainer monument was erected over Smollett's grave at Leghorn, by his friend and countryman, Dr. Armstrong, who added a very elegant inscription.

The widow of Smollett—the *Narcissa* of *Roderick Random*—was left a poor widow in a foreign land. The small remains of her husband's fortune had been settled upon her under the trust of Mr. Graham of Gartmore, and Mr. Bontine, his tried and faithful friends. The sum, however, was so little, that this elegant woman was soon involved in great distress. It must have added not a little to the poignancy of Mrs. Smollett's feelings, that, had her husband lived a few years longer, he would have succeeded his cousin of Bonhill as heir of entail in the possession of an estate of a thousand a year, besides perhaps the private wealth of that individual, worth as much more; all of which descended to his sister, Mrs. Telfer. It is alleged by Dr. Anderson that neither Mr. Smollett nor Mrs. Telfer ever thought of extending any relief to the widow of their distinguished relative, the man whose genius has consecrated their family name to all posterity. It is known, however, that Mr. Smollett, almost immediately after his cousin's death, gave a considerable sum to the widow, under pretence of purchasing her husband's books, few of which ever reached the purchaser. We certainly cannot but regret that Mrs. Telfer afterwards permitted an act of public charity to be resorted to for the relief of her kinswoman. On the 3d of March, 1784, probably through the exertions of Mr. Graham of Gartmore, a benefit was procured for her in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh; on which occasion the play of *Venice Preserved* was acted, with a prologue written by Mr. Graham. The money, amounting, with private donations, to £366, was remitted to Italy; and this was all that Scotland ever sacrificed for the sake of one of the most illustrious of her sons.

SOMERVILLE, DR. THOMAS, an eminent historian, was born at Hawick, in Roxburghshire, in the spring of 1741.¹ By the early death of his father,

who was minister of the parish of Hawick, he was left an orphan, along with two sisters, his mother having predeceased her husband. His father left the care of his early education to the Rev. Mr. Cranstoun of Ancrum and another member of the presbytery of Jedburgh, whose kindness and attention are evidenced by the affection afterwards exhibited towards them by their pupil. Having obtained the education derivable from a provincial grammar-school, he became a student in the university of Edinburgh. He is said not to have exhibited in his acquisitions the precocity of talent generally recorded of men who have become eminent in any branch of literature; and indeed the branch in which he distinguished himself, when qualified by the manner in which he treated it, is more dependent on a general development of sound ordinary abilities, than on the existence of that genius which shines before the judgment is matured. Nothing seems to be known of his early habits, except his having fallen from a horse and hurt his head; a circumstance which, not unnaturally, gave him a partiality for pedestrian exercises during the remainder of his life. The accident happened in Edinburgh close to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Bain, an eminent clergyman of the Relief church. "In his family the patient was attended for several months with a kindness and humanity which made a lasting impression on his mind. Often has the present writer," continues the memoir above referred to, "heard him express the pleasure and improvement he had reaped from the enlightened conversation of his worthy host during a long and tedious convalescence." Somerville was licensed as a preacher about the year 1762. He shortly after this event returned to Roxburghshire, and became tutor to the son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, afterwards Lord Minto, and governor-general of India. In 1767 Sir Gilbert presented him with the living of Minto; and in 1772 the same friend procured his promotion to the more lucrative living of Jedburgh. At that period opposition to the right of patronage in Scotland was still warm in the feelings of the people, if it might not be said to have revived. There is no doubt that the right was well exercised, and in the midst of so much scrutiny and opposition it would have been singular had it not been so; but the very circumstance which produced the election of such men as Mr. Somerville was naturally the cause of objection to the persons chosen: and the subject of our memoir entered on his charge in direct opposition to a great majority of his parishioners. It may be predicated of a man of good feeling and sense, that he would hesitate to be the teacher of the conscience of persons who contemned and disliked him; but it was part of Somerville's political opinion to think otherwise; and biography affords many instances in which persons so swayed have been excellent men, and might have despised the action had it been set before them divested of its political bearings. The appointment was followed by repeated protests, but its legality was confirmed. "Whatever," says the memoir, "might be the cause of the reverend presentee's extreme unpopularity—whatever objections were alleged against the orthodoxy of his creed, or his mode of public teaching—his most strenuous opponents were compelled to admit the correctness of his moral character; and several of the most discontented having seceded to the *Relief meeting*, tranquillity was gradually restored."

Somerville commenced authorship by a pamphlet

¹ Memoir in the *Annual Obituary* for 1831. As this memoir is written by a personal friend of Dr. Somerville, and is both

better written and more liberal in its views than such productions generally happen to be, we shall take the liberty of making some quotations from it.

entitled *Candid Thoughts on American Independence*, which appeared soon after the commencement of the American war. Like Campbell and other members of the Church of Scotland, he maintained those opinions against the claims of the colonists, which were so much opposed to the principles on which the Church of Scotland struggled into existence, however much they might accord with those of its pastors after it was firmly established. In 1792 appeared his "*History of Political Transactions and of Parties*, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Death of King William." In his treatment of this subject, he showed himself a member of that class of politicians whose doctrines are generally founded on either or both of two opinions connected with the times. 1st, A dislike of Popery and all persons connected with it; and, consequently, a love of all measures termed Protestant; secondly, An affection for the state of things existing at the period of writing, and such a respect for the persons who, by operating great changes, have brought about that existing state, as the writer would have been the last person to feel when the change was about to be made. Hence Somerville is, on all occasions, not only the admirer but the vindicator of William, and a supporter of what are called "the principles of the Revolution," or those of the future permanency of the country in the position in which the Revolution left it. Owing to the other eminent histories of the same period, this work is not so valuable as the author's *History of Queen Anne*, which appeared in 1798, with the title "*The History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*; with a Dissertation concerning the Danger of the Protestant Succession: and an Appendix, containing Original Papers." This work was a valuable accession to the literature of the period at which it was published; and it must still be allowed to be the most ample and accurate, if not also the most impartial, history of the times of which it treats. In the interval between the production of his two great historical works (1793), he wrote a pamphlet on the *Constitution and State of Great Britain*. About the same time he was chosen one of the chaplains in ordinary to his majesty for Scotland, and elected a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He also received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the university of Edinburgh, at what period of his life we are not aware.

At the period of the publication of his *History of Queen Anne*, Dr. Somerville visited London, and presented a copy of his work to the king, at an introduction at St. James'. A whimsical circumstance happened to him during his visit, thus told by his biographer:—"On the day subsequent to his arrival, while in the lobby of the House of Commons, Dr. Somerville was arrested and taken to Bow Street, on a charge of felony. Thunderstruck, and utterly incapable of accounting for the strange predicament in which he was placed, our bewildered divine could scarcely avail himself of the polite advice of the magistrate to apprise his friends of the circumstance. Meanwhile, the late Lord Melville, then Sir Henry Dundas, who had witnessed his seizure, entered the office, and having satisfied the magistrate of the respectability of his countryman, indulged in a hearty laugh at his expense. A notorious and specious swindler had been, it should seem, a passenger on board the packet in which Dr. Somerville came to London; and being seen in the company of this man on their landing, led to his arrest as an accomplice. This anecdote the writer has often heard Dr. Somerville relate with much pleasantry."

Besides his political and historical works, Dr.

Somerville wrote two sermons, communicated to the *Scotch Preacher*; a *Collection of Sermons*, published in 1815; and a sermon "On the Nature and Obligation of an Oath," which appeared in the *Scottish Pulpit*. He died, after a few days' illness, at Jedburgh, on the 16th May, 1830, at the good old age of ninety, and in the sixty-fourth year of his ministry. His faculties were fresh to the last; and on the Sunday previous to his death he had preached and administered the sacrament. Of his opinions and domestic character the following paragraphs from the memoir above referred to are descriptive:—"Political science having long been the favourite study of Dr. Somerville, it may readily be supposed that he took a deep interest in all that concerned the French revolution. But he was not one of those who hailed the dawn of liberty in that enslaved and benighted land; on the contrary, he beheld it as the harbinger of evil to the whole of civilized Europe; while, from the dissensions to which this event gave rise in his own country, he augured the downfall of that constitution, in church and state, which he had so ably vindicated in his writings, and which he regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of perfection. An alarmist on principle, he involved in one sweeping condemnation all who entertained views different from his own on this subject; and the wild impracticable theorist—the temperate and philosophical advocate for reform—were with him equally objects of reprobation. . . . Devoted through a long life to the pursuits of literature, Dr. Somerville numbered among his friends many of the eminent scholars and divines of his native Scotland, and during his occasional visits to the British metropolis, he was introduced to several of the distinguished literati of the south. Superior to the mean jealousy and petty envy which too often prevail among the votaries of science and learning, Dr. Somerville was at all times, and on every occasion, eager to do justice to the talents and merits of his gifted contemporaries. No man could be more enthusiastically alive to the transcendent genius of Burns, or more feelingly deplore the moral aberrations of that inspired bard. In the dark hour of John Logan's eventful life he stretched towards him the supporting hand of friendship, and shielded him in some measure from the attacks of bigotry and illiberality, by the weight and influence of his own pure and unimpeachable character. A gold-headed cane, the parting gift of the grateful poet when he bade a lasting adieu to Scotland, Dr. Somerville highly prized and always carried in his hand when walking."

SPOTSWOOD, JOHN, superintendent of Lothian, was descended of the ancient Merse family of Spotswood of that ilk, and was born in the year 1510. His father, William Spotswood, was killed at the battle of Flodden, leaving him an orphan at little more than three years of age. The place at which he was educated, and the person who taught him in his early years, are equally unknown to us. We have, indeed, discovered no further notice of him till 1534 (June 27), when, at the very late age of four-and-twenty, he was entered a student in the university of Glasgow. There was perhaps, however, some peculiarity in his case, for he became bachelor in the very next year (February 8, 1535); a circumstance which we can only account for on the supposition that he had either made very remarkable proficiency in his studies, or attended some of the other universities previously. Spotswood, it is believed, intended to prosecute the study of divinity; but he became disgusted with the cruelty of the Catholic clergy, manifested most probably in the condemnation of Russell and Kennedy,

who were burned for heresy at Glasgow about 1538. In that year he left his native country, apparently horrified at the spectacle he had witnessed, and at other instances of barbarity which he must have heard of, and retired into England. At London he became acquainted with Archbishop Cranmer, to whose kindness and encouragement many of our countrymen were indebted; and from whose eagerness in the dissemination of truth the benefit derived by Scotland cannot be easily estimated. Mr. Spotswood remained in the south for nearly five years, that is, from 1538 till 1543, when Henry VIII. restored the prisoners taken at the disgraceful rout of Solway Moss. He then returned to Scotland in company with the Earl of Glencairn, a nobleman well known for his attachment to Protestant principles, and resided with him for several years. Through that nobleman he became acquainted with the Earl of Lennox, and was by him employed in a private negotiation with the English court in 1544. After residing there for some months he returned to Scotland, but little is known respecting him for some years following. In 1548 he was presented to the parsonage of Calder by Sir James Sandelands; and, as a constant residence at his cure was not required, he lived for about ten years with that gentleman and with Lord James Stewart, then prior of St. Andrews, and afterwards better known as the Regent Murray. When commissioners were appointed by parliament, in 1558, to be present at the marriage of the young Queen of Scotland to the dauphin of France, Lord James was included in the number, and Spotswood accompanied him. Luckily, both returned in safety from this expedition, so fatal to many of their companions.

On the establishment of the Reformation, the first care of the Protestant party was to distribute the very few ministers who held their sentiments into different parts of the country. The scarcity of qualified persons gave rise to some temporary arrangements, which were, however, afterwards abandoned when the circumstances which produced them ceased to exist. One of these was, the establishment of superintendents over different districts—an office which has been brought forward, with but little justice we think, by some writers, to prove that the constitution of the Scottish church was originally Episcopal. Mr. Spotswood had the honour of being first elected, having been appointed to the oversight of the district of Lothian, in March, 1560-1. The proceedings on this occasion were conducted by John Knox; and the pledges required by that zealous reformer must have impressed both the superintendent and the people with a deep sense of the importance of his office, while it could not fail to be favourably contrasted with the system which had recently been abolished.

The proceedings of the church-courts, after the stimulus created by the events immediately connected with the Reformation had somewhat subsided, could not be supposed to excite much interest in the mind of a general reader, unless we should enter into much more minute particulars than our limits permit. If we cannot, therefore, excite very deeply our reader's sympathies, we shall not tax his patience more than is necessary to give a very brief outline of the more important transactions with which Mr. Spotswood's name is connected.

Mr. Spotswood appears to have retained the charge of his flock at Calder after he became superintendent of Lothian; but it cannot be supposed that the variety and extent of his duties permitted anything more than a very loose and occasional attention to their interests. Of this the parishioners com-

plained more than once to the General Assembly, but without success; the means of supporting a superintendent being quite inadequate without the benefice of a parish. The mere visitation of a district seems to have been but a part of the labours of a superintendent: there were many occasions on which these officials were called upon to expend their time in behalf of the general interests of the church. Spotswood appears to have been frequently deputed by the General Assembly to confer with Queen Mary, with whom he was a favourite, upon the important subject of an improvement in the provision for their maintenance. On the interesting occasion of the birth of her son, in June, 1566, the General Assembly sent him "to testify their gladness for the prince's birth, and to desire he might be baptized according to the form used in the Reformed church." He did not succeed in obtaining a favourable, or indeed any, reply to the latter part of his commission, but the manner in which he conducted himself obtained for him a most gracious reception. Deeply sensible how intimately the nation's welfare was connected with the education of the child, he took him in his arms, and falling on his knees, implored for him the divine blessing and protection. This exhibition of unaffected piety was well calculated to touch the finest feelings of the soul. It was listened to with reverential attention by the queen, and procured for him the respect and reverence of the prince in his maturer years.

But Mr. Spotswood's feelings towards the queen were soon to undergo a most painful change. He was too conscientious to sacrifice his principles for the favour of a queen, and too sensible of the tendencies of her subsequent conduct and that of her party to neglect to warn the people over whom he had the spiritual oversight. No sooner had Mary escaped from Lochleven Castle, and prepared for hostilities, than, under the liveliest convictions of the responsibility of the watchman "that seeth the sword coming and doth not blow the trumpet," he addressed a solemn admonition to the people within his diocese, warned the unsettled, and exhorted those who had "communicated with her odious impietys" to consider their fearful defection from God, and by public confession of their guilt and folly to testify their unfeigned repentance.

After this period there is hardly a single fact recorded respecting Mr. Spotswood of general interest. His disposition, as well as his feeble state of health, disposed him to retirement, and he seems to have preferred attending to his duties as a clergyman, and thus giving an example of the peaceful doctrines which the Christian religion inculcates, to taking part with either of the factions in the struggle which succeeded. Yet in the performance of these duties he did not come up to the expectations of some of the more zealous ministers within his district. We find him accused of "slackness in visitation of kirks" at the General Assemblies on several occasions. On some of these, the accusation, if it is merely intended to assert that he had not visited the whole churches, does not seem to have been made without ground; nor will his apparent negligence be considered wonderful when we mention that the district of Lothian comprehended the metropolis, Stirling, Berwick, Linlithgow, and other considerable towns; and that, of course, it contained a greater number of churches than any other. Spotswood's health had also become impaired, and we must add to this list of extenuating circumstances, that for at least nine years previous to 1580 he had received no emolument in consideration of his labours. In that year, however, he obtained (December 16th) a pension for himself and

his second son for three years of £45, 9s. 6d., besides an allowance of grain for "the thankfull service done to his hienes and his predecessouris," and this grant was renewed, November 26, 1583, for five years, but he did not live to enjoy its full benefit. He died, December 5, 1585, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, leaving by his wife, Beatrix Crichton, two sons, John and James, both of whom attained a high rank in the Episcopal church; and one daughter. "He was a man," says his son, "well esteemed for his piety and wisdom, loving and beloved of all persons, charitable to the poor, and careful above all things to give no man offence."

The same writer has represented him as having in his last years changed his sentiments respecting church government, and as having become an Episcopalian; but this assertion carries along with it the suspicion that the archbishop was more anxious to obtain for his own conduct a partial sanction in his father's opinions than to represent them as they really stood.

We are not aware that Mr. Spotswood is the author of any distinct or individual work. Such papers as he may have written, arising out of the business of the church-courts, certainly do not deserve that name.¹

SPOTSWOOD, JOHN, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and author of the *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, was one of the two sons of the subject of the preceding article. He was born in the year 1565, while his father, besides serving as parish minister at Calder, acted as superintendent of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale. Being a child of "pregnant wit, great spirit, and good memory," he was early taught his letters, and sent to the university of Glasgow, of which Andrew Melville was at that time principal. He studied languages and philosophy under James Melville, and divinity under his more celebrated uncle; but the opinions of these men respecting church government seem to have made no impression on their pupil. At the early age of sixteen he took his degrees, and when only about twenty he was appointed to succeed his father in the church of Calder. In the various agitating disputes between King James and the majority of the Scottish clergy respecting the settlement of the church, the gentle and courtly character of Spotswood induced him to lean to the views espoused by the king, which were in favour of a moderate Episcopacy, supposed to be more suitable than Presbytery to the genius of a monarchical government.

In 1601 the parson of Calder was selected by the court to accompany the Duke of Lennox as chaplain on his embassy to Henry IV.; and it is said by the Presbyterian historians that he marked the looseness of his principles on this occasion by attending mass in France along with his principal. In returning through England Spotswood had an interview with Queen Elizabeth. When James proceeded to London in 1603 Spotswood was one of five untitled clergymen whom he selected to accompany him. On reaching Burleigh House, the king received intelligence of the decease of James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who had lived in France since the Reformation; and he immediately nominated Spotswood to the vacant see. The new archbishop was at the same time directed to return to Scotland, in order to accompany the queen on her journey to London, and to act as her eleemosynar or almoner; an office, his biographer remarks, "which could not confi-

dently be credited but to clean hands and an uncorrupt heart, such as his really was."

Holding as he did the second episcopal dignity in the kingdom, Spotswood naturally lent himself with great willingness to aid the policy of the king for the gradual reconstruction of that system in the kingdom. The measures adopted were cautious and prudent, but nevertheless highly unpopular; and for several years the Archbishop of Glasgow was obliged to appear obedient to the ordinary church-courts. At length, in 1610, the power of the bishops *ex jure postliminii* was restored; and the subject of this memoir, with the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway, repaired to London to receive the solemnities of consecration, which were conferred upon them by the Bishops of London, Bath, and Ely. About the same time Spotswood became the head of one of the two courts of high-commission erected by James in Scotland for the trial of offences against the church. He had previously, in 1609, been appointed an extraordinary lord of session, in accordance with the policy adopted by the king for giving influence and dignity to his ecclesiastical office, though it afterwards was manifest that the holding of lay offices by the bishops injured the interests of their church.

In the month of October, 1614, Spotswood apprehended John Ogilvie, a Jesuit, at Glasgow, where he had several times said mass, and converted several young people of the better class. He was brought to trial about the end of February, and denying the king and his council to be competent judges on some points of his religious belief, he was condemned and executed. On the death of Archbishop Gladstones in 1615, Spotswood was removed from Glasgow to be primate and metropolitan of all Scotland, and the same year the two courts of high-commission for Scotland were, under him, united into one. In the year 1616 he presided in an assembly at Aberdeen, in virtue of his primacy, without any election. There was much seeming zeal in this assembly against Popery, and the Archbishop of Glasgow, and Mr. William Struthers, minister at Edinburgh, were appointed to form a book of ecclesiastical canons for the purpose of establishing uniformity of discipline throughout all the kirks of the kingdom. A commission was also appointed to draw up a new liturgy, a new catechism, and a new Confession of Faith. His majesty visited his native kingdom in the succeeding year. On this occasion twelve apostles and four evangelists, curiously wrought in wood, were prepared to be set up in his royal chapel, but were not made use of. The English service, however, was introduced, with its appurtenances of organs, choristers, and surplices. The sacrament was also administered upon Whitsunday, after the English fashion. The consequence was only more violent opposition to these innovations. Nothing, however, could deter James from pressing his own peculiar views of ecclesiastical polity. At another assembly, held at St. Andrews in the month of October, 1617, his five favourite articles were again brought forward, but could not be carried, even with all the zeal of the bishops to back his written requests. Disappointed by this result, the king ordered Spotswood to convocate the bishops and the ministers that were in Edinburgh for the time, and to procure their approval of them, and, if they refused, to suspend them from their ministry. This also failed, and the articles were enjoined by a royal proclamation, to which but little deference was paid. Another assembly was again suddenly and unexpectedly indicted, by royal proclamation, to be held at Perth, August 25, 1618, where, by the aid of a long letter from his majesty, and the assistance of Dr.

¹ Abridged from a memoir of Mr. John Spotswood in Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, printed by the Maitland Club.

Peter Young, who was now dean of Winchester, Spotswood at length carried the five articles: kneeling at the sacrament; private communion; private baptism; confirmation of children; and observation of festivals. All the archbishop's authority, however, could not command obedience to them, though he continued to enforce them before the high-commission court for a number of years. Among those of the clergy whom he deprived of their livings for non-compliance were Mr. Richard Dickson, Mr. Andrew Duncan, Mr. John Scrimger, Mr. Alexander Simpson, Mr. John Murray, Mr. George Dunbar, Mr. David Dickson, and Mr. George Johnston. For all this severity he had certainly King James' warrant, and had he been even more severe, would probably have raised himself still higher in his majesty's favour. At the coronation of Charles I., which took place in Edinburgh on the 18th of June, 1633, Spotswood placed the crown upon his head, assisted by the Bishops of Ross, Murray, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Brechin, arrayed in robes of blue silk, richly embroidered, reaching down to their feet, over which they had white rockets with lawn sleeves, and loops of gold. The Archbishop of Glasgow and other bishops, having refused to appear in this costume, were not allowed to take any active part in the ceremony. Laud, who accompanied the monarch and was master of the ceremonies on the occasion, had introduced an altar into the church, on which stood two blind books, two wax-candles lighted, and an empty basin. "Behind the altar there was an rich tapestry wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought, and, as their bishops who were on service past by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee and beck, which with their habit was noted, and bred great fear of inbringing of Popery." Charles by these means rendered his visit disagreeable to the people, and he left them in a more dissatisfied state than even that in which he found them. A copy of a protestation, or statement of grievances, which had been drawn up to be presented to the parliament held by the king in 1633, but which circumstances had prevented its framers from presenting, having been shown in confidence by Lord Balmerino, was surreptitiously carried to Spotswood, who hastened with it to court, where it was represented as a crime of no common kind. Balmerino was immediately brought to trial under the statute of *leasing making*, and, chiefly through the influence of the primate, who was himself an extraordinary lord of session, of which his second son, Robert, was president, condemned to die. This measure gave so much offence that it was found necessary to pardon Balmerino—a concession which did not at all satisfy the people, or remove their aversion to the prelates, upon whom the whole odium of these despotic proceedings was laid. That aversion was still heightened by the zeal displayed by the primate in enlarging the revenues of his see, which had, both in Glasgow and St. Andrews, been a principal object with him, and in prosecuting which, his biographer affirms, he made not fewer than fifty journeys between Scotland and the court of London. He had also about this time, on the death of Lord Kinnoul, obtained the first office of the state, that of chancellor. He was labouring to revive the order of mitred abbots to be substituted in parliament in place of the lords of erection, whose impropriated livings and tithes he intended should go to their endowments. A book of canons, and a liturgy imposed upon the church by the sole authority of the king and the bishops in 1637, filled up the measure of court imprudence. Spotswood, whose gentle character probably revolted at the strong measures adopted by the king, ex-

claimed, on hearing of the intention to meet these innovations with a renewal of the covenant, that the labours of an age had been undone in a day. Scotland, in consequence of their own intolerant conduct, was now no agreeable place for bishops and the upholders of a semi-Popish Episcopacy; and Spotswood retired, with a depressed mind and a diseased frame, to Newcastle, where he was confined for some time by sickness. On recovering a little he proceeded to London, where he died, November 26, 1639, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, just in time to escape witnessing the total overthrow of his favourite church polity in Scotland. By his wife, Rachel Lindsay, daughter of the Bishop of Ross, he had a numerous family, though only three of them survived him, two sons and a daughter. Spotswood was unquestionably a man of excellent abilities, but, though a clergyman, he was also a man of the world, and probably somewhat more ambitious than became his sacred profession. He was, however, neither sanguinary nor cruel, but, on the contrary, seems to have been desirous of accomplishing all his purposes by the gentlest means. As a historian he is entitled to very high praise. He certainly leans to the side of his own party; but his statements, like his general character, are for the most part marked by moderation. In richness and variety of materials, his history perhaps is not equal to several contemporary, or perhaps earlier productions of the same class, but in point of style and arrangement it is inferior to none.

SPOTSWOOD, SIR ROBERT, president of the Court of Session, was the second son of Archbishop Spotswood, and was born in the year 1596. He was educated at the grammar-school of Glasgow, and, at the age of thirteen, was sent to the university of that city, where, four years afterwards, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts. From Glasgow he was removed to Exeter College, Oxford, and studied under the celebrated Dr. Prideaux. Honourable mention is made of Sir Robert in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*. On the completion of his studies he made the tour of France, Italy, and Germany, studying the laws of those countries, as well as the civil and canon law, and also theology, in which last he was deeply versed. When King James commanded Archbishop Spotswood to write the history of his native kingdom, he procured, through Sir Robert's exertions, the ancient MSS. and records of the church, but especially the famous *Black Book of Paisley*, which he recovered at Rome. Sir Robert was also able to redeem a number of other manuscripts, which had been carried abroad from Scottish monasteries at the Reformation; but unfortunately they were destroyed by the Covenanters. On his return from the Continent, after an absence of nine years, Sir Robert was most graciously received at the court of England by King James, to whom he gave such a good account of the laws, customs, and manners of the countries where he had been travelling, that the king appointed him one of the extraordinary judges of the Court of Session. On his receiving this appointment, the archbishop purchased and bestowed on him the barony of Newabbey in Galloway, and he assumed the title of Lord Newabbey. He continued to be an extraordinary lord during James' reign; but on the accession of Charles I., who deprived the judges of their commissions, and reappointed some of them, Sir Robert was nominated an ordinary lord of session, or judge, on the 14th of February, 1626. On the death of Sir James Skene, in November, 1633, he was chosen president of the College of Justice.

He disposed of the lands of Newabbey to King Charles, who bestowed it on the newly erected bishopric of Edinburgh, and assumed the title of Lord Dunipace, from an estate he had purchased in Stirlingshire.

As the father now occupied the highest office in the state, and the primacy in the church, while the son filled the first judicial station in the country, no greatness under that of monarchy itself could have appeared more enviable than that which was enjoyed by the family of Spotswood. It was greatness, however, dependent on mere court favour, and altogether wanting the only firm basis for official elevation—the concurrence and good-will of the nation. On the contrary, the Spotswoods had risen in consequence of their address in rendering up the liberties of their country into the hands of the king; and, however endeared to him, were detested by the great mass of their fellow-citizens. Hence, when the Scots came to the point of resistance in 1637, and assumed the entire control of their own concerns, the Spotswoods vanished from before the face of their indignant countrymen, leaving no trace of their greatness behind, except in the important offices which they had left vacant.

Sir Robert Spotswood now became a close adherent of the king's person; and, with other obnoxious individuals in the same situation, proved the means of preventing that confidence in the sincerity of the monarch's concessions which operated so much to his disadvantage. When Charles was in Scotland, in 1641, the estates presented him with an address, in which they beseeched that the late president of the Court of Session might be moved from his person and councils; and with this request the king was obliged to comply. At a late period in the civil war (1645), Charles recalled Sir Robert, and appointed him secretary of state for Scotland, in place of the Earl of Lanark. In this character Sir Robert signed the commission of the Marquis of Montrose as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland; and being appointed to convey this to the victorious general, he took shipping in the island of Anglesey, and landing in Lochaber, joined the marquis in Athole. He marched southward with the army, maintaining, however, a strictly civil character, and was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, where, it is said, he had only his walking-cane in his hand. He was carried, along with some other prisoners of distinction, to St. Andrews, and tried before the parliament on a charge of high-treason. His defence was allowed to have been masterly, but a conviction was inevitable. He was condemned to be beheaded by the maiden, which was brought from Dundee for the purpose. "In his railing discourse to the people on the scaffold," says Row in his life of Robert Blair, "among other things he said, that the saddest judgment of God upon people at this time was, that the Lord had sent out a lying spirit in the mouths of the prophets, and that their ministers, that should lead them to heaven, were leading them the highway to hell. Mr. Blair standing by him, as he was appointed by the commission of the kirk, in answer to this only said, 'It's no wonder to hear the son of a false prophet speak so of the faithful and honest servants of Jesus Christ;' which did so enrage the proud and impenitent spirit of Spotswood, that he died raging and railing against Christ's honest and faithful ministers, and his covenanted people." It was in declining the offer of Blair to pray for his soul that Sir Robert used the language which provoked the Covenanter's stern rebuke, pointed with a sarcasm which might certainly have been spared on such an occasion. But the reproach and the retali-

tion illustrate the spirit of the times. Spotswood's biographer says his last words were—"Merciful Jesu, gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs, who have run before me in this race." This writer accuses "the fanatical minister of the place" of having incited the provost to prevent Sir Robert from addressing the people on the scaffold. A similar story is repeated in the *Spotswood Miscellany*, where, however, it is stated that Sir Robert "inveighed much against the parliament of England," which is not consistent with the assertion that he was prevented from speaking to the spectators. The execution took place at the cross of St. Andrews, January 17, 1646. Other two prisoners suffered along with Spotswood, namely, Nathaniel Gordon, who recanted his Episcopacy and died as a member of the kirk, and Andrew Guthrie, "who died stupidly and impenitently." Of Spotswood and Guthrie Row observes characteristically, "These two were bishops' sons; *malis corvi malum ovum*."

Sir Robert Spotswood was well skilled in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic languages, besides his acquaintance with most of the modern European tongues. He was a profound lawyer and an upright judge. Piety was a conspicuous feature in his character; though, according to the spirit of his age, it was debased by the exclusive and bigoted feelings of a partisan. He was the author of the *Practicks of the Law of Scotland*, a work which was only superseded by the more elaborate work of Stair.

His remains were honourably interred in the parish church of St. Andrews, by Sir Robert Murray of Melgun and other friends, among whom was Hugh Scrimgeour, a wealthy citizen of St. Andrews, who had formerly been one of Archbishop Spotswood's servants, and who took the execution of his old master's son so much to heart, that seeing the bloody scaffold still standing some days afterwards, he fainted on the spot; and, being carried home, died on the threshold of his own door.

STAIR, EARL OF. *See* DALRYMPLE (JOHN).

STAIR, VISCOUNT. *See* DALRYMPLE (JAMES).

STEUART, SIR JAMES, of Coltness, Baronet, the father of political economy in Britain, was born on the 10th of October, 1713. He was the son of Sir James Steuart, Bart., solicitor-general for Scotland under Queen Anne and George I., by Anne, daughter of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, president of the Court of Session. The father of the solicitor-general was Sir James Steuart, lord-advocate under William III., whose father was Sir James Steuart, provost of Edinburgh from 1648 to 1660, a descendant of the Bonhill branch of the family of Stewart.

The subject of this article spent his earliest years at Goodtrees, now Moredun, a seat of his father, near Edinburgh. At the school of North Berwick he received the elementary part of his education, and it was afterwards completed at the university of Edinburgh, whither he went at the age of fourteen. At that institution, after going through a complete course of languages and sciences, he studied the civil law, with the occasional assistance of Mr. Hercules Lindsay, an eminent civilian, and subsequently professor of that department in the university of Glasgow. From his earliest years his abilities appeared rather of a solid and permanent than of a dazzling nature. At the early age just mentioned he succeeded his father in the baronetcy and estates connected with it, which were of moderate extent and value.

On the completion of his legal studies at the university of Edinburgh, Sir James went to the bar

(1734), but without any intention of prosecuting the law as a profession. He soon after set out upon a tour of the Continent, where he formed an acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond, the earl-marischal, and other exiled Jacobite chiefs. The family from which he descended had been conspicuous for its attachment to the popular cause for a century; but Sir James appears to have been converted by these nobles from his original Whig principles. Having permitted himself to be introduced by them to Prince Charles Stuart at Rome, he received such civilities from that scion of expatriated royalty as had a material effect upon the tenor of his future life. He returned to his native country in 1740, with many accomplishments, which added brilliancy to his character, but an unsettled tone of mind, which he afterwards greatly regretted.

Among the intimate friends of Sir James at this period of his life was Mr. Alexander Trotter, whose son was afterwards a landed proprietor in Midlothian. Mr. Trotter was cut off in early life; and during his last illness made a promise to Sir James, that if possible he would come to him after his death in an inclosure near the house of Coltness, which in summer had been frequently their place of study. It was agreed, in order to prevent mistake or misapprehension, that the hour of meeting should be noon; that Mr. Trotter should appear in the dress he usually wore, and that every other circumstance should be exactly conformable to what had commonly happened when they met together. Sir James laid greater stress on this engagement than sound reason will warrant. Both before and after his exile he never failed, when it was in his power, to attend at the place of appointment, even when the debility arising from gout rendered him hardly able to walk. Every day at noon, while residing at Coltness, he went to challenge the promise of Mr. Trotter, and always returned extremely disappointed that his expectation of his friend's appearance had not been gratified. When rallied on the subject, he always observed seriously, that we do not know enough of "the other world" to entitle us to assume that such an event as the reappearance of Mr. Trotter was impossible. We fear, however, that the most of those who peruse this narrative will be inclined to class this anecdote with the "follies of the wise."

In the course of his travels Sir James had formed an intimacy with Lord Elcho, who, conceiving in the warmth of youthful friendship, that the young baronet would be able to gain the affections of his sister, Lady Frances Wemyss, carried him to Cedar Hall, in the north of Scotland, where that young lady was residing with the Countess of Sutherland. As Elcho expected, Sir James gained the heart of Lady Frances; and after some scruples on the part of her relations had been overcome, they were married in October, 1743, at Dunrobin Castle, the lady bringing her husband what was then considered a very handsome fortune, namely, £6000. A pair more elegant, more amiable, and more accomplished is rarely seen. Their union was blessed in August, 1744, by the birth of their son, Sir James Steuart, who was for many years the principal object of their care.

The subject of our memoir had joined the opposition party, and in the year last named he had an unpleasant collision with the family of Dundas, which was then beginning to take a leading part in Scottish politics. A claim preferred by him to be enrolled amongst the freeholders of Midlothian was refused; and for this he raised an action against Dundas of Arniston, then one of the senators of the College of

Justice. In the course of the judicial proceedings Sir James pleaded his own cause in so masterly a manner that Lord Arniston descended from the bench, and defended himself at the bar. The cause was given against the young advocate; and this, no doubt, conspired with other circumstances to prepare him for the step he took in the subsequent year.

Sir James was residing in Edinburgh, in attendance upon Lady Frances, who was then in a state of ill health, when Prince Charles, at the head of his Highland army, took possession of the city. Among the principal adherents of the young adventurer was Lord Elcho, the brother-in-law and bosom friend of Sir James Steuart. The latter, with the Earl of Buchan, who had married one of his sisters, formed the wish of being introduced to Prince Charles, but without pledging themselves to join his standard. They therefore induced Lord Elcho to seize them at the cross of Edinburgh, and conduct them, apparently as prisoners, into the presence of the prince. Being brought into an ante-chamber in Holyrood House, their friend proceeded to inform his royal highness of their arrival, and of the circumstances under which they approached him; when Charles, with great dignity, refused to see them in any other character than as avowed adherents of his cause. When Elcho returned with this intelligence the Earl of Buchan took his leave; while Sir James, a man greatly excelling that nobleman in intellect, proceeded to offer his services to the young Chevalier. He was fortunately saved from the ultimate perils of the campaign by being immediately despatched on a mission to the French court, where he was at the time of the battle of Culloden. The penalty of his rashness was an exile of nearly twenty years, being, though not attained, among the exceptions from the act of indemnity.

Till the year 1763, when George III. permitted him to return home, Sir James Steuart resided abroad with his family, employing his leisure in those studies which he afterwards embodied in his works. He spent the greater part of the period of his exile in the town of Angoulême, where he became intimately acquainted with the French finance system, through a body of counsellors of the parliament of Paris, who were banished to that town for nearly the space of two years. Sir James also spent some time at Frankfort, at Spa, at Venice, and at Padua. When in Germany, he and his lady were received with extraordinary marks of favour at the courts of Wirtemberg, Baden-dourlach, and Hohenzollern. At Venice, in 1758, he and Lady Frances had the good fortune to form a friendship with the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who till the end of her life corresponded frequently with both, and gave them and their son many proofs of her affection. A series of her ladyship's letters to Sir James and Lady Frances were printed at Greenock, under the care of their son Sir James in 1818. Though exiled from Britain on account of disloyalty to the Hanover dynasty, Sir James Steuart never entertained a disloyal feeling towards his country. On the contrary, the enthusiasm with which he rejoiced in the successes of the British arms during the Seven Years' war led to his falling under the suspicion of the French court; and while residing at Spa in a neutral territory, a large body of troops was sent to apprehend him and convey him to prison in the duchy of Luxemburg. It was not for many months that he succeeded in convincing the French government of its error, or regained his liberty.

The first work published by Sir James was a volume which appeared at Frankfort-sur-le-Main, in 1758, under the title of "*Apologie du Sentiment*

de Monsieur le Chevalier Newton sur l'Ancienne Chronologie des Grecs, contenant des Réponses à toutes les Objections qui y ont été faites jusqu'à Présent." In the same year, while settled at Tubingen, in Germany, he produced his *Treatise on German Coins*, in the German language. It was followed in 1761 by *A Dissertation on the Doctrine and Principles of Money, as applied to the German Coin*; and in the same year he so far made his peace with the British government as to obtain a cornetcy in the Royal or 1st regiment of dragoons. At the peace of Paris, in 1763, he was tacitly permitted to return home and resume possession of his estates. It was in retirement at Coltness that he probably put the last hand to his *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, which was published in 1767, in two volumes quarto. Messrs. Miller and Cadell gave £500 for the copyright of this work, the merits of which were at the time a subject of considerable dispute. It has at least the merit of having been the first considerable work on this subject published in Britain, being about nine years antecedent to the work of Dr. Smith. In 1769 Sir James published, under the assumed name of Robert Frame, *Considerations on the Interests of the County of Lanark*. By the interest of his friends he now obtained a full pardon, which passed the great seal in 1771; and in the year following he printed the *Principles of Money applied to the Present State of the Coin of Bengal*. He also wrote *A Plan for Introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures*, which was published after his death. He likewise published, *Observations on Beattie's Essay on Truth; Critical Remarks on the Atheistical Falsehoods of Mirabaud's System of Nature; and A Dissertation concerning the Motive of Obedience to the Law of God*. It is supposed that the ardour and assiduity with which he pursued his studies proved detrimental to his health. An inflammation, commencing with a toe-nail too nearly cut, put an end to his valuable life on the 26th of November, 1780. His remains were interred in the family vault at Cambusnethan Church, and a monument has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Sir James Steuart was a man of extensive and varied powers of mind; cheerful and animated in conversation; amiable in all the domestic relations of life; and, unlike several other eminent men of that age, was able to prosecute philosophical inquiries without abandoning the faith of a Christian. His works were published, with a memoir by his son, in 1806, occupying six volumes.

STEVENSON, ALAN, M.A., F.R.S., &c. This amiable and talented civil engineer was the eldest son of Robert Stevenson, whose renown is imperishably connected with the Bell Rock lighthouse. Alan was born at Edinburgh in 1807, and was educated first at the high-school, and afterwards at the university, where he distinguished himself as a youth of excellent classical attainments. It was in the sciences, however, connected with his future profession that his proficiency was most remarkable as well as of highest importance, and as a student of the class of Professor Leslie he won the Fellowes prize for excellence in natural philosophy. At college he also took the degree of Master of Arts. After having finished his curriculum at the university of Edinburgh, he went to England, continued his studies there under the direction of a clergyman, and received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from the university of Glasgow.

In prosecuting his education, the original wish of Alan Stevenson was to study for the church; but living as he had done from childhood among the

maps, plans, and models of his father's profession, and evincing an aptitude for their study, he was at last induced to become a civil engineer. He followed the paternal footsteps, distinguished himself by remarkable ability in his profession, and in 1842 succeeded his father as engineer to the Commissioners of Northern Lights. And in this responsible situation the high talents of his predecessor were nobly replaced by one who inherited his name, and had been reared amidst his instructions. The improvements introduced by Alan Stevenson in the dioptric system of illuminating, and the erection of numerous lighthouses on our coasts, will long perpetuate his professional skill, a detail of which, however, would be too extensive for our limits. We can only find space for his Skerryvore lighthouse, the most difficult and stupendous of all his enterprises as an engineer.

The Skerryvore is a huge rock, the largest of a broken reef nearly seven miles in extent, lying in an irregular semicircular sea inclosed by the southern extremity of the Hebrides, the rugged shores of Argyllshire, and the northern coast of Ireland on one side, but open on the other to the Atlantic. It had long been a terror to the mariner, and with good reason, for from 1790 to 1844 thirty-one vessels, some of them of large tonnage, were enumerated among the wrecks of the Skerryvore. On this account, after the Bell Rock edifice was completed, the Commissioners of Northern Lights were desirous of having a lighthouse on the Skerryvore; but from the difficulty of its access, the almost perpetual surf with which it is surrounded, and the smallness and ruggedness of the surface on which the pharos could be erected, these obstacles were considered too dangerous and trying to surmount. The rock was visited by Sir Walter Scott when he accompanied the commissioners in 1814; and while describing its horrors, he thus speaks of it in his diary:—"It will be a most desolate position for a lighthouse—the Bell Rock and Eddystone a joke to it, for the nearest land is the wild island of Tyree, at fourteen miles' distance. So much for the Skerry Vhor." In consequence of these obstacles the commissioners deferred the enterprise until 1838, when, after having caused a survey to be taken of the spot, Alan Stevenson was commissioned to begin the work in good earnest. The plan of the tower which he devised to resist the incessant and terrible war of the elements to which it was exposed, the difficulty of securing a foundation and erecting the superstructure, the perils of encampment upon such a dismal rock, and the privations encountered in a region where sustenance was always scanty and often precarious—these composed an amount of trial that required the most devoted courage to encounter and overcome. As for the scientific difficulties in the erection of the building, and the skilful manner in which they were met and surmounted, these can only be understood from Mr. Stevenson's admirable *Account of the Skerryvore Lighthouse*. Although he had the Eddystone and Bell Rock lighthouses for his patterns, yet there were difficulties both in the site and construction of the Skerryvore pharos from which the former two had been exempt. Step by step the building struggled its way upward in spite of the opposition of the elements, and the following description of it when completed is best given in his own words:—"The ascent to the outside door is by a ladder or trap of gun-metal 26 feet high. The first apartment on the level of the entrance-door is chiefly appropriated to the reception of iron water-tanks capable of holding a supply of 1251 gallons. The next story is set apart for coals, which are stowed in

large iron boxes. The third apartment is a workshop; the fourth is the provision store; and the fifth is the kitchen. Above are two stories, each divided into two sleeping apartments, for the four light-keepers. Over them is the room for the visiting officers; then follows the oil-store, and lastly comes the light-room, making in all twelve apartments. . . . The passage from story to story is by oaken trap ladders, passing through hatches in each floor, and partitioned off from each apartment, in order to prevent accidents and to check cold draughts." It is only necessary to add, that it is the giant of British lighthouses; for while the Eddystone is 68, and the Bell Rock 100 feet above the first entire course, the Skerryvore is 138·5 feet. It also differs from the others in form, approaching more nearly a conic frustum, by which it is better fitted to resist the violence of wind and sea. The whole building was completed and the light of Skerryvore kindled on the night of February 1st, 1844.

The suspense occasioned by such a daring undertaking as that of the erection of a lighthouse on the rock of Skerryvore, the responsibility and the risk, the hardships, toils, and privations of this bleak, barren, and stormy northern solitude, were enough to have exhausted the patience and worn out the nerves of the strongest constitutions. And still more was this the case with the delicate frame and susceptible temperament of Alan Stevenson. But he bravely battled out through days of study and nights of watching and danger upon that lonely rock, until the stupendous structure was complete, and its light kindled as the beacon-star to direct the course of the midnight mariner. Not until the work was done did he find that his health was broken, and broken too beyond the hope of recovery; and although he continued his professional duties, it was with a strength that was always decaying, so that in 1852 he bade adieu to his profession and society, and retired to tranquil life in Portobello, where he died on the 23d of December, 1865, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His merits in lighthouse engineering were recognized not only at home but abroad, and he had medals presented him by the Emperor of Russia and the Kings of Prussia and Holland. When his health gave way, he resigned his membership as a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, but this resignation, in consequence of the respect in which he was held, the society declined to receive, and continued to him the privileges of his fellowship.

It is seldom that a person devoted to the exact sciences is also to be found in the walks of elegant literature, and a mathematician is forgiven if he is a mathematician and nothing more. But the genius of Mr. Stevenson was not confined to the erection of lighthouses. He was also an accomplished classical scholar, who knew Homer by heart, and could read the comedies of Aristophanes almost as easily as the plays of Shakspeare; and he was thoroughly conversant with Italian and Spanish, and the works of the best authors in these languages. But more than this, he was an excellent poet—one who showed that he could "build the lofty rhyme," and might have constructed an epic, had he foregone the equally arduous task of rearing lighthouses. These refined tastes formed the solace of his professional toils, and afterwards the occupations of his retirement. In proof of this, while he was alone for months on the Skerryvore rock, he read Don Quixote, Aristophanes, and Dante twice through, besides composing occasional verses; and when he was laid aside by his last illness, which was both painful and lingering, he translated the "Ten Hymns" of Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, which were printed

for private circulation. Among these were also several original pieces, of which the following sonnet "To the Ringing-stone at Kalaphetrish, in the island of Tyree," from which the materials of the building at Skerryvore were taken, is a specimen:

"Mysterious stone! rude, shapeless as thou art,
Thou seem'st unconscious of the ocean's rage,
Or winter-tempests that for many an age
Have howled around thee: say, hast thou a heart
Deep prison'd in thy mass, that feels the smart
Of others' woes—woes of the gentler kind,
Which spring up easily in woman's mind?
For, touched by maiden's hand, with gentle art,
Thou givest sighs that tremble on the breeze
Which sweeps around the western Hebrides;
Such as Andromeda, from ocean's cave,
Might breathe responsive to some sorrowing maid,
Whom slighted vows or dear hopes long delayed,
Have driven to seek near thee a lonely ocean grave."

The following specimen, of a more lively character, is his welcome to the music of a thawing wind, as it entered his northern solitude bearing spring upon its wings:—

"So we mused, and thankful laid us down to take the gift of sleep
(Many weary hearts are breaking, many waking eyes now weep;
Soon we heard the mighty cadence of the blast that sweeps along—
Not the moan of surly winter—'tis beneficent as strong.
Rude its voice, yet somewhat kindly does it burst upon my ear,
Straightway green fields, buds, and blossoms to my fancy's eye appear;
All things by God's hand are temper'd, and a holy end fulfil;
Troubles cast the shades which give us resting-places calm and still.
Rightly had I deem'd: at morning, when I went to meet the sun,
On the slopes the green earth saw I, for the snow was past and gone;
From the glowing south the tempest, over Afric's burning sands,
Thirsty came and drank the ice-cold fountains of the snowy lands."

Of Mr. Stevenson's works of a professional character, the most important is "*Account of the Skerryvore Lighthouse*," with Notes on the Illumination of Lighthouses," 1848; *History, Construction, and Illumination of Lighthouses*, 1850; and a biographical sketch of his father, the late Robert Stevenson, 1861. He was also a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*.

STEVENSON, ROBERT. This eminent engineer, whose great professional talents are so signally attested by that wondrous structure the Bell Rock lighthouse, was born at Glasgow, on the 8th of June, 1772. He was the only son of Allan Stevenson, merchant in Glasgow, partner in an establishment connected with St. Christopher, West Indies, in which island he died, while on a visit to his brother, who managed the business there. By this event Robert was left an orphan while still in infancy; and to add to the difficulties that beset his early life, his uncle in St. Christopher died soon after his father, leaving the mercantile affairs of their establishment involved in such embarrassment as must always ensue on the want of superintendence. In this way the mother of Robert Stevenson, whose name was Jane Lillie, was obliged, in the management of her household, to depend mainly upon her own unaided energies. She, however, discharged her task with that ability which so often compensates for the want of paternal superintendence; and Robert, who was at first designed for the ministry, received the earlier part of his education with a view to that sacred profession. Circumstances, however, soon altered this destination; for when he had finished his fifteenth year his mother

was married to Mr. Thomas Smith, a widower, originally a tinsmith in Edinburgh, but whose studies were devoted to engineering, and chiefly to the construction and improvement of lighthouses. In this department he had the merit of substituting oil-lamps with parabolic mirrors for the open coal-fires that had hitherto lighted our naval beacons—an improvement so justly appreciated, that after the Lighthouse Board was established in 1786, Mr. Smith was appointed its engineer.

It is easy to guess how quickly such a relationship must have changed the whole current of Mr. Stevenson's studies. No stranger who conversed with him, no phrenologist who looked at him, could have failed to perceive at once that he was born an engineer, and the new parental superintendence to which he was consigned was well fitted to develop his latent talents in this department. Accordingly, he made such proficiency that at the age of nineteen he was intrusted by Mr. Smith with the erection of a lighthouse which the latter had planned for the island of Little Cumbrae, and been commissioned to construct by the trustees of the Clyde navigation. This task Mr. Stevenson executed with such ability, and showed such talent in his new vocation, that soon after he was adopted by Mr. Smith as his partner in the business. In 1799 he married the eldest daughter of Mr. Smith, whom he succeeded as engineer and superintendent of lighthouses, and continued to hold this office until he resigned it in 1843.

This change of occupation, and the success that crowned it, required a correspondent change of study; and accordingly Mr. Stevenson, throwing aside his Latin, which he had only half mastered, and turning away from Greek, which he had not yet entered, began to devote himself to the exact sciences. Opportunities, indeed, there were comparatively few, on account of the active life which he had commenced at an early period; but such as he possessed he improved to the uttermost. In this way, while superintending the erection of the lighthouse at Cumbrae, he availed himself of the cessation of the work during the winter months, by attending the Andersonian Institution at Glasgow, where he studied the mathematical and mechanical sciences connected with his profession. Here he had for his preceptor Dr. Anderson himself, the honoured founder of the institution, of whose valuable instructions Mr. Stevenson ever afterwards retained an affectionate remembrance. He pursued the same course of improvement in his education while employed by Mr. Smith in the erection of lighthouses on the Pentland Skerries in Orkney, so that as soon as the labours of each summer were ended, the winter months found him in close attendance at the classes of the university of Edinburgh. In this way he completed, during the course of several sessions, a curriculum that comprised mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and natural history, to which he added logic, moral philosophy, and agriculture. It was the same perseverance at work which struggled for a foundation upon the living rock amidst the battling of waves and tempests, and having found it, persisted in adding stone to stone, until a stately tower was erected, and a guiding light kindled upon its summit. He thus became not only an accomplished scientific scholar, but also a student of considerable literary attainments, while he was employed the greater part of each year in contending with the stormy seas of the Orkneys, and dwelling upon their bleak islets and solitary shores. His first tour of inspection as superintendent of lighthouses was made in 1797, for which year he drew up the annual report for the Board of Commissioners;

and during his long tenure of office, that extended over half a century, twenty-three lighthouses in the district of the commission, which he designed and executed, attested his unwearied diligence as well as professional skill. Many of these were constructed in situations that tasked the utmost of scientific knowledge and anxious study, while the successive steps of improvement which they exhibited evinced the fresh ardour with which he had advanced to every undertaking, and the earnestness he had felt that each should prove the fittest and the best.

But the great work of Mr. Stevenson's life, and the durable monument of his professional attainments and success, is to be found in the Bell Rock lighthouse, of which he published such a full and interesting account in 1824, in one volume quarto. This rock, a sunken reef in the Firth of Forth, situated in west longitude from Greenwich $2^{\circ} 22'$, and in north latitude $56^{\circ} 29'$, and composed of red sandstone, was found so dangerous to navigation that attention had been called to it at an early period, and according to tradition a remedy was adopted to warn mariners from the dangerous spot by a humane abbot of Aberbrothock. This was a bell erected upon the rock, and so connected with a floating apparatus that the action of the winds and seas caused the bell to toll over the uproar of the waves amidst the darkest weather. And thus, as the well-known ballad of Southey informs us—

"When the rock was hid by the surge's swell,
The mariners heard the warning bell;
And then they knew the perilous rock,
And blest the abbot of Aberbrothock."

The popular legend adds, that a pestilent pirate, the enemy of God and man, in a mere spirit of wanton mischief, silenced the ocean monitor by taking down the bell and throwing it into the sea. But poetical justice was not long in overtaking him; for only a year after, while pursuing his vocation in the same dangerous sea, his ship in the dark drifted upon the now silent rock, and went down with the captain and all hands on board; while,

"Even in his dying fear,
One dreadful sound could the Rover hear,
A sound as if with the Inch-cape bell
The devil below was ringing his knell."

After not only bell and pirate, but abbot and abbey, had passed away, the rock still retained its place, and its wonted dangers, to the great annoyance as well as heavy loss of our shipping. This was so much the case, especially in a great storm that occurred in December, 1799, that it was ascertained not less than seventy vessels had been stranded or lost upon the coast of Scotland alone, most of which, it was supposed, would have found safety by running into the Firth of Forth, had there been a lighthouse on the rock to direct them. This, however, was not all, for it was supposed that the *York*, a ship of 74 guns, of which no tidings could be heard, had been wrecked there, with the loss of the whole crew. While the cry now became general for the erection of a lighthouse on the Bell Rock, government, moved by the calamity that had befallen the *York*, of which timbers were still floating for many miles upon the coast, began to listen to the appeal. But the obstacles to be overcome were of such a nature as had been hitherto untried in engineering; for while the Eddystone lighthouse, which was proposed as the model, occupied a site that was barely covered by the tide at *high-water*, the Bell Rock was barely uncovered at *low-water*. These difficulties made the corporation of the Trinity House of Leith advertise for plans that might lead to the construction of a suitable edifice; and not less than three temporary experimental beacons were succes-

sively erected upon the rock, which were all speedily carried away. Fortunately it happened that the only man of the day who seemed capable of overcoming such a combination of obstacles from winds, and waves, and sunken rock, had long been brooding silently upon the enterprise, and devising the means of success. Even before the storm of 1799 Mr. Stevenson had prepared a pillar-formed model of a lighthouse, which he hoped might be available for the Bell Rock; and in the summer of 1800 he visited the rock in person, that he might judge of its applicability. He soon saw that his pillar-shaped model would not suit the situation; but he also saw that it was practicable to erect a solid stone edifice instead, upon the plan of the Eddystone lighthouse. To work, therefore, he went, in the construction of a new model, where massive blocks of stone were to be dovetailed into each other, so as to resist every pressure, both laterally and perpendicularly, and so connected with iron cased in lead as to be proof against disruption; while the building itself, high enough to surmount the waves at their wildest, was to occupy to the best advantage the narrow foundation which the rock afforded, and present the smallest front to the force of the tempest. These plans and models being finished, were submitted to the Light-house Board, with estimates of the expense of such a building, which amounted to £42,685, &c. After much demur, arising from the expense of the undertaking, his proposal was duly sanctioned by act of parliament, and Mr. Stevenson was empowered to commence operations. Now it was, however, that a full sense of his new responsibility, hitherto viewed from a distance, assumed, when looked fully in the face, a very formidable aspect. "The erection," he thus wrote in a MS. which he kept for his own use, "on a rock about twelve miles from land, and so low in the water that the foundation course must be at least on a level with the lowest tide, was an enterprise so full of uncertainty and hazard, that it could not fail to press on my mind. I felt regret that I had not had the opportunity of a greater range of practice to fit me for such an undertaking. But I was fortified by an expression of my friend Mr. Clerk [of Eldin, the improver of naval tactics], in one of our conversations upon its difficulties. 'This work,' said he, 'is unique, and can be little forwarded by experience of ordinary masonic operations. In this case Smeaton's *Narrative* must be the text-book, and energy and perseverance the *pratique*.'"

The work was commenced by searching for such a vessel as would serve for a temporary lighthouse, as well as a habitation for the workmen. This was soon found in a Prussian fishing-vessel of 82 tons, one of the captures of the war, which being rounded off both at stem and stern, was best adapted by its form for the new service in which it was to be employed. After having been suitably fitted up and rigged, this *Pharos*, as it was now named, was furnished with a large copper lantern for each of its three masts, and moored near the Bell Rock. Another vessel, expressly built for the purpose, called the *Smeaton*, of 40 tons, was employed in bringing the stones for the building, that were hewn in the quarries of Rubeslaw near Aberdeen, and Mylnfield near Dundee, and conveyed to Arbroath, the nearest harbour to the rock. The work itself was commenced on the 18th of August, 1807; and such was the clink and bang of hammers, the hurrying of feet, and the din of human voices that now took possession of the solitude, that the affrighted seals, which had hitherto regarded the Bell Rock as their own exclusive property, went off in shoals in quest of new settlements. It is not our purpose to detail the daily and almost

hourly difficulties with which Mr. Stevenson had to contend in a task of seven years' duration, and the dangers to which he was exposed, while he had to battle with an almost impracticable foundation, and the continual war and shifting of elements that opposed every step of his progress. On one occasion, when the *Smeaton* was drifted out to sea, he was left with thirty-two workmen upon the rock, which, by the progress of the flood-tide, would soon be submerged at least twelve feet, while the two boats which they had at hand could have carried off little more than half of the company—after perhaps a life-and-death struggle with their less fortunate companions. At this critical moment he thus describes their situation, in the third person: "The writer had all along been considering various schemes, providing the men could be kept under command, which might be put in practice for the general safety, in hopes that the *Smeaton* might be able to pick up the boats to leeward when they were obliged to leave the rock. He was, accordingly, about to address the artificers on the perilous nature of their circumstances, and to propose that all hands should unstrip their upper clothing when the higher parts of the rock were laid under water; that the seamen should remove every unnecessary weight and incumbrance from the boats; that a specified number of men should go into each boat, and that the remainder should hang by the gunwales, while the boats were to be rowed gently towards the *Smeaton*, as the course to the *Pharos*, or floating light, lay rather to windward of the rock. But when he attempted to speak his mouth was so parched that his tongue refused utterance, and he now learned by experience that the saliva is as necessary as the tongue itself for speech. He then turned to one of the pools on the rock, and lapped a little water, which produced an immediate relief. But what was his happiness, when, on rising from this unpleasant beverage, some one called out, 'A boat! a boat!' and on looking around, at no great distance, a large boat was seen through the haze making towards the rock. This at once enlivened and rejoiced every heart. The timeous visitor proved to be James Spink, the Bell Rock pilot, who had come express from Arbroath with letters. Every one felt the most perfect happiness at leaving the Bell Rock this morning, though a very hard and even dangerous passage to the floating light still awaited us, as the wind by this time had increased to a pretty hard gale, accompanied with a considerable swell of sea. The boats left the rock about nine, but did not reach the vessel till twelve o'clock noon, after a most disagreeable and fatiguing passage of three hours. Every one was as completely drenched in water as if he had been dragged astern of the boats." During the two first seasons occupied on the Bell Rock, Mr. Stevenson's abode was the *Pharos* or floating light, as uncomfortable as well as perilous a home as the worst hulks which justice could have devised for the taming of a sturdy malefactor. Sometimes they had to ride out a gale, and endure all the horrors that precede a shipwreck, without the consolation of feeling that a voyage was in progress, or a port at hand into which they might run at the worst. On one occasion, indeed, after a storm they found themselves making a voyage in sad earnest, with the prospect of being dashed against the Bell Rock by way of termination—for the *Pharos* had broke from its moorings, and was drifting none knew whither. Even in fair weather it rolled like a tub, or rather like a barrel, so that such rocking was provocative of anything but tranquil repose. After the beacon or barrack was erected, Mr. Stevenson took up his

abode in it; but here the matter was not greatly amended, as this habitation was nothing more than a sort of pigeon-house edifice, perched on logs, and exposed to the onset of every wave, while the tide in calm weather rose upon it to the height of sixteen feet.

Such is but a specimen of the obstacles encountered and the toils endured in erecting that wondrous edifice the Bell Rock lighthouse. It was completed in December, 1810, and since that period it would be difficult to estimate the benefit it has conferred in that dangerous sea on the ships of every nation, which, but for its guidance, would have been dashed upon the rock, or wrecked on the neighbouring shore. There, from night to night, its lamp has continued to shine like a guiding star; while in snow and haze, its bell is heard as a warning voice through the thick atmosphere, when the light is obscured, or so dim that its meaning is unintelligible to the bewildered navigator. Not fully four years after it was finished, when Sir Walter Scott made that well-known cruise among the northern seas which he has entitled in his diary, "*Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht to Nova Zembla, and the Lord knows where,*" he thus describes the edifice, at that time still fresh in early youth, and regarded with all the pleasure of a startling novelty.

July 30 [1814].—Waked at six by the steward; summoned to visit the Bell Rock, where the beacon is well worthy attention. Its dimensions are well known, but no description can give the idea of this slight, solitary, round tower, trembling amid the billows, and fifteen miles from Arbroath, the nearest shore. The fitting up within is not only handsome, but elegant. All work of wood (almost) is wainscot; all hammer-work brass; in short, exquisitely fitted up. You enter by a ladder of rope, with wooden steps, about thirty feet from the bottom, where the mason-work ceases to be solid, and admits of round apartments. The lowest is a storehouse for the people's provisions, water, &c.; above that a storehouse for the lights, of oil, &c.; then the kitchen of the people, three in number; then their sleeping chamber; then the saloon or parlour, a neat little room; above all, the lighthouse; all communicating by oaken ladders, with brass rails, most handsomely and conveniently executed. Breakfasted in the parlour." On being requested to inscribe his name in the album of the tower, Sir Walter, after breakfast, wrote the following lines, which Mr. Stevenson adopted for the motto of his work on the Bell Rock lighthouse:—

"Pharos loquitur:—

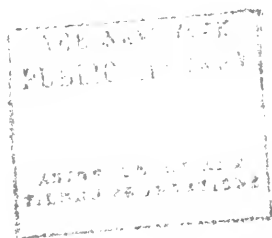
Far in the bosom of the deep,
O'er these wild shelves my watch I keep;
A ruddy gem of changeful light,
Bound on the dusky brow of night;
The seaman bids my lustre hail,
And scorns to strike his tumorous sail."

The whole diary of this voyage in the northern seas, which the great poet and novelist has fully detailed, abounds with incidental notices, in which Mr. Stevenson's amiable disposition, as well as remarkable professional ability, diligence, and enterprise, are strikingly exemplified. It was one of those periodical voyages which Mr. Stevenson was wont to make in the erection of lighthouses and the superintendence of northern lights; and besides three commissioners of the board, there were three pleasure tourists, of whom Sir Walter was one. The vessel in which they sailed was the lighthouse yacht, of six guns and ten men; for besides the storms of the Atlantic, lately a brush with a French cruiser, and even now with a Yankee privateer, might be no improbable contingency.

During the long course of Mr. Stevenson's professional labours his calm calculating sagacity and adaptation of means at once simple and effectual to an end that seemed unattainable, or not to be attained without the most complex agencies, were conspicuous to the last; and although not himself an inventor, he could largely improve on the inventions of others, and turn them to the best account. It was thus that the Eddystone lighthouse suggested to him the bolder and more difficult undertaking of that on the Bell Rock; while his plan of the *job* and *balance cranes*, and the changes which he adopted in the masonry of the building, especially in the laying of the floors, so that their stones should form part of the outward wall, were important improvements on the plans of Mr. Smeaton, whom he still was proud to call his master. The best mode of lighting these ocean lamps was also a subject of his inquiry; and the result was his invention of the *intermittent* and the *flashing* lights, the former suddenly disappearing at irregular intervals, and the latter emitting a powerful gleam every five seconds—a mode of illumination distinct from that of the ordinary lighthouses in the same range, and admirably suited for the dangerous navigation of narrow seas. For the last of these inventions he was honoured with a gold medal from the King of the Netherlands. While his scientific anxiety and skill were thus devoted to the improving and perfecting of those buildings upon which the safety of navigation so much depends, he did not overlook the welfare of those to whom the superintendence of their bale-fires is committed; and his humane regulations, by which the comforts of these self-devoted prisoners of the ocean pillars were promoted, as well as his rules of discipline, by which their duties were simplified, introduced a marked change for the better into the dreary life of those upon whose watchfulness and fidelity so vast an amount of human happiness is at stake. Mr. Stevenson, indeed, may justly be said not only to have created the lighthouse system of Scotland, where it was so much needed, but to have brought it also to that state of perfection in which it has become the model to other maritime nations.

Independently of his duties connected with northern lights, Mr. Stevenson, in his general capacity as a civil engineer, was frequently a co-operator with Rennie, Telford, and the other chief engineers of the day. He also, after the peace of 1815, was the principal adviser in the construction of those new roads, bridges, harbours, canals, and railways, towards which the national energy and capital were now directed. Even the beautiful approach to the city of Edinburgh from the east, by the Calton Hill, was planned by him, and executed under his direction. While his impress was thus stamped upon the public works of Scotland, he was often consulted upon those of England and Ireland; and his ingenious plans of simplifying and adapting, which he had so successfully employed upon one element, were followed by those which were equally fitted for the other. In this way his suggestion of the new form of a suspension bridge applicable to small spans, by which the necessity for tall piers is avoided, was partially adopted in the bridge over the Thames at Hammer-smith. While planning a timber bridge for the Meikle Ferry, he also devised an arch of such simple construction, composed of thin layers of plank bent into the circular form, and stiffened by *king-post pieces*, on which the level roadway rests, that this form of bridging has come into very general use in the construction of railways.

As an author Mr. Stevenson has not been particularly fertile. He sat down to draw a plan instead of





GENERAL SIR JOHN DUNDAS

excogitating a theory, and his published work was the erection itself, instead of a volume to show how it might be accomplished. Still, however, he has written sufficiently for one who did so much. Independently of his large work upon the Bell Rock lighthouse, he wrote several articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, and other scientific journals. In 1817 he published a series of letters in the *Scots Magazine*, giving an account of his tour through the Netherlands, and a description of the engineering works connected with the drainage and embankment of Holland. His professional printed reports and contributions are also sufficient to occupy four goodly quarto volumes. Owing, however, to the obstacles under which his early education was impeded, he had not acquired that facility in composition which a commencement in youth is best fitted to impart, so that we question whether, in his great achievement of the Bell Rock, his book or his lighthouse occasioned him most trouble. In 1815 he became a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; he afterwards joined the Geological Society of London, and the Wernerian and Antiquarian Societies of Scotland.

In private life Mr. Stevenson was endeared to all who knew him by his lively intelligent conversation, kind disposition, and benevolent deeds; while his whole course was a beautiful illustration of the Christian character superinduced upon the highest scientific excellence. And as he had lived, so he died, at the ripe age of seventy-nine, at peace with the world he was leaving, and rejoicing in the hope of a better to come. His decease occurred at his residence in Baxter's Place, Edinburgh, on the 12th of July, 1850. His most fitting monument is an admirable marble bust likeness, executed by Samuel Joseph, at the command of the commissioners of the Board of Northern Lights, and placed by them in the library of the Bell Rock lighthouse.

STEWART, MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID, author of the well-known *Sketches of the Highlanders* and Highland regiments, was the second son of Robert Stewart, Esq., of Garth, in Perthshire, and was born in the year 1772. In the seventeenth year of his age he entered the 42d regiment as an ensign, and soon became distinguished for that steadiness and firmness of conduct, joined to benignity of nature and amenity of manners, which marked him through life. He served in the campaigns of the Duke of York in Flanders, and was present at the siege of Nieupoort and the defence of Nimeguen. In 1796 he accompanied the regiment, which formed part of the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, to the West Indies, and was for several years actively employed in a variety of operations against the enemy's settlements in that quarter of the world; particularly in the capture of St. Lucia, and the harassing and desperate contest which was carried on with the Caribbs in St. Vincent and other islands. In the landing near Pigeon Island he was among the first who jumped ashore, under a heavy fire of round and grape shot from a battery so posted as almost to sweep the beach. "A cannon-ball," says he, in a letter addressed to Sir John Sinclair, "passed Lord Hope-toun's left shoulder, and over my head. He observed that a miss was as good as a mile, to which I cordially agreed; and added, that it was fortunate for me that I was only five feet six inches; as if I were, like him, six feet five inches I would have been a head shorter." In the year just mentioned he was promoted to the rank of captain-lieutenant, and after serving in the West Indies for a year and a half he

returned to England, but not to enjoy repose, for he was almost immediately ordered to join the headquarters of the regiment at Gibraltar, and the following year accompanied it, when ordered to assist in the expedition against the island of Minorca. He was afterwards taken prisoner at sea, and detained for five months in Spain, when he had the fortune to be exchanged.

At the close of 1800 he was promoted to the rank of captain; a step which, like all others he subsequently obtained, was given him for his services alone; and in 1801 his regiment received orders to join Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the memorable expedition to Egypt. At the landing effected in the bay of Aboukir, in the face of the enemy, on the morning of the 8th of March, 1801, Captain Stewart was one of the first to leap on shore from the boats; and when the four regiments destined for the attack of the enemy's position on the sand-hills—the 40th, 23d, 28th, and 42d—had formed, and received orders to charge up the hill and dislodge the enemy at the point of the bayonet, the subject of this memoir, by his gallant bearing and knowledge of the capabilities of his countrymen when properly commanded, contributed essentially to the brilliant success which almost immediately crowned this daring operation. In the celebrated action of the 21st, when the British army overthrew the French, but with the loss of their commander-in-chief, the services of the 42d were such as to secure for them undying fame. On this occasion Captain Stewart, whose personal exertions had been conspicuous in inspiring the men with a determination to conquer or perish, received a severe wound, which prevented his taking almost any part in the subsequent operations of the campaign.

Few officers have ever possessed so powerful a command over the energies of their men as the subject of these pages. He had studied the Highland character thoroughly; had made himself the brother and confidant of the men under him; and could, with an art approaching to that of the poet, awaken those associations in their bosoms which were calculated to elevate and nerve their minds for the perilous tasks imposed upon them. The Highland soldier is not a mere mercenary: he acts under impulses of an abstract kind, which none but one perfectly skilled in his character, and who has local and family influences over him, can take full advantage of. The usual principles of military subordination fail in his case; while he will more than obey, if that be possible, the officer who possesses the influences alluded to, and will use them in a kind and brotherly spirit. Captain Stewart appears to have enjoyed and used these advantages in a remarkable degree, and to have possessed not only the affections of his men, but of all connected with them in their own country. Hence, when he had to recruit in 1804, for a majority, the stated number of men, 125, came to his quarters at Drumcherry House in less than three weeks, after which between thirty and forty arrived too late for admission into the corps, whose disappointment and vexation at finding they could not serve under Captain Stewart no language could describe. With this contingent he entered the 78th, with the rank of major, and in 1805 trained his men at Hythe, under the immediate direction of Sir John Moore. In June that year he was selected with four other officers to join the 1st battalion in India; but his parting with his men was accompanied with such poignant regret, and so many marks of reluctance on their part, that General Moore reported the case to the commander-in-chief, who, sensible of the value of a mutual esteem existing between men and officers,

countermanded his removal. In September he accompanied his regiment to Gibraltar, where it continued to perform garrison duty until the month of May, 1806, when it embarked for Sicily, to join in the descent which General Sir John Stuart was then meditating on Calabria. Major Stewart accompanied the battalion on this occasion, and was present at the battle of Maida, fought on the 4th of July, 1806, where he was again severely wounded. Being obliged to return to Britain for his health, he was, in April, 1808, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, with a regimental appointment to the 3d West India Rangers, then in Trinidad. But the severity of the wounds he had received, and the effects of the hard service he had encountered in various parts of the world, rendered it impossible for him to avail himself of his good fortune, and he was obliged to retire upon half-pay at a period when, had he been able to keep the field, he would soon have found further promotion, or a soldier's grave. Notwithstanding this circumstance, he was in 1814 promoted to the rank of colonel.

Colonel Stewart now for several years employed his leisure in the composition of his work on the Highlanders, which appeared in the year 1822, in two volumes, 8vo.¹ The earlier part of this work, which enters minutely into the character of the Highlanders, and embodies a great quantity of original anecdote and observation, is perhaps the most generally interesting, though it does not aspire to the important quality of historical accuracy: the most truly valuable part of the book is that which details the services of the regiments which have been at various times raised in the Highlands; a body of soldiers generally allowed to have surpassed every other part of the British army, of the same extent in numbers, at once in steady moral conduct and in military glory. The work attained a popularity proportioned to its high merits, and will ever remain as a memorial of its author, endearing his name to the bosoms of his countrymen.

A few months after the publication of his book, Colonel Stewart succeeded to his paternal estate, in consequence of the deaths of his father and elder brother, which occurred in rapid succession. He is understood to have employed part of the year 1823 in collecting materials for a history of the rebellion of 1745, a desideratum in our literature which no hand was so well qualified to supply; but finding insuperable difficulties in the execution of the task, he was reluctantly obliged to abandon it. In 1825 he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and he was soon after appointed governor of the island of St. Lucia. He proceeded to undertake this duty with high hopes on his own part, but the regrets and fears of his friends. Unfortunately, their anticipations proved true. General Stewart died of fever, on the 18th of December, 1829, in the midst of many improvements which his active mind had originated in the island, and which, had he lived to complete them, would have probably redounded to his honour as much as any transaction in his useful and well-spent life.

General Stewart was of the middle stature, but originally of a robust frame, which was latterly shattered considerably by wounds. His features, which spoke his character, have been commemorated in a spirited engraving, representing him in the Highland dress. Few individuals in recent times have secured so large a share of the affections of all classes of the people of Scotland, as David Stewart of Garth.

STEWART, DUGALD, a celebrated metaphysical writer, was the only son who survived the age of infancy of Dr. Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, and of Marjory Stewart, daughter of Archibald Stewart, Esq., writer to the signet. His father, of whom a biographical memoir follows the present, is well known to the scientific world as a geometrician of eminence and originality. His mother was a woman remarkable for her good sense, and for great sweetness and kindness of disposition, and was always remembered by her son with the warmest sentiments of filial affection.²

The object of this brief notice was born in the college of Edinburgh on the 22d of November, 1753, and his health, during the first period of his life, was so feeble and precarious, that it was with more than the ordinary anxiety and solicitude of parents that his infancy was reared. His early years were spent partly in the house at that time attached to the mathematical chair of the university, and partly at Catrine, his father's property in Ayrshire, to which the family regularly removed every summer when the academical session was concluded. At the age of seven he was sent to the high-school, where he distinguished himself by the quickness and accuracy of his apprehension, and where the singular felicity and spirit with which he caught and transfused into his own language the ideas of the classical writers, attracted the particular remark of his instructors.

Having completed the customary course of education at this seminary, he was entered as a student at the college of Edinburgh. Under the immediate instruction of such a mathematician and teacher as his father, it may readily be supposed that he made early proficiency in the exact sciences; but the distinguishing bent of his philosophical genius recommended him in a still more particular manner to the notice of Dr. Stevenson, then professor of logic, and of Dr. Adam Ferguson, who filled the moral philosophy chair.

In order to prosecute his favourite studies under the most favourable circumstances, he proceeded, at the commencement of the session of 1771, to the university of Glasgow, to attend the lectures of Dr. Reid, who was then in the zenith of his reputation. The progress which he here made in his metaphysical studies was proportioned to the ardour with which he devoted himself to the subject; and not content with listening merely to the instructions of his master, or with the speculations of his leisure hours, he composed during the session that admirable "Essay on Dreaming" which he afterwards published in the first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.

The declining state of his father's health compelled him in the autumn of the following year, before he had reached the age of nineteen, to undertake the task of teaching the mathematical classes in the Edinburgh university. With what success he was able to fulfil this duty was sufficiently evinced by the event; for, with all Dr. Matthew Stewart's well-merited celebrity, the number of students considerably increased under his son. As soon as he had completed his twenty-first year he was appointed assistant and successor to his father, and in this capacity he continued to conduct the mathematical studies in the university till his father's death, in the year 1785, when he was nominated to the vacant chair. Although this continued, how-

¹ It was entitled "*Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland, with Details of the Military Services of the Highland Regiments.*"

² For the greater part of the present article we are indebted to the *Annual Obituary*; the source to which, on application to Mr. Stewart's representatives, we were referred for authentic information respecting their distinguished relative.





ever, to be his ostensible situation in the university, his avocations were more varied. In the year 1778, during which Dr. Adam Ferguson accompanied the commissioners to America, he undertook to supply his place in the moral philosophy class—a labour that was the more overwhelming as he had for the first time given notice, a short time before his assistance was requested, of his intention to add a course of lectures on astronomy to the two classes which he taught as professor of mathematics. Such was the extraordinary fertility of his mind, and the facility with which it adapted its powers to such inquiries, that, although the proposal was made to him and accepted on Thursday, he commenced the course of metaphysics the following Monday, and continued, during the whole of the season, to think out and arrange in his head in the morning (while walking backwards and forwards in a small garden attached to his father's house in the college) the matter of the lecture of the day. The ideas with which he had thus stored his mind he poured forth extempore in the course of the forenoon, with an eloquence and a felicity of illustration surpassing in energy and vivacity (as those who have heard him have remarked) the more logical and better digested expositions of his philosophical views which he used to deliver in his maturer years. The difficulty of speaking for an hour extempore every day on a new subject for five or six months is not small; but when super-added to the mental exertion of teaching also daily two classes of mathematics, and of delivering for the first time a course of lectures on astronomy, it may justly be considered as a very singular instance of intellectual vigour. To this season he always referred as the most laborious of his life; and such was the exhaustion of the body, from the intense and continued stretch of the mind, that, on his departure for London, at the close of the academical session, it was necessary to lift him into the carriage.

In the year 1780 he began to receive some young noblemen and gentlemen into his house as pupils, under his immediate superintendence, among whom were to be numbered Lord Belhaven, the Marquis of Lothian, Basil Lord Daer,¹ Lord Powerscourt, Mr. Muir Mackenzie of Delvin, and Mr. Henry Glassford. In the summer of 1783 he visited the Continent for the first time, having accompanied the Marquis of Lothian to Paris; on his return from whence, in the autumn of the same year, he married Helen Bannatyne, daughter of Neil Bannatyne, Esq., a merchant in Glasgow.

In the year 1785, during which Dr. Matthew Stewart's death occurred, the health of Dr. Ferguson rendered it expedient for him to discontinue his official labours in the university, and he accordingly effected an exchange of offices with Mr. Stewart, who was transferred to the class of moral philosophy, while Dr. Ferguson retired on the salary of mathematical professor. In the year 1787 Mr. Stewart was deprived of his wife by death; and the following summer he again visited the Continent, in company with the late Mr. Ramsay of Barnton.

These slight indications of the progress of the ordinary occurrences of human life must suffice to convey to the reader an idea of the connection of events up to the period when Mr. Stewart entered on that sphere of action in which he laid the foundation of the great reputation which he acquired as a moralist and a metaphysician. His writings are before the world, and from them posterity may be

safely left to form an estimate of the excellence of his style of composition—of the extent and variety of his learning and scientific attainments—of the singular cultivation and refinement of his mind—of the purity and elegance of his taste—of his warm relish for moral and for natural beauty—of his enlightened benevolence to all mankind, and of the generous ardour with which he devoted himself to the improvement of the human species—of all of which, while the English language endures, his works will continue to preserve the indelible evidence. But of one part of his fame no memorial will remain but in the recollection of those who have witnessed his exertions. As a public speaker he was justly entitled to rank among the very first of his day; and had an adequate sphere been afforded for the display of his oratorical powers, his merit in this line alone would have sufficed to secure him a lasting reputation. Among those who attracted the highest admiration in the senate and at the bar, there were not a few who could bear testimony to his extraordinary eloquence. The ease, the grace, and the dignity of his action; the compass and harmony of his voice, its flexibility and variety of intonation; the truth with which its modulation responded to the impulse of his feelings and the sympathetic emotions of his audience; the clear and perspicuous arrangement of his matter; the swelling and uninterrupted flow of his periods, and the rich stores of ornament which he used to borrow from the literature of Greece and of Rome, of France and of England, and to interweave with his spoken thoughts with the most apposite application,—were perfections not possessed in a superior degree by any of the most celebrated orators of the age. His own opinions were maintained without any overweening partiality; his eloquence came so warm from the heart, was rendered so impressive by the evidence which it bore of the love of truth, and was so free from all controversial acrimony, that what has been remarked of the purity of purpose which inspired the speeches of Brutus might justly be applied to all that he spoke and wrote; for he seemed only to wish, without further reference to others than a candid discrimination of their errors rendered necessary, simply and ingenuously to disclose to the world the conclusions to which his reason had led him: "*Non malignitate aut invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue, judicium animi sui detexisse.*"

In 1790, after being three years a widower, he married Helen D'Arcy Cranstoun, a daughter of the Honourable Mr. George Cranstoun—a union to which he owed much of the subsequent happiness of his life. About this time it would appear to have been that he first began to arrange some of his metaphysical papers with a view to publication. At what period he deliberately set himself to think systematically on these subjects is uncertain. That his mind had been habituated to such reflections from a very early period is sufficiently known. He frequently alluded to the speculations that occupied his boyish and even his infant thoughts, and the success of his logical and metaphysical studies at Edinburgh, and the "Essay on Dreaming," which forms the fifth section of the first part of the fifth chapter of the first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, composed while a student at the college of Glasgow in 1772, at the age of eighteen, are proofs of the strong natural bias which he possessed for such pursuits. It is probable, however, that he did not follow out the inquiry as a train of thought, or commit many of his ideas to writing before his appointment in 1785 to the professorship of moral philosophy gave a necessary and steady direction to his investigation

¹ Burns' first interview with Mr. Stewart in the presence of this amiable young nobleman at Cathine will be in every reader's remembrance, as well as the philosopher's attentions to the poet during his subsequent residence in Edinburgh.

of metaphysical truth. In the year 1792 he first appeared before the public as an author, at which time the first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind* was given to the world. While engaged in this work he had contracted the obligation of writing the life of Adam Smith, the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, and very soon after he had disembarassed himself of his own labours, he fulfilled the task which he had undertaken; the biographical memoir of this eminent man having been read at two several meetings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the months of January and March, 1793. In the course of this year also he published the *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*—a work which he used as a text-book, and which contained brief notices, for the use of his students, of the subjects which formed the matter of his academical prelections. In March, 1796, he read before the Royal Society his account of the *Life and Writings of Dr. Robertson*, and in 1802 that of the *Life and Writings of Dr. Reid*.

By these publications alone, which were subsequently combined in one volume quarto, he continued to be known as an author till the appearance of his volume of *Philosophical Essays* in 1810—a work to which a melancholy interest attaches, in the estimation of his friends, from the knowledge that it was in the devotion of his mind to this occupation that he sought a diversion to his thoughts from the affliction he experienced in the death of his second and youngest son. Although, however, the fruits of his studies were not given to the world, the process of intellectual exertion was unremitted. The leading branches of metaphysics had become so familiar to his mind, that the lectures which he delivered, very generally extempore, and which varied more or less in the language and matter every year, seemed to cost him little effort, and he was thus left in a great degree at liberty to apply the larger part of his day to the prosecution of his further speculations. Although he had read more than most of those who are considered learned, his life, as he has himself somewhere remarked, was spent much more in reflecting than in reading; and so unceasing was the activity of his mind, and so strong his disposition to trace all subjects of speculation that were worthy to attract his interest, up to their first principles, that all important objects and occurrences furnished fresh matter to his thoughts. The public events of the time suggested many of his inquiries into the principles of political economy; his reflections on his occasional tours through the country, many of his speculations on the picturesque, the beautiful, and the sublime; and the study of the characters of his friends and acquaintances, and of remarkable individuals with whom he happened to be thrown into contact, many of his most profound observations on the sources of the varieties and anomalies of human nature.

In the period which intervened between the publication of his first volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind* and the appearance of his *Philosophical Essays*, he produced and prepared the matter of all his other writings, with the exception of his "Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy," prefixed to the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Independent of the prosecution of those metaphysical inquiries which constitute the substance of his second and third volumes of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, to this epoch of his life are to be referred the speculations in which he engaged with respect to the science of political economy, the principles of which he first embodied in a course of lectures, which, in the year 1800, he added as a second course to the lectures

which formed the immediate subject of the instruction previously delivered in the university from the moral philosophy chair. So general and extensive was his acquaintance with almost every department of literature, and so readily did he arrange his ideas on any subject, with a view to their communication to others, that his colleagues frequently, in the event of illness or absence, availed themselves of his assistance in the instruction of their classes. In addition to his own academical duties, he repeatedly supplied the place of Dr. John Robison, professor of natural philosophy. He taught for several months during one winter the Greek classes for the late Mr. Dalzell: he more than one season taught the mathematical classes for Mr. Playfair: he delivered some lectures on logic during an illness of Dr. Finlayson: and, if we mistake not, he one winter lectured for some time on belles-lettres for the successor of Dr. Blair.

In 1796 he was induced once more to open his house for the reception of pupils; and in this capacity Lord Ashburton, the son of the celebrated Mr. Dunning, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Dudley, the late Lord Palmerston, and his brother the Honourable Mr. Temple, were placed under his care. The late Marquis of Lansdowne, though not an inmate in his family, was resident at this time in Edinburgh, and a frequent guest at his house, and for him he contracted the highest esteem; and he lived to see him, along with two of his own pupils, cabinet ministers at the same time. Justly conceiving that the formation of manners, and of taste in conversation, constituted a no less important part in the education of men destined to mix so largely in the world than their graver pursuits, he rendered his house at this time the resort of all who were most distinguished for genius, acquirement, or elegance in Edinburgh, and of all the foreigners who were led to visit the capital of Scotland. So happily did he succeed in assorting his guests, so well did he combine the grave and the gay, the cheerfulness of youth with the wisdom of age, and amusement with the weightier topics that formed the subject of conversation to his more learned visitors, that his evening parties possessed a charm which many who frequented them have since confessed they have sought in vain in more splendid and ostentatious entertainments. In the year 1806 he accompanied his friend the Earl of Lauderdale on his mission to Paris; and he had thus an opportunity not only of renewing many of the literary intimacies which he had formed in France before the commencement of the Revolution, but of extending his acquaintance with the eminent men of that country, with many of whom he continued to maintain a correspondence during his life.

While individuals of inferior talents, and of much inferior claims, had received the most substantial rewards for their services, it had been long felt that a philosopher like Stewart, who derived so small an income from his professional occupations, was both unjustly and ungenerously overlooked by his country. During the continuance of Mr. Pitt's administration, when the government had so much to do for those who were immediately attached to it, it was hardly perhaps to be expected that an individual who owned no party affection to it should have participated of its favours. On the accession, however, of the Whig administration, in 1806, the oversight was corrected, though not in the manner which was to have been wished. A sinecure office, that of gazette writer for Scotland, was erected for the express purpose of rewarding Mr. Stewart, who enjoyed with it a salary of £600 a year for the remainder of his life. The peculiar mode in which the reward was conveyed

excited much notice at the time. It was agreed on all hands that Mr. Stewart merited the highest recompense; but it was felt by the independent men of all parties that a liberal pension from the crown would have expressed the national gratitude in a more elegant manner, and placed Mr. Stewart's name more conspicuously in the list of those public servants who are repaid, in the evening of life, for the devotion of their early days to the honour and interest of their country.

The year after the death of his son he relinquished the active duties of his chair in the university, and removed to Kinneil House, a seat belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, on the banks of the Frith of Forth, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he spent the remainder of his days in philosophical retirement.¹ From this place were dated, in succession, the *Philosophical Essays* in 1810; the second volume of the *Philosophy of the Human Mind* in 1813; the "Preliminary Dissertation" to the *Encyclopædia*; the continuation of the second part of the *Philosophy* in 1827; and, finally, in 1828, the third volume, containing the "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man;" a work which he completed only a few short weeks before his career was to close for ever. Here he continued to be visited by his friends, and by most foreigners who could procure an introduction to his acquaintance, till the month of January, 1822, when a stroke of palsy, which nearly deprived him of the power of utterance, in a great measure incapacitated him for the enjoyment of any other society than that of a few intimate friends, in whose company he felt no constraint. This great calamity, which bereaved him of the faculty of speech, of the power of exercise, of the use of his right hand—which reduced him to a state of almost

infantile dependence on those around him, and subjected him ever after to a most abstemious regimen—he bore with the most dignified fortitude and tranquillity. The malady which broke his health and constitution for the rest of his existence happily impaired neither any of the faculties of his mind, nor the characteristic vigour and activity of his understanding, which enabled him to rise superior to the misfortune. As soon as his strength was sufficiently re-established, he continued to pursue his studies with his wonted assiduity, to prepare his works for the press with the assistance of his daughter as an amanuensis, and to avail himself with cheerful and unabated relish of all the sources of gratification which it was still within his power to enjoy, exhibiting, among some of the heaviest infirmities incident to age, an admirable example of the serene sunset of a well-spent life of classical elegance and refinement, so beautifully imagined by Cicero: "Quiete, et pure, et eleganter actæ ætatis, placida ac lenis senectus."

In general company his manner bordered on reserve; but it was the *comitate condita gravitas*, and belonged more to the general weight and authority of his character, than to any reluctance to take his share in the cheerful intercourse of social life. He was ever ready to acknowledge with a smile the happy sallies of wit, and no man had a keener sense of the ludicrous, or laughed more heartily at genuine humour. His deportment and expression were easy and unembarrassed, dignified, elegant, and graceful. His politeness was equally free from all affectation and from all premeditation. It was the spontaneous result of the purity of his own taste, and of a heart warm with all the benevolent affections, and was characterized by a truth and readiness of tact that accommodated his conduct with undeviating propriety to the circumstances of the present moment, and to the relative situation of those to whom he addressed himself. From an early period of life he had frequented the best society both in France and in this country, and he had in a peculiar degree the air of good company. In the society of ladies he appeared to great advantage, and to women of cultivated understanding his conversation was particularly acceptable and pleasing. The immense range of his erudition, the attention he had bestowed on almost every branch of philosophy, his extensive acquaintance with every department of elegant literature, ancient or modern, and the fund of anecdote and information which he had collected in the course of his intercourse with the world, with respect to almost all the eminent men of the day, either in this country or in France, enabled him to find suitable subjects for the entertainment of the great variety of visitors of all descriptions who at one period frequented his house. In his domestic circle his character appeared in its most amiable light, and by his family he was beloved and venerated almost to adoration. So uniform and sustained was the tone of his manners, and so completely was it the result of the habitual influence of the natural elegance and elevation of his mind on his external demeanour, that when alone with his wife and children, it hardly differed by a shade from that which he maintained in the company of strangers; for, although his fondness, and familiarity, and playfulness were alike engaging and unrestrained, he never lost anything either of his grace or his dignity: "Nec vero ille in luce modo, atque in oculis civium, magnus, sed intus domique præstantior." As a writer of the English language—as a public speaker—as an original, a profound, and a cautious thinker—as an expounder of truth—as an instructor of youth—as an elegant scholar—as an accomplished gentleman—in the ex-

¹ In 1812 Mr. Stewart read, before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a highly interesting memoir, entitled "Some Account of a Boy born Deaf and Blind," which was subsequently published in the *Transactions* of that learned body. The boy was James Mitchell, the son of a clergyman in the north of Scotland; and, owing to his unfortunate defects, his knowledge of external objects was necessarily conveyed through the organs of touch, taste, and smell only. Mr. Stewart entertained hopes of being able to ascertain from this case the distinction between the original and acquired perceptions of sight; an expectation, however, which, from various circumstances, was not realized.

² He retired from active life, upon an arrangement with the scarcely less celebrated Dr. Thomas Brown, who had been his own pupil, who now agreed, as joint-professor with Mr. Stewart, to perform the whole duties of the chair. Mr. Stewart's biographer in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* gives the following paragraph in reference to this connection:—"Although it was on Mr. Stewart's recommendation that Dr. Brown was raised to the chair of moral philosophy, yet the appointment did not prove to him a source of unmixed satisfaction. The fine poetical imagination of Dr. Brown, the quickness of his apprehension, and the acuteness and ingenuity of his argument, were qualities but little suited to that patient and continuous research which the phenomena of the mind so peculiarly demand. He accordingly composed his lectures with the same rapidity that he would have done a poem, and chiefly from the resources of his own highly gifted, but excited mind. Difficulties which had appalled the stoutest hearts yielded to his bold analysis; and, despising the formalities of a siege, he entered the temple of pneumatology by storm. When Mr. Stewart was apprised that his own favourite and best founded opinions were controverted from the very chair which he had scarcely quitted; that the doctrines of his revered friend and master, Dr. Reid, were assailed with severe and not very respectful animadversions; and that views even of a doubtful tendency were freely expounded by his ingenious colleague, his feelings were strongly roused; and though they were long repressed by the peculiar circumstances of his situation, yet he has given them full expression in a note in the third volume of his *Elements*, which is alike remarkable for the severity and delicacy of its reproof."

It is worthy of notice, that from 1810 to 1818, when Mr. Adam Ferguson died, there were alive three professors of moral philosophy, who had been or were connected with the Edinburgh university. Upon the death of Dr. Brown, in 1820, Mr. Stewart resigned the chair in favour of the late Professor Wilson (Christopher North), who succeeded.

emplary discharge of the social duties—in unpromising consistency and rectitude of principle—in unbending independence—in the warmth and tenderness of his domestic affections—in sincere and unostentatious piety—in the purity and innocence of his life, few have excelled him: and, take him for all in all, it will be difficult to find a man, who, to so many of the perfections, has added so few of the imperfections, of human nature. “Mihi quidem quamvis subito ereptus, vivit tamen, semperque vivit; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quæ extincta non est; nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illum semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis.”

Mr. Stewart's death occurred on the 11th of June, 1828, at No. 5 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh, where he had been for a few days on a visit.

The remains of this distinguished philosopher were interred in the Canongate Churchyard, near the honoured remains of Dr. Adam Smith. At a meeting of his friends and admirers, which soon after took place, a subscription was entered into for erecting a monument, in some conspicuous situation, to his memory; and a large sum being immediately collected, the work was soon after commenced, under the superintendence of Mr. Playfair, architect. Mr. Stewart's monument is an elegant Grecian temple, with a simple cinerary urn in the centre, and occupies a most fortunate situation on the south-west shoulder of the Calton Hill, near the observatory.

Mr. Stewart left behind him a widow and two children, a son and daughter; the former of whom, Lieutenant-colonel Matthew Stewart, has published an able pamphlet on Indian affairs. With appropriate generosity the government allowed the sinecure enjoyed by Mr. Stewart to descend to his family.

The subject of this memoir was of the middle size, and particularly distinguished by an expression of benevolence and intelligence, which Sir Henry Raeburn has well preserved in his portrait of him, painted for Lord Woodhouselee, before he had reached his 55th year. Mr. Stewart had the remarkable peculiarity of vision which made him insensible to the less refrangible colours of the spectrum. This affection of the eye was long unknown both to himself and his friends, and was discovered from the accidental circumstance of one of his family directing his attention to the beauty of the fruit of the Siberian crab, when he found himself unable to distinguish the scarlet fruit from the green leaves of the tree. One of the rules by which he guided himself in literary matters, was never to publish anything anonymously: a rule which, if generally observed, would probably save the world the reading of much inferior and much vicious composition.

STEWART, DR. MATTHEW, an eminent geometrician, and professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, was born at Rothesay, in the island of Bute—of which his father, the Rev. Mr. Dugald Stewart, was minister—in the year 1717.¹ On finishing his course at the grammar-school he was entered at the university of Glasgow in 1734. At college he became acquainted with Dr. Hutcheson and Dr. Simson. In the estimation of the latter he rose, in after-life, from the rank of a favourite pupil to that of an esteemed friend. They were long intimate personal companions, admired the same branches of their common science, and exhibited in their works symptoms of mutual assistance. It is said, indeed, that we are indebted to the friendship and acuteness of Simson, for the suggestion of

mathematics as a study suited to the genius of Stewart. At all events there is every reason to suppose that the love of the latter for the geometry of the ancients was derived from his intercourse with his instructor. While attending the lectures of Dr. Gregory in Edinburgh, in 1741, the attractions of the new analysis were not sufficient to make him neglect his favourite study; and he communicated to his friend his discoveries in geometry, receiving similar communications in return. While Simson was conducting the laborious investigations which enabled him to revive the porisms of the ancients, Stewart received the progressive benefit of the discoveries, long before they were communicated to the world; and while he probably assisted his friend in his investigations, he was enabled, by investigating the subject in a new direction, to publish in 1746 his celebrated series of propositions, termed *General Theorems*. “They are,” says the author's biographer, “among the most beautiful as well as most general propositions known in the whole compass of geometry, and are perhaps only equalled by the remarkable *locus* to the circle in the second book of Apollonius, or by the celebrated theorems of Mr. Cotes. The first demonstration of any considerable number of them is that which was lately communicated to this society² [the Royal Society of Edinburgh]; though I believe there are few mathematicians into whose hands they have fallen, whose skill they have not often exercised. The unity which prevails among them is a proof that a single though extensive view guided Mr. Stewart in the discovery of them all.”

Meanwhile Mr. Stewart had become a licentiate of the Church of Scotland; and, through the joint influence of the Earl of Bute and the Duke of Argyll, had obtained the living of Roseneth. The *General Theorems* made their appearance at a time when they were calculated to have a considerable effect on the prospects of the author. In the summer of 1746 the mathematical chair of Edinburgh became vacant by the death of Mr. Maclaurin. Stewart was not at that period known to the learned world; and Mr. Stirling, a gentleman of well-known reputation, was requested to become the new professor. This gentleman declined the situation; and towards the end of the year, when the patrons of the university were looking for another candidate worthy of the important duty, Stewart's book was published. The author was readily offered the situation, which he accepted. “The duties of this office,” says his biographer, “gave a turn somewhat different to his mathematical pursuits, and led him to think of the most simple and elegant means of explaining those difficult propositions which were hitherto only accessible to men deeply versed in the modern analysis. In doing this he was pursuing the object which, of all others, he most ardently wished to attain, viz. the application of geometry to such problems as the algebraic calculus alone had been thought able to resolve. His solution of Kepler's problem was the first specimen of this kind which he gave to the world; and it was impossible to have produced one more to the credit of the method which he followed, or of the abilities with which he applied it.” This solution appeared in the second volume of the *Essays of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh*, for the year 1756. To quote again the words of the eminent biographer: “Whoever examines it will be astonished to find a problem brought down to the level of elementary geometry, which had hitherto seemed to require the finding of fluents, and the reversion of series; he will acknowledge the reasonableness of

¹ Memoir by Professor Playfair, *Trans. R. Soc. Edin.* i. 57.

² Communicated by Dr. Small.

whatever confidence Mr. Stewart may be hereafter found to place in those simple methods of investigation, which he could conduct with so much ingenuity and success; and will be convinced, that the solution of a problem, though the most elementary, may be the least obvious; and though the easiest to be understood, may be the most difficult to be discovered." In pursuance of his principle of introducing the forms of ancient demonstration, as applicable to those more complicated parts of the science called the mixed mathematics, for which they had been considered unqualified, he published, in 1761, his "*Tracts, Physical and Mathematical*, containing an Explanation of several Important Points in Physical Astronomy; and a New Method of ascertaining the Sun's Distance from the Earth, by the Theory of Gravitation." "In the first of these," says his biographer, "Mr. Stewart lays down the doctrine of centripetal forces, in a series of propositions, demonstrated (if we admit the quadrature of curves) with the utmost rigour, and requiring no previous knowledge of the mathematics, except the elements of plane geometry and conic sections. The good order of these propositions, added to the clearness and simplicity of the demonstrations, renders this tract the best elementary treatise of physical astronomy that is anywhere to be found." It was the purpose of the three remaining tracts to determine the effect of those forces which disturb the motions of a secondary planet; and, in particular, to determine the distance of the sun, from its effect in disturbing the motions of the moon. Owing to the geometrical method which he adopted, and likewise to the extreme distance of the sun, which makes all the disturbances he produces on the motion of the moon very near to that point at which increase of distance to infinity would not change their force, he could only proceed on a system of approximation; and in applying the principles of his plan to a practical calculation of the sun's distance, which he published in 1763, entitled "*Distance of the Sun from the Earth*, determined by the Theory of Gravitation, together with several other Things relative to the same Subject," he was found to have made a very considerable error. He found the distance of the sun to be equal to 29,875 semi-diameters of the earth, or about 118,541,428 English miles. About five years afterwards there appeared a pamphlet from the pen of Mr. Dawson of Sudbury, called "*Four Propositions*, intended to point out certain Errors in Dr. Stewart's Investigation, which had given a Result much greater than the Truth." This was followed by a second attack from Mr. Lauden, who, like Price in arithmetic, accomplished the difficult task of becoming an enthusiast in mathematics, and by means of exaggerating errors, and commenting on their atrocity, astonished the world with a specimen of controversial mathematics. The biographer thus states the sources of the mistakes which called forth these animadversions: "As in arithmetic we neglect those small fractions which, though of inconsiderable amount, would exceedingly embarrass our computations; so, in geometry, it is sometimes necessary to reject those small quantities which would add little to the accuracy, and much to the difficulty, of the investigation. In both cases, however, the same thing may happen; though each quantity thrown out may be inconsiderable in itself, yet the amount of them altogether, and their effect on the last result, may be greater than is apprehended. This was just what had happened in the present case. The problem to be resolved is, in its nature, so complex, and involves the estimation of so many causes, that, to avoid inextricable difficulties, it is necessary to reject some quantities

as being small in comparison of the rest, and to reason as if they had no existence." Soon after the publication of this essay Dr. Stewart's health began to decline; and in 1772 he retired to the country, leaving the care of his class to his eminent son, Dugald Stewart, who was elected joint professor with him in 1775. He died on the 23d January, 1785, at the age of sixty-eight. Besides the works above mentioned, he published *Propositiones Geometricæ More veterum Demonstratæ ad Geometriam Antiquam Illustrandam et Promovendam Idoneæ*, 1763.

STEWART, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PATRICK, C.B., R.E. This young and distinguished officer, whose career unexpectedly terminated in the mid-day of his life, was the second son of James Stewart, Esq., of Cairnmore. Having adopted the military service as his profession, he studied at the military college of Sandhurst, and after distinguishing himself by his scientific acquirements connected with the art of war, he entered the Bengal engineers, where he was appointed second-lieutenant on June 14, 1850. On August 1, 1854, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and on August 27, 1858, to the rank of captain. During the Sepoy rebellion in India, he served in the staff of Lord Clyde in the advance to the relief of Lucknow, the siege of that city, and the battle of Cawnpore, and in this memorable expedition his knowledge of science in its application to military operations was called into full exercise. He was employed in extending and maintaining telegraphic communication between the army in its advance and the head-quarters of government, and this important office he discharged so ably and energetically as to obtain honourable mention in the despatches of Viscount Canning, the governor-general of India.

Although these were services in which military enterprise had no field for display, Captain Stewart's courage and daring as a soldier were so well known as to call forth the admiration of all ranks in the army, and these were all the more highly valued as he was habitually of an amiable and gentle disposition. During the Indian campaign he lost no opportunity of signaling his intrepidity in action; and carrying the same spirit into his active sports, he on one occasion nearly lost his life from the attack of a tiger while hunting. When the rebellion was suppressed he was rewarded with two clasps, and promoted to the rank of brevet-major.

His health having suffered from his Indian services, Major Stewart returned home, where his health was restored and his frame invigorated by the bracing atmosphere of his native Galloway, and the scenes of his early youth; and he married Miss M'Douall, daughter of Colonel M'Douall of Logan. Soon after this he was again called to active service by being appointed to superintend the extension of telegraphic communication with India, an important task to which his well-known talents recommended him; and it is enough to add that his services in this department did not belie the expectations which had been formed of him. Latterly, in consequence of his failing health, he had been residing at Constantinople, where Mrs. Stewart was seized with diphtheria; but although she recovered, her husband was struck down with the same disease, which in his case proved mortal. He died at Constantinople, on the 15th of January, 1865, at the early age of thirty-two years.

STONE, EDMUND, an ingenious self-taught mathematician, of whom nothing is known except from a letter written by the Chevalier Ramsay to Father Castel, published in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*. It there appears that Stone was the son of a gardener

in the employment of John Duke of Argyle, at Inverary, in the early part of the eighteenth century. "He attained the age of eight years before he learned to read; but a servant having taught him the letters of the alphabet, he soon made a rapid progress with very little assistance. He applied to the mathematics; and, notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties of his situation, attained a knowledge of the most sublime geometry and analysis without a master, and without any other guide, it is said, than his own genius. At the age of eighteen he had advanced thus far, when his abilities and the extent of his acquirements were discovered by the following accident. The Duke of Argyle, who to his military talents united a general knowledge of every science that can adorn the mind of a great man, walking one day in his garden saw lying upon the grass a Latin copy of Newton's *Principia*. Having called some one to carry it back to his library, the young gardener told him that it belonged to himself. The duke was surprised, and asked him whether he were sufficiently acquainted with Latin and geometry to understand Newton. Stone replied, with an air of simplicity, that he knew a little of both. The duke then entered into conversation with the young mathematician, asked him several questions, and was astonished at the force and accuracy of his answers. The duke's curiosity being redoubled, he sat down on a bank, and requested to know by what means he acquired such knowledge. 'I first learned to read,' said Stone: 'the masons were then at work upon your house: I went near them one day, and I saw that the architect used a rule and compass, and that he made calculations. I inquired what might be the meaning and use of these things; and I was informed that there was a science named arithmetic. I purchased a book of arithmetic, and I learned it. I was told that there was another science called geometry: I bought books, and learned geometry also. By reading I found that there were good books on these two sciences in Latin: I bought a dictionary and learned Latin. I understood also that there were good books of the same kind in French: I bought a dictionary and I learned French. And this, my lord, is what I have done. It seems to me that we may learn anything when we know the twenty-four letters of the alphabet.' With this account the duke was delighted. He drew this wonderful young man from his obscurity, and provided him with an employment which left him plenty of time to apply to his favourite pursuits. He discovered in him also the same genius for music, for painting, for architecture, and for all the sciences that depend upon calculations and proportions."

Stone is said to have been a man of great simplicity; and, though sensible of his own acquirements, neither vain nor conceited. It is to be regretted that no particulars are accessible respecting the latter part of his career: we are not even informed whether he spent the remainder of his life in Argyleshire or in London; though it seems probable that the latter was the scene of his chief scientific labours. His works, partly original and partly translations, are as follows: *A New Mathematical Dictionary*, first printed in 1726, 8vo; *A Treatise on Fluxions*, 1730, 8vo: in this work the direct method is a translation from the French of the Marquis de l'Hôpital's *Analysis des Infiniments Petits*, and the concise method was supplied by Stone himself; *The Elements of Euclid*, 1731, 2 vols. 8vo; a neat and useful edition, with an account of the "Life and Writings of Euclid," and a defence of his elements against modern objectors; besides some smaller works. Stone was a fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated to it an "Ac-

count of Two Species of Lines of the Third Order not mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton or Mr. Sterling," which was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xli.

STOW, DAVID. This worthy founder of the training system of education was born at Paisley, on the 17th of May, 1793. His father, William Stow, who had migrated in early life from his native county of Durham to the town of Paisley, established himself there as a merchant, and was not only prosperous in business, but elected to the honourable office of a magistrate in the town. David Stow in early youth was educated in the grammar-school of Paisley; but while he received there the ordinary routine of education, it was in the domestic circle of the paternal home that he underwent a system of religious and intellectual training which fitted him to turn his acquirements to the best account. Having become, at the age of eighteen, connected with a mercantile establishment in Glasgow, he took up his residence in that city, and on his way to his place of business had occasion daily to go through one of its lowest and most depraved districts on the south side of the river Clyde. The sight of its neglected vagrant children, the denizens of the open air, who were allowed to live and grow up as they best could, first excited his compassion; and to instruct and reclaim them he became a Sabbath-school teacher, at a time when such an office was little respected in Glasgow. Resolved also to carry on the work in earnest, he selected for the place of his labours a densely-peopled locality in the Saltmarket, lying between St. Andrew's Street and the Cross; and to induce a sufficient attendance of pupils, he tried what he called the process of "deep-sea fishing" over his selected area of about seventy families. These he visited twice a week, and thus maintained not only the superintendence of his pupils, but came in contact with their parents, who in most cases were in as much need of instruction as their children. In this way also he endeared himself more to the people of his own little parish than if he had collected his flock indiscriminately from the streets at large. He was theirs, and his school was theirs; he had chosen them in preference to others; and while they were assured that he cared for them, they enjoyed the weekly privilege of his intercourse and sympathy. This local and exclusive plan of Sabbath-school teaching, of which Mr. Stow was the originator, soon caught the observing eye of Dr. Chalmers, at that time organizing his parochial machinery; and struck with the benefits that might accrue from such a mode of religious Sabbath instruction for the young, he established in his parish of St. John's, Glasgow, this principle of Sabbath-schools, by which the labours of each teacher was to be confined to his own appointed locality, so that not a family in it should be omitted or an individual neglected. This was the only way, as the reverend doctor saw, by which the parochial distinctions of a city could be restored, and a clergyman become the minister of his parish. Such was the commencement of local Sabbath-schools, a method to which Dr. Chalmers was enthusiastically devoted, and which he continued to practise until the close of his well-spent life. "This," he exclaimed when he first established his local schools, "This is what I call preaching from house to house!"

In consequence of the acquaintanceship of Mr. Stow with Dr. Chalmers, and the efficient aid with which he seconded his parochial arrangements, he was elected one of the doctor's church elders, a situation demanding no small amount of time and

labour. Mr. Stow also, notwithstanding the requirements of his business as a merchant in the stirring and bustling city of Glasgow, showed no abatement of earnestness in Sabbath-school teaching. But his growing experience suggested doubts as to the adequateness of such an instrument for the reformation of our social fabric. To the young it was only one day of religious training in the Sunday-school against six days of evil training in the streets. Between two such counteracting forces it was easy to guess as to which of them would obtain the mastery. From their parents also he could expect little aid, as they were confirmed in their ignorance or callousness. He saw that weekly training instead of Sunday training was necessary for the reformation of the young of our streets, and a healthful change in the character of society at large: and this change from street-training to school-training he proceeded to advocate with all his habitual earnestness. Such in 1824 was the result of his experience over a course of years of Sabbath-school teaching; in which he had been more diligent and more successful than most of his contemporaries. It was of value simply as an auxiliary of the church, by preparing the neglected young for its ministrations. In his new views of religious and moral training he would probably have been aided by the influence of Dr. Chalmers, had not the latter been removed from Glasgow to the chair of moral philosophy in St. Andrews. He therefore had to fight the battle for weekly training single-handed until philanthropic friends came to the rescue. But all the while the conduct of Mr. Stow evinced that he had not exchanged his old theory for a new, but merely sought an expansion of the old. He wished to extend the benefits of the latter from one day in the week to seven. He therefore continued in the zealous and effective discharge of his Sabbath-school duties more than ten years after his weekly-training experiment had commenced, and not only taught his own Sabbath classes, but was treasurer and secretary to different societies in connection with the Sunday-school system. Nor did his devotedness go unrewarded. His Sabbath-school of the Saltmarket, in which his training mode of teaching had commenced, showed its renovating and expanding power, so that after many years he was enabled thus to state of it:—"In my Sabbath-school, consisting of about thirty boys and girls, when the leading principles of the training system were first practically worked out, I may state that during the first ten years out of the sixteen or eighteen years that most of them were consecutively in attendance, I saw no fruit save that they all got better and more decently dressed, and their hair more smoothly combed or brushed, and that several of them attended church, and whose parents were now induced to attend who had never done so before. Soon after that time, however, . . . nearly all the girls, or rather young women, decidedly turned to the Lord, and immediately held prayer-meetings in the school-room, viz. a good-sized kitchen, by themselves. Six months afterwards, the same operation of the divine Spirit was exhibited in most of the boys, or rather young men, and then both sexes held a united prayer-meeting once a week, and also one separately, each by themselves. Like a hive of bees, they soon afterwards seized upon a neighbouring very destitute district in the suburbs, in which they established and taught most efficiently fifteen Sabbath-schools, on the strict local principle, having about 350 children in attendance; a district in which there was neither church nor school. Now, being occupied on Sunday afternoons, they then met on Monday evenings in my house, two miles distant

from my district, for conversation and prayer, which the young men wholly conducted. I then felt myself in the position not of a teacher but a hearer, through them, in the school of Christ. Their calmness, fervour, and enlightened faith truly surprised and delighted me. Soon after this (twenty-five years ago) I received a petition from fifteen of them, requesting me to use my influence to get up a church and day-school (afterwards termed St. Luke's), so that they might have a regular organized Christian machinery. In one word, out of thirty scholars twenty-three became Sabbath-school teachers; five, elders of the church; four, day-school teachers; one, head of a normal training seminary in the colonies; two are ministers of the gospel, one in England the other in Scotland; and five are now, I believe, in glory. Of course, some of these pupils held different offices in succession, the correct 'statistical' number being twenty-three in all."

Having formed his theory of the training system from his ten years of experience in Sabbath-school teaching, Mr. Stow proceeded in the spring of 1827 to reduce it to action, by adapting a house and garden in the Drygate as a school and play-ground for about 100 pupils, and a dwelling for the teacher. The Drygate was a poor and densely-peopled district abounding in idle unreclaimed children, and therefore fitted in every way to try his experiment and test its efficiency. The principles on which the teaching was to be conducted were of such a simple and natural character, that they had been overlooked by educational theorists in their search after the new and unknown. Devotional principle and moral practice, the chief essentials of human training, were to be inculcated during the whole week, instead of a seventh of it. It was to be inculcated also not by formal lessons and grave harangues, which would only have repelled or puzzled the young learners, but in a way best suited both to their likings and capacities. Mr. Stow had noted in his class, writes his biographer, "the power which the 'picturing out in words' of the doctrines, precepts, narratives, figures, and allusions in Scripture gave him over young minds; not only winning them to attention by arresting their sympathies, but leading them to higher exercises by enlightening their understanding and taxing their reasoning powers." There was to be no corporal punishment; instead of this the only chastisement was the public opinion of the class, which would fall upon the offender more heavily than stripes, and be more influential as a check upon his conduct. As for the play-ground, it was to form their world, instead of the streets in which they had roamed at large; and there, while acting under the principles of their common instruction, virtue was more certain to be rewarded and vice put to shame. Mr. Stow, as will be seen, was well aware of the mesmeric power of mutual action, especially in children, and has thus announced it: "To meet the sympathy of companionship in what is evil, we ought to oppose it by the only antidote, viz. the *sympathy of companionship in what is good*. Let the morning lessons of a week-day training-school, therefore, be made the basis of the practice of the children during each day, under the superintendence of an accomplished master-trainer in-doors at lessons, and out-of-doors at play. Let the *sympathy of numbers*, which in towns so materially leads to evil, be laid hold of, on scriptural principles, as in the moral training-school, on the side of good; and then, but not till then, will the *sunken* class be elevated, the *sinking* kept from falling, and the *uprising* class be safe in bringing up their offspring amidst the contaminating influence of a city atmosphere."

At first, this new system established by the training-school—this substitution of education for teaching—excited an outcry which required no little courage to confront. The school required a playground to keep children apart from the contamination of the street, and give fair development to their physical aptitudes—but how, in our large and crowded towns, where every foot of ground is so costly, could such an accommodation be obtained? The walls of the school, too, were to be draped with illustrative pictures; but was not the old plan of teaching better, that compelled the pupil to keep his eyes fixed upon his book, under the penalty of a blow if he glanced aside? And how could religion be better taught than by compelling the learner to read the Bible right on, and committing the Shorter Catechism to memory? This new-fangled “training,” it was maintained, by which children were to be conducted into the way they should go by such soft and gentle inducements that appealed to their own free choice, was a sorry substitute for the *taraise*, under which the “young idea” was taught to shout, and go on like a whipping-top. But in spite of financial considerations and vulgar prejudices, Mr. Stow persevered, and his model school in the Drygate, which he had placed under a most efficient instructor, was soon able to refute these objections, and effect a favourable reaction. The pale, ragged, ignorant children had become healthy, happy, and intelligent, and their answers in trying examinations produced approval, and sometimes wonder. It was evident that the training system had either wonderfully evolved the sleeping faculties of these poor children, or moulded them anew. To make the effects of this new system more widely known, the master and mistress of the Drygate school, with a dozen of their juvenile scholars, visited different towns from Rothesay to Stranraer in 1829, only two years after it had been established; and so deep was the impression produced by these visits, that similar schools were established in various towns in Scotland. Edinburgh was not to be behind in an example which Glasgow had originated, and accordingly a society was formed there, and the teacher of Drygate school (Mr. Caughie) with twelve of his pupils, was invited to Edinburgh, to exhibit the nature of his teaching. The advent is thus described in a letter of the secretary of the training system established in Edinburgh:—“I have great pleasure in informing you not only of the safe arrival of the twelve infant pupils, in high spirits and trim, without fatigue or drowsiness, but of their really satisfactory exhibition before the company in the Waterloo Rooms, which produced a very strong sensation, and was declared a high moral treat. They . . . The children, several of whom are very sweet little things, and all well trained, alert, and cheerful, excited almost an affectionate feeling: little strangers just arrived, and introduced in the middle of the lecture, at the moment when they were wanted, was quite dramatic. The coach arrived at the ‘Star’ in Prince’s Street at a quarter past two, the lecture going on at the time. I was myself in waiting, and got the coachman, as he went near the place with his coach and horses, to set them down at the Waterloo Hotel. They got five minutes to stare at the curtains, and especially the magnificent lustres (which they were afterwards asked to give an opinion of), and then were in the middle of business as if they were in their own school. A monitor named Beton struck up a hymn, and did other monitorial feats, and as he was pronounced a worthy, and had no shoes to walk withal, he was a shod man—the sum being given to the mistress before they left the room.”

Three successive days were these exhibitions continued in the Waterloo Rooms, which were attended by most of the magistrates and many of the leading men of the city, and the result of their approbation of this plan of teaching was the establishment of the Edinburgh Model Infant School. But while this and other schools upon the same principles were rising in various towns in Scotland, Mr. Stow contemplated the advance which had been made as only the first step of progress. Evil habits had been unlearned, but unless new habits were formed the old would return, and perhaps be more mischievous than ever. But the public interest which had been so highly raised at the beginning was now suffering such a collapse, that even the annual sum of £150 which had been subscribed to support his school in the Drygate was no longer forthcoming. It was one of those trials which usually confront the progress of a genuine reformer, but Mr. Stow showed that he had a reformer’s spirit to surmount it. He had obtained premises for the establishment of a new school upon the ground-floor of a Wesleyan chapel in the Saltmarket, with the space in front for a playground, and here a fresh legion of young city pariahs was assembled, whose conduct soon justified the principles of their training. The flowers of their playground remained uninjured, and the tempting currants unplucked. Their new sense of beauty admired the former, and their adopted principles of honesty spared the other. The money they had hitherto squandered was spent in the purchase of books; and in many cases their reckless parents were shamed or allured by this example of their children into more orderly behaviour. Encouraged by these proofs of the utility of his plan, Mr. Stow resolved to provide another school, into which the children might be drafted who were too far advanced for the infant classes. In this way pupils of the same age and progress could better sympathize in the work of the school-room and the playground, and more effectually promote each other’s improvement. By this idea he laid the basis of that plan now so widely carried out under the title of “graded schools.” It was also necessary to provide for the training of teachers themselves as well as of pupils, as already more than 100 of the former had been indoctrinated with his method entirely by his own instruction. And hence the origin of Normal colleges. The first of these was established in Glasgow, and the day of its inauguration (Nov. 14, 1836) was a happy day for Mr. Stow: 500 of the leading citizens, including the dean of guild, the members of the Merchants’ House, the members of the Trades’ House, many of the clergy, the professors of the Andersonian University, with their distinguished president James Smith, Esq., of Jordanhill, and the office-bearers of the Educational Society, walked in procession to lay the foundation-stone, and the moderator of the General Assembly offered up the dedicatory prayer. It was a public, formal recognition of the efficacy of the training system, and a pledge to carry it into effect. In reference to this institution, Mr. Stow thus enunciated its objects in the following sketch:—First, to improve the system of our popular education; secondly, to organize our school system, that it might be an assistance to parents in training their young; and thirdly, to diffuse and extend the system, by establishing a model school for the instruction of the public, and for the training of schoolmasters.” In announcing the necessity of a change in the old-established mode of our teaching, from the new and unforeseen growth of cities, Mr. Stow continued, “Large towns are the bane of our country in a moral point of view. Why?

It is because our educational systems have not hitherto been so organized as to meet this comparatively new state of society. We continue simply to teach in the schools, while the wicked one is actively training in the streets. But let the principle of *social* sympathy, while freely at play, be concentrated habitually, as under the training system, in favour of what is good, through infancy and youth, and by the divine blessing large towns and their factories will prove vastly increased sources of morality and virtue." This startling assertion, so much at war with previous experience, he verified by the following fact:—"In the model infant school 200 children, and in the model juvenile 180, had amused themselves freely at play during a whole summer in their respective school play-grounds, and yet small fruit had been left to ripen in the side borders within the reach of the youngest child."

Although the commencement of the Glasgow Normal College was so promising, difficulties still continued to oppose its progress. It was hoped that Mr. Stow, already over-laboured by his philanthropic exertions, would have been relieved by this establishment of more than half of his burdens; but the accomplished rector of the college, Mr. John M'Crie (son of the biographer of Knox and Melville), died as soon as he had entered into office, and Mr. Stow was committed to more than his former toils. The Glasgow establishment also was expensive, and could not be upheld without voluntary contributions; but this was a new demand on the part of public education to which the people of Scotland had been unaccustomed, and which they were unable or unwilling to comprehend. Mr. Stow was therefore oppressively taxed, not only in labour but in outlay. But how successfully these labours were continued, was proved by the evidence of Sir John K. Shuttleworth, in his examination before the select committee of the House of Commons on the education of the poorer classes. This was in March, 1838, about fourteen months after the Glasgow institution had been inaugurated, and to the question of what schools were best adapted for the purpose he gave the following answer:—"The most perfect school of this description with which I am acquainted, is a school recently established in Glasgow, by the Glasgow Educational Society, denominated the Glasgow Normal Seminary. A very large sum has been expended in erecting the building of that school, and a gentleman of excellent education [Mr. M'Crie] was sent to Prussia and Germany, to acquire a knowledge of the plans pursued in the Prussian and German schools, who was afterwards elected rector of the Normal Seminary. The building consists of rooms for the instruction of children, and smaller apartments in which the miniature schools are conducted by the teachers who are undergoing training in the school. There are likewise rooms in which the rector of the school conveys information to the teachers, and instructs them privately in the principles upon which the various methods of training the children are based. In such a school two objects have to be fulfilled: the one of conveying general knowledge to the teachers, and the other making them theoretically acquainted with principles upon which the methods of instruction are founded, and giving them an opportunity of carrying those principles into execution by practising the method in a miniature school, and afterwards of conducting from time to time the larger school upon the same plan."

The merits of Mr. Stow as a reformer in education were now so generally recognized, that the committee of privy-council on education offered him the first inspectorship of schools in Scotland. It

was an honourable tender, and grateful to his feelings, but after anxious consideration he declined it. "I would not like," he said, "to be paid for services in any shape, although I consider it right and proper that all special services should be paid." With this dislike to payment for a duty which he had undertaken so cheerfully and hitherto performed gratuitously, was the feeling that his health was failing as years advanced, and he playfully added, "I have pursued a course of over-exertion for many years, and my medical adviser has told me that if I do not pull in I must be stretched out." His labours, after the death of Mr. M'Crie, had happily been lightened by the appointment of the Rev. Robert Cunningham to the vacant rectorship—one whose extensive observations in the educational systems on the Continent, and practice as a professor in one of the colleges of the United States, combined with his learning and practical energy of character, in every way qualified for the office. Mr. Stow was therefore enabled to enjoy longer intervals of rest than had fallen to his lot for many years. He was also gratified to witness how widely his training system had been adopted, and how likely it was to go on from the impetus which he had imparted. Normal schools and training schools had now become household words, so that their titles were adopted by those academies that were still ignorant of their peculiar meaning. There was also a larger demand for trained teachers from the Normal College than it was able to supply, and the Wesleyans of England, who had no institution of their own, sent their students to be trained as schoolmasters under the direction of Mr. Stow. As the kind of religious instruction also was based upon the most liberal principles, instead of being confined to merely sectarian distinctions, students from missionary societies of every denomination—Episcopalian, Wesleyan Methodist, United Presbyterian, and Baptist—were sent to the Glasgow Normal College. Of those important pledges of the public approval of his system, Mr. Stow became the careful teacher and affectionate father, and the happy evenings which they spent under his hospitable roof drew many young men together who were like-minded and devoted to a common calling, but who in the absence of such re-unions would probably have remained strangers to each other, however connected by character and occupation. Thus at some of these meetings might be seen teachers under training from twelve or fourteen counties of Scotland, and from as many of England, with several from Ireland, from the West Indies, and from Caffraria. The two methods of culture introduced by Mr. Stow in preparing these future teachers for their avocation were, 1st, By private criticisms; and 2d, By public lessons given weekly. As these are too important to be passed over, we give them in the words of his biographer:—"In the first, or 'private criticism,' the students were seated in their gallery, and answered as children, while in succession teachers gave them lessons in reading, spelling, arithmetic, or catechetical exercises, under the guidance of Mr. Stow and the rector. The 'criticism' was given during the lesson; manner, matter, look, intonation, forms of questions, were all referred to, exhibited, corrected with gentleness, and always most effectively. The females gave lessons in a separate hall, and were similarly criticized and guided. They were taught to teach as girls are to sew, by *doing* it. Telling *how* to do was reckoned insufficient, the work must be *done*. By practice alone were they supposed likely to succeed. They could only *know* the work by doing it. 'While the public admit,' said Mr. Stow when stimulating the students to

submit to this drilling, 'that training is necessary to the mechanic, the sailor, the soldier, the lawyer, they have no idea of the propriety or necessity of the teacher being trained to *his* art, any further than by serving an apprenticeship to himself. I may see a system in operation in a model school, just as I might see a hem frilled by a lady; but the witnessing of this will not enable me to follow her example, until cloth and needle are placed in my hands, and I actually learn to do it practically. I must see the system in operation; I must have it explained to me by suitable trainers; I must endeavour to put it in practice under experienced superintendents; I must have the model to imitate, the children at the same time to work upon—the lack of any of which influences must leave me imperfectly trained.'

Of the second method—by public lessons given weekly—the following account is derived from the same source:—"The plan originated by Mr. Stow was so controlled by him as to prove most effective. But for his firmness and kindly bearing it might have been the source of irritating personal rivalry. To four students a lesson each was prescribed a week before it was required, that it might be carefully prepared. The four lessons generally embraced a Scripture narrative or emblem—an object—reading with explanations—and a fact or law in science. When the children were seated in the gallery, and the students had assembled in their presence, each of the four students, in his turn, gave his lesson, ten or twelve minutes being allowed; and the teachers noted not only every defect in pronunciation, in manner, in the arrangement of the lessons, in the ellipses formed, or in the method of questioning, but also all that was commendable. It was a trying time; but these respective exercises gave the teacher greater confidence and ease in the subsequent management of his own school, and constrained each to study the lesson given, and to try the best means of rivetting attention. No suggestions were made in the presence of the scholars. The students, the head-masters of the departments, the rector, and Mr. Stow adjourned to the students' hall, when, Mr. Stow or the rector presiding, the four who had given lessons on the preceding week, and had been criticized, began in turn the review of the lessons given, and spoke for a limited time. Others followed. No one who has listened to the lessons and the subsequent criticisms can have forgotten the frank, off-hand, hearty commendation, the gentle rebukes, the sometimes subtle and sometimes broad humour of the more experienced critics, and the timid half-hesitating remarks of beginners. Sometimes the lessons were analyzed, and discussion sustained, in such a way as to show how deeply some of the teachers were inquiring into the philosophy of education, and making the human mind their study. They were thus taught to speak accurately and with ease, to observe closely, to treat each other as gentlemen, and to think. To no part of Mr. Stow's labours, in the practical training of teachers, is greater importance to be attached than this. It contributed greatly to the subsequent efficiency of the school-master, and diffused a higher *esprit de corps*."

But while the training system was thus vindicating its superiority, and recommending itself to public favour, an arrest was laid upon its progress by the want of funds. Calculating upon the general liberality in its behalf, Mr. Stow and the directors had been at considerable expense in furnishing the Normal College with its necessary equipments, so that there was now a debt upon the building of £10,677, and in consequence of the scantiness of voluntary contributions the work of the college could not be carried

on with its former efficiency. Mr. Stow therefore applied to the committee of privy-council for a grant in aid, upon the plea of the unsectarian character of the Normal Seminary, and this was granted to the extent of £5000; but it was on condition that the site, buildings, and school management should be transferred to the Established Church, to be maintained and conducted by the General Assembly. Mr. Stow was delighted with this arrangement, as the means of delivering the system from its present difficulties, and speeding it onward with double efficiency; but little did he calculate upon an impending event, by which he was to be driven as an intruder from this beloved house, which he had spent such time and labour in rearing. This was the Disruption of 1843, by which the Church of Scotland was rent in twain—an event that was both sudden and unexpected; and as Mr. Stow and his coadjutors had joined the seceding portion of the church, his Normal Seminary, with all its apparatus, became the property of the Established Church, and subject to its exclusive control. Every state-endowed teachership in Scotland must be held from henceforth by a member of the Established Church only, and a clearance immediately took place of those educational charges which had been held by men who had joined the Disruption. Mr. Stow, however, thought his own peculiar case an exception to the rule, and this he proceeded to show in an appeal to the lords of the privy-council. He stated that hitherto the teachers had been appointed by himself—that the institution was in all respects national, not exclusive, being attended by pupils from various denominations—that it was hard that he and his coadjutors should be saddled with the debt that still remained on it of £5677, and themselves the while excluded—that they still held every doctrine as before, and vindicated the principle of an established church—and that the only changes were unexpected interpretations of ecclesiastical law. But the appeal was in vain, and the transference of his Normal College into the hands of the Establishment was only a question of time and convenience. Until this should take place, he continued his work of teaching, and although he might still have sold the building for any public purpose, the negotiations at the Disruption having been still incomplete, he preferred to leave the college as a training institution in the hands of the rival church rather than see it alienated to other purposes.

This dreaded transference occurred in May, 1845, and Mr. Stow, sad of heart, with the directors and teachers, and followed by 50 students and 700 pupils, proceeded to a long series of canvas-covered tents, floored with sawdust and seated with rough benches, which had been extemporized as a new normal college. A very sad change it was, but still Mr. Stow endeavoured to make the best of it. "Every person will admit," he said, "that the buildings of the institution are not the institution itself; even this temporary building, embodying as it does all the trainers, students, and children, will exhibit the system as it existed ten years previous to the erection of the edifice which we have now left; it was then the Glasgow Normal Seminary, and such it must continue to be!" In this condition, however, alone and unsupported, and with little prospect of either state or voluntary support, the institution must have moved sadly and slowly onward, or come to an absolute pause, but for one of those unexpected events which proceeded from the Disruption. Originally the Free Church had only contemplated the upholding of its ecclesiastical institutions, and its efforts and means were in the first instance directed

to a provision for the ministry, and the erection of churches and manse. But the secession of so many parochial schoolmasters, and the marvellous liberality of the Free Church communities, extended the aims of that church to the establishment of colleges and schools also, and of these the Normal institution was least of all to be neglected. The friends and adherents of the system accordingly exerted themselves so strenuously, that in a few months a second Normal College reared its head in Glasgow, of a richer and more imposing form than the first. The building was completed at a cost of £10,000, of which £3000 was granted by government. It had ten class-rooms, four large halls, students' rooms, library and museum, and janitor's house, and spacious playgrounds on the outside. On being opened, each of the four schools was crowded, students of different denominations filled the halls, so that additional buildings had afterwards to be erected; and as an architectural structure the Free Church Normal School of Glasgow excites the pride of the citizens and the admiration of strangers. It was a delightful transition for Mr. Stow, and here he continued to illustrate the worth of his training system with more ample means and greater efficacy. And how well its worth was now appreciated is explained in the following extract of a letter written to him at this time by J. C. Colquhoun, Esq. of Killermont:—"Your system has now had ample trial. You had the merit of introducing it into the Church of Scotland. You are now establishing it in the Free Church. Experience of its value has induced the Wesleyans to adopt it. It has been tried with success by many clergy and lay members of the Church of England. The poor-law commissioners have sanctioned it, and its efficacy is now proved in the most unfavourable circumstances among the juvenile convicts in Parkhurst prison. It has had the emphatic sanction of a committee of the House of Commons and of the privy-council. I regret that parliament has not yet been induced by this ample evidence to select it for general adoption. It secures what must be the great object of the state—the intelligence and moral development of the popular mind. Its applicability to all varieties of religious opinion makes it especially fitted for the exigencies of our times. All the religious disputes which have hitherto obstructed national education disappear before it; and there only remains to government the easy task of sanctioning this system of education wherever they find it, and by whatever religious party it is conducted. I indulge a hope that parliament will yet see its wisdom in adopting this course. I shall always regard it as a pleasure to support it wherever it presents itself, whether within the Church of England, where it may render the highest service; or in the Church of Scotland, which I hope will be so wise as to retain it; or within the church to which you now have carried your energy and zeal."

We have thus traced the career of Mr. Stow from his commencement as a Sabbath-school teacher to his becoming the founder of the best and most comprehensive training system of education that as yet had been devised,—and his progress from the unnoticed commencement of the system until the time when it was adopted as a system of national education, and established on a foundation that promises to be enduring to the last. He had fought his "good fight," and even upon earth had witnessed its success. The rest of his life was devoted to benevolent objects to its close, and especially to the interests of his educational establishments, which had become limbs and functions of his existence. In so busy a life, which combined the work of a merchant with that of the teacher and philanthropist, his pen

was too much employed in correspondence upon his favourite subject to indulge in authorship, so that besides a work entitled *Moral School Training for Large Towns*, and contributions to a small educational magazine, he gave no other literary productions to the world, although he showed that he had talent to win distinction in that department if he had willed to prosecute it. Active and indefatigable to the last, he held onward in his wonted course, and died at Bridge-of-Allan on the 6th of November, 1864, in the seventy-first year of his age.

It is only necessary to add that Mr. Stow was twice married. His first wife was Marion Freebairn, a young lady of great moral worth and accomplishments, who died in 1831. His second wife was Elizabeth MacArthur, to whom he was married in 1841, and who died in 1847.

STRAHAN, WILLIAM, an eminent printer and patron of literature, was born at Edinburgh in the year 1715.¹ His father, who held a situation connected with the customs, was enabled to give him a respectable education at a grammar-school, after which he was apprenticed to a printer. Very early in life he removed to the wide field of London, where he appears to have worked for some time as a journeyman printer, and to have with much frugality, creditably supported a wife and family on the small income so afforded him. His wife, whom he early married, was sister to Mr. James Elphinstone, the translator of *Martial*. It can be well supposed that he had for many years many difficulties to overcome; but he was of a happy temper, looking forward to prosperity as the reward of his toils, without being unduly sanguine. It is said he used to remark, "that he never had a child born that Providence did not send some increase of income to provide for the increase of his household."

After shaking himself free of his difficulties he grew rapidly wealthy, and in 1770 was enabled to purchase a share of the patent for king's printer of Mr. Eyre. Previously to this period Mr. Strahan had commenced a series of speculations in the purchase of literary property, that species of merchandise which more than any other depends for its success on the use of great shrewdness and critical discernment. Strahan was eminently successful, and with the usual effect of good management, was enabled to be liberal to authors, while he enriched himself. With Dr. Johnson he was for some time intimately connected, and he took the charge of editing his prayers and meditations after the doctor's death. Johnson, however, has been accused of speaking of him in a manner which the world seldom admires, when used towards a person to whom the speaker owes obligations, whatever may be the intellectual disparity. Boswell observes, "Dr. Gerard told us, that an eminent printer was very intimate with Warburton. *Johnson*. 'Why, sir, he has printed some of his works, and, perhaps, bought the property of some of them. The intimacy is such as one of the professors here might have with one of the carpenters who is repairing the college.'" In a letter to Sir William Forbes, Dr. Beattie has made the following remark on this passage:—"I cannot but take notice of a very illiberal saying of Johnson with respect to the late Mr. Strahan (Mr. Boswell has politely concealed the name), who was a man to whom Johnson had been much obliged, and whom, on account of his abilities and virtues, as well as rank in life, every one who knew him, and Johnson as well as others, acknow-

¹ Memoir in *Lounger* of August 20, 1785.—Nichol's *Lit. An.* iii. 399.

ledged to be a most respectable character. I have seen the letter mentioned by Dr. Gerard, and I have seen many other letters from Bishop Warburton to Mr. Strahan. They were very particularly acquainted: and Mr. Strahan's merit entitled him to be on a footing of intimacy with any bishop or any British subject. He was eminently skilled in composition and the English language, excelled in the epistolary style, had corrected (as he told me himself) the phraseology of both Mr. Hume and Dr. Robertson; he was a faithful friend, and his great knowledge of the world and of business made him a very useful one."¹ The expression was probably one of a splenetic moment, for Johnson was not on all occasions on good terms with Strahan. "In the course of this year" (1778), says Boswell, "there was a difference between him (Johnson) and his friend Mr. Strahan: the particulars of which it is unnecessary to relate." The doctor must have been signally in the wrong, for he deigned to offer terms of accommodation. "It would be very foolish for us," he says in a letter to Strahan, "to continue strangers any longer. You can never by persistency make wrong right. If I resented too acrimoniously, I resented only to yourself. Nobody ever saw or heard what I wrote. You saw that my anger was over, for in a day or two I came to your house. I have given you longer time; and I hope you have made so good use of it as to be no longer on evil terms with, Sir, yours, &c., Sam. Johnson."² Strahan, when he became influential with the ministry, proposed Johnson as a person well fitted to hold a seat in parliament for their interest, but the recommendation was not adopted.

So soon as he found himself in easy circumstances, Mr. Strahan became an active politician, and corresponded with many eminent statesmen. In the year 1769 he wrote some queries to Dr. Franklin, respecting the discontents of the Americans, which were afterwards published in the *London Chronicle* of 28th July, 1778. In 1775 he was elected member for the borough of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, with Fox as his colleague, and in the succeeding parliament he represented Wotton Bassett in the same county. He is said to have been an active and useful legislator. On the resignation of his friends in 1784, he declined, partly from bad health, to stand again for a seat. His health from this period quickly declined, and he died on the 9th July, 1785, in the seventy-first year of his age. He provided munificently for his widow and children, and among many other eleemosynary bequests, left £1000 to the company of stationers, to be disposed of for charitable purposes.

The author of the memoir in the *Lounger* gives the following account of his character:—"Endued with much natural sagacity and an attentive observation of life, he owed his rise to that station of opulence and respect which he attained, rather to his own talents and exertion, than to any accidental occurrence of favourable or fortunate circumstances. His mind, though not deeply tinctured with learning, was not uninformed by letters. From a habit of attention to style he had acquired a considerable portion of critical acuteness in the discernment of its beauties and defects. In one branch of writing himself excelled. I mean the epistolary, in which he not only showed the precision and clearness of business, but possessed a neatness, as well as fluency of expression, which I have known few letter-writers to surpass. Letter-writing was one of his favourite amusements; and among his correspondents were men of such eminence and talents as well repaid his

endeavours to entertain them. One of these, as we have before mentioned, was the justly celebrated Dr. Franklin, originally a printer like Mr. Strahan, whose friendship and correspondence he continued to enjoy, notwithstanding the difference of their sentiments in political matters, which often afforded pleasantries, but never mixed anything acrimonious in their letters. . . . In his elevation he neither triumphed over the inferiority of those he had left below him, nor forgot the equality in which they had formerly stood. Of their inferiority he did not even remind them, by the ostentation of grandeur, or the parade of wealth. In his house there was none of that saucy train, none of that state or finery, with which the illiberal delight to confound and to dazzle those who may have formerly seen them in less enviable circumstances. No man was more mindful of, or more solicitous to oblige, the acquaintance or companions of his early days. The advice which his experience, or the assistance which his purse could afford, he was ready to communicate: and at his table in London every Scotchman found an easy introduction, and every old acquaintance a cordial welcome."

STRANG, DR. JOHN, minister of Errol, and principal of the university of Glasgow in the early part of the seventeenth century, was born at Irvine in Ayrshire (of which his father, Mr. William Strang, was minister), in 1584. He had the misfortune to lose his father at a very early period, but the place of a parent was supplied to him in Mr. Robert Wilkie, minister of Kilmarnock, whom his mother married soon after she became a widow. Under the care of that gentleman he was educated at the public school of Kilmarnock, where he had as a schoolfellow Mr. Zachary Boyd, renowned as a divine, as a poetical paraphrast of the Bible, and as a munificent benefactor to the university of Glasgow. That singular person always mentioned Strang as being from the earliest period remarkable for piety; together with acuteness and its frequent concomitant, modesty. At the age of twelve his stepfather sent him to study Greek and philosophy at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, then under the direction of his kinsman, Principal Robert Wilkie. Nor did he disgrace the patronage of the principal: he equalled or surpassed all his contemporaries, and was made Master of Arts in his sixteenth year. Although still very young, he was then unanimously invited by the master of the college to become one of the regents. That office he accepted and continued to discharge with great fidelity and effect till about the end of 1613, when he was with similar unanimity urged to become minister of the parish of Errol, in the presbytery of Perth. Thither he accordingly removed in the beginning of the following year, carrying with him the best wishes of his colleagues at St. Andrews, and an ample testimonial from the presbytery. Among the signatures attached to that document appear those of Alexander Henderson, John Carmichael, Robert Howie, and John Dykes—the first highly celebrated, and the others well known to those who have studied the history of the period. The head of the family of Errol, who resided in the parish to which Strang had been appointed, had as a sort of chaplain a Jesuit of the name of Hay, whose subtilty and eloquence are said to have been the means of converting him and his family to the Roman Catholic faith, and of spreading the doctrines of Papistry through the country. These circumstances afforded Strang an opportunity not to be omitted, and he is said to have so far counteracted the efforts of the Jesuit, that, although he could

¹ Forbes' *Life of Beattie*, ii. 183.

² Boswell, iii. 392.

never persuade Lord Errol fully to embrace the Protestant doctrines, he was the means of converting his family. His son, Francis, a youth of great hopes, died in early life in that faith, and his daughters, Ladies Mar and Buccleugh, adhered to it throughout their lives.

Among the steps by which King James and the Scottish bishops were now attempting gradually to introduce Episcopacy, one was the restoration of academic degrees in divinity, which had been discontinued in Scotland almost since the Reformation, as resembling too much some of the formalities of Popery. In the year 1616 it was determined to invest several persons with the honour of Doctor of Divinity at St. Andrews, and, as it was considered good policy to introduce a few popular names into the list, Mr. Strang, though in no way attached to the new system, was among others fixed upon. In the following year the monarch revisited his native country, and, among the long train of exhibitions which marked his progress, the public disputations held in the royal presence were not the least. One of these was held at St. Andrews by the masters of the university and doctors of divinity, and according to his biographer, "by the universall consent of all present, Dr. Strang excelled all the rest of the speakers in discourse, which was pious, modest, but full of the greatest and subtilest learning." But any favour which he might gain with the learned monarch upon this occasion was more than counterbalanced in the following year by his opposition to the famous Articles of Perth: he was the only doctor in divinity who voted against their adoption. Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, when the Archbishop of St. Andrews got the Court of High Commission remodelled, with the view of compelling conformity to these articles, Dr. Strang's name was included among the members. It is greatly to his honour that he did not attend its meetings or give his sanction to any of its acts; a circumstance which renders it at least doubtful whether he approved of the principles of such an institution. In the year 1620 Dr. Strang was chosen one of the ministers of Edinburgh; but he was too shrewd an observer of the signs of those times, and too much attached to his flock, to desire a more public and a more dangerous field of ministration. Neither persuasion nor the threat of violence could induce him to remove.

In 1626 Dr. Strang received the king's patent, appointing him principal of the university of Glasgow, in place of Dr. John Cameron, who resigned the charge and returned to France. At the same time he received a unanimous invitation from the masters of the university, but it was not till a second letter arrived from court, and till he had received many urgent solicitations, both from the university and the town, that he could be prevailed upon to accept the office. His modesty, as well as his prudence, seems to have inclined him to a refusal; and although, perhaps, with such commands laid upon him, he could not with a good grace resist, the subsequent part of his history leads to a belief that he must have often looked back with regret. The duties incumbent on the principal of a university were at that period considerable; but his active mind led him to take a voluntary interest in everything connected either with the well-being of the university or of the town. Under his superintendence the revenues of the former were greatly augmented—the buildings on the north and east sides of the inner court were begun and completed—a large and stately orchard was formed—and it is supposed that to his early and continued intimacy with Mr. Zachary Boyd, the society was indebted for the large endowments which it received

by his will. In the business of the presbytery he also took an active part; and when sickness or other causes prevented the ministers of the town from occupying their pulpits, he willingly supplied their place.

Yet the performance of these duties, arduous as they were, and most perseveringly continued for many years, was not enough to screen Dr. Strang from the suspicion of belonging to that class which received the names of Malignants and Opposers of the work of reformation. Several concurrent circumstances compelled the king, in 1638, to yield to a meeting of the General Assembly; and, from that period the zeal of the Presbyterians, like a flame long concealed, and almost smothered by confinement, burst forth into open air, as if in full consciousness of its strength. It may be sufficient to remark here, that their suspicions respecting Dr. Strang were verified a few years afterwards, when, among the papers of the king, taken at the battle of Naseby, were discovered "nine letters of Mr. William Wilkie's,¹ one of Dr. Strang's, and a treatise," all of which had been addressed to the noted Dr. Walter Balcanqual. These papers were for some time retained by the commissioners as an instrument "to keep the persons that wrote them in awe, and as a mean to win them to a strict and circumspect carriage in their callings." At length, however, they were sent down to Scotland, in 1646, with a desire that they might still be kept private for the same reasons. But neither the letter of Dr. Strang, nor his treatise, so far as we can judge of its spirit from the introduction (which Wodrow has inserted at full length), can excite the smallest suspicion of the perfect integrity of his character. Like many other excellent men, he objected to the conduct of the Presbyterians, not from any approbation of the measures of the king—of whose character, however, he had perhaps too good an opinion—but because "reason and philosophy recommendeth unto us a passing from our rights for peace sake." This, and the impossibility of obtaining "a perfect estate of God's church, or the government thereof upon earth," are in amount the arguments upon which he builds his objections to the covenant. He concludes his introduction by protesting that his opinions were formed entirely upon information which was known to all; but "if," says he, "there be any greater mysteries, which are only communicat to few, as I am altogether ignorant thereof, so I am unable to judge of the same, but am alwise prone to judge charitably; and protest in God's presence, that I have no other end herein but God's glory and the conservation of truth and peace within this kingdome." The treatise is entitled, "Reasons why all his Majesty's orthodox Subjects, and namely those who subscribed the late Covenant, should thankfully acquiesce to his Majesty's late Declaration and Proclamations; and especially touching the subscription of the Confession of Faith, and generall Band therein mentioned: with an Answer to the Reasons objected in the late Protestation to the contrary."

But although the Presbyterians might not be able to verify their suspicions respecting Principal Strang, while his correspondence with Balcanqual remained unknown, there were points in his public conduct which were considered sufficient to justify proceedings to a certain extent against him. "The spleen of many," writes Baillie, "against the principal in the assembly [of 1638] was great, for many passages of his carriage in this affair, especially the last two: his subscribing that which we affirmed, and

¹ Minister of Govan, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

he denied, to be a protestation against elders, and so [against] our assembly, consisting of them and ministers elected by their voices: also, his deserting the assembly ever since the commissioner's departure, upon pretence that his commission being once cast, because it was four, the elector would not meet again to give him, or any other, a new commission. Every other day, some one or other, nobleman, gentleman, or minister, was calling that Dr. Strang should be summoned; but by the diligence of his good friends, it was shifted, and at last, by this means, quite put by."¹ The assembly, however, appointed a commission to visit and determine all matters respecting the university. "This," continues the writer, "was a terrible wand above their heads for a long time. Divers of them feared deposition. . . . We had no other intention but to admonish them to do duty." From the account given by the same author of the proceedings of the assembly of 1643, it appears that, at that period, the principal was still very unpopular with the more zealous noblemen and ministers; and if the account there given of the manner in which he managed the affairs of the college, and the stratagems by which he sometimes attempted to gain his ends, be correct, we have no hesitation in pronouncing him deservedly so. According to that statement, the chancellor, the rector, the vice-chancellor, dean of faculty, the rectors, assessors, and three of the regents, were not only all "at his devotion," but most of them "otherwise minded in the public affairs than we did wish;" and an attempt was made to introduce a system by which he should always be appointed commissioner from the university to the assembly. Baillie was at bottom friendly to the principal, and his fears that any complaint made against him at the assembly might raise a storm which would not be easily allayed, induced him to be silent. He contented himself with obtaining a renewal of the commission for visiting the university. "This I intend," he says, "for a wand to threat, but to strike no man, if they will be pleased to live in any peaceable quietness, as it fears me their disaffection to the country's cause will not permit some of them to do."² It must be confessed, however, that these statements of Baillie, written to a private friend, and probably never intended to meet the eye of the public, form a strange contrast to the general strain in which he has written the life of Strang, prefixed to his work on the interpretation of Scripture. In the latter it is declared, respecting this period of his life, that "he fell under the ill-will of some persons, without his doing anything to lay the ground of it. When such made a most diligent search into his privat and publick management, that they might have somewhat against him, he was found beyond reproach in his personall carriage, and in the discharge of his office; only in his dictats to his schollars, some few things were taken notice of, wherein he differed in his sentiments from Dr. Twiss and Mr. Rutherford in some scholastick speculations. He was not so much as blamed for any departure from the confession of any reformed church, . . . but, in a few questions, exceeding nice and difficult, as to God's providence about sin, he thought himself at liberty modestly to differ in his sentiments from so many privat men." Yet the clamour thus raised against Dr. Strang, however

groundless in Baillie's estimation, was encouraged by his adversaries, and became at length so great, that the General Assembly, in 1646, appointed commissioners to examine his dictates, which he was required to produce, and to report. Their report accordingly appears in the acts of the next assembly (August, 1647), and sets forth that the said dictates contained some things "so expressed, that scruples have therefrom risen to grave and learned men; but after conference with the said doctor anent those scruples, and (having) heard his elucidations, both by word and writ, given to us, we were satisfied as to his orthodoxy; and, to remove all grounds of doubting as to his dictates, the doctor himself offered to us the addition of several words for the further explication of his meaning, which also was acceptable to us."

But the peace which Dr. Strang hoped to enjoy after the decision of this question, was not destined to be granted him. "Some turbulent persons envied his peace," and a new series of attacks, of which Baillie declines giving any account, because, to use his own strong expression, he would not "rake into a dunghill," followed. "The issue of these new attacks," he continues, "was, the doctor, outraged by their molestations, demitted his office, and the rather that, in his old age, he inclined to have leisure, with a safe reputation, to revise and give his last hand to his writings. . . . To this his own proposal, the visitors of the collidge went in; but both the theologicall and philosophy faculty of the university opposed this, and with the greatest reluctance were at length brought to part with a colleague they so much honoured and loved." The visitors, by their demissory act, dated 19th April, 1650, granted him "a testimoniall of his orthodoxie;" and as a proof of their affection, allowed him not only the whole of his salary for the year 1650, but an annuity of 1000 merks Scots from the funds of the university, and £200 more as often as circumstances would permit.

The remaining part of Dr. Strang's life was spent in comparative quiet, although an expression of Baillie's would lead to a supposition that the malice of his enemies reached even to the withholding of the annuity just mentioned. "Having to do in Edinburgh with the lawyers, concerning the unjust trouble he was put to for his stipend," says he, "Dr. Strang, after a few days' illness, did die so sweetly and graciously, as was satisfactory to all and much applauded all over the city, his very persecutors giving him an ample testimony."³ That event took place on the 20th of June, 1654, when he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Two days afterwards, his body, followed by a great assemblage of persons of all ranks, was carried to the grave, and buried next to Robert Boyd of Trochrig, one of his predecessors in the professorship at Glasgow College.

Amongst the last labours of Dr. Strang's life was the revival of his treatise, *De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei circa Peccatum*, which he enlarged and made ready for the press. In the author's lifetime it had been sent to his friend Mr. William Strang, minister of Middleburg, with a desire that the sentiments of the Dutch divines might be obtained respecting it. At his death it was left to the charge of Dr. Baillie, who got the MS. transcribed, and sent it to the same person. By Mr. Strang it was sent to the famous Elzevirs at Amsterdam; and, having been carried through their press by the learned Mr. Alexander More, was published at that place in 1657. The only other work of Dr. Strang which we are aware of having been published, is entitled *De Interpretatione et Perfectione Scripturae*, Rotterdam, 1663, 4to.

¹ Baillie's printed *Letters and Journals*, i. 145. That the reader may understand the allusion to his commission, it is necessary to mention, that the university of Glasgow had nominated four commissioners to attend the assembly; but the assembly would not recognize their right to appoint more than one, and their commission was therefore annulled.—*Ibid.* i. 107.

² Printed *Letters and Journals*, i. 378.

³ Printed *Letters and Journals*, ii. 382, 383.

To this work is prefixed the life of the author, by Baillie, to which we have already referred.

Dr. Strang was thrice married, and had a numerous family, but few of his children survived. William, the only son who lived to majority, and "a youth of eminent piety and learning," was a regent in the university of Glasgow; but died of a hectic fever, at the age of twenty-two, before his father. He had four daughters, who survived him; all, according to Baillie, "eminent patterns of piety, prudence, and other virtues."¹

STRANG, JOHN, LL.D. This well-known Glasgow citizen was the son of John Strang, Esq., of Dowanhill, who had won competence and a respectable position as a wine-merchant: his mother was Miss M'Gilp, daughter of a substantial trader. Their son John was born in Glasgow in 1795; another son, Ninian, died young, but four daughters grew up to maturity. John Strang had only reached the age of fourteen when his father died, and his guardians, intending to bring him up as a man of business, gave him a substantial as well as classical education—and in order that his means of commercial intercourse might be perfected, he was instructed in the French and German languages, to which he afterwards added the Italian. This very carefulness, however, seems to have aided in defeating its purpose; the youth having already a competence sufficient for all his wants, preferred the enjoyments of modern literature to the stir of mercantile speculation and the alluring prospects of profit. Although he succeeded, therefore, to his father's business, he neither attempted to extend nor even to preserve it, and thus it imperceptibly vanished away, or glided into other hands. He found enjoyments more congenial to his taste in visiting France and Italy in 1817, for which countries his acquaintanceship with continental literature was an excellent introduction, and there he not only matured his knowledge in it, but acquired a taste for travel that led him summer after summer to short trips to the Continent, which he continued until the close of his life. This partiality for foreign literature was also manifested, in the early part of his life, by translations from German tales and poetry, which appeared in various periodicals; and by the publication of a slight volume entitled the "*Life of Theodore Karl Körner*, with translated Specimens of his Poetry;" and he also published a volume of "*Tales of Humour and Romance*, from the German of Hoffman and others," which was favourably received by the public. He was during its whole subsistence a frequent contributor to the *Scots Times* (a Glasgow newspaper), and he was also for a number of years the regular literary critic of the *Scotsman*; and he occupied his leisure in compiling various little works, chiefly in relation to his native city, and to its social and economic statistics. By his literary labours and the occasional visits to the Continent to which we have alluded, he was brought into intercourse with distinguished literary men both of our own and foreign countries, which he enjoyed till his death.

These continental visits brought out another trait of character in Dr. Strang which proved of essential benefit to his native city. He was a lover of the fine arts, and when abroad he availed himself of every opportunity by visiting the foreign picture-galleries, and studying the rich stores they contained. He thus qualified himself as a critic in art, at a time

when correct discrimination was less diffused and more needed than at present; and his first appearance in this capacity was by his publication of a small volume entitled "*A Glance at the Exhibition of the Works of Living Artists*, under the Patronage of the Glasgow Dilettanti Society, by Geoffrey Crayon, junr." This unpretending volume was greatly admired at the time for its sound discriminating criticisms; and of several artists then undistinguished, he pointed out the excellence, and predicted for them a success which their professional career afterwards fulfilled. He was however not only a critic in art but also an artist, and several of his sketches indicated the excellence he might have attained if he had devoted himself to painting. His chief themes too in these performances were the past and future of his native city—sketches of the old quaint buildings which still lingered about the lanes and streets in the outskirts of Glasgow, which an improving age was fast sweeping away; and plans by which the city might be beautified and improved. In these studies originated one of the noblest features of which Glasgow is justly proud. In the churchyard of the cathedral, the practice of sepulture had continued so long, that the height of the graves had intruded upon the venerable building, and somewhat lowered its stately appearance; while behind the building rose a gloomy, profitless hill called the Fir Park, which had remained undisturbed from time immemorial. It struck the observant eye of Dr. Strang that the nuisance of the churchyard might be extinguished by the bleak and useless Fir Park being converted into a picturesque and attractive cemetery. Accordingly he suggested his plan first in the local newspapers, and afterwards in a small volume in 1831, under the title of *Necropolis Glasguensis*; the Park was transformed into the Glasgow Necropolis; and now it is one of the noblest and most imposing cities of the dead of which our island can boast; while the Merchants' House of Glasgow, to which it belongs, derive from it a large revenue. Justly was Dr. Strang proud of the commendations which were bestowed upon it by all visitors to the city, and at the close of his life his parting wish was expressed to a friend in the following words:—"I should like my bones to be laid in the Glasgow Necropolis, in the establishment of which, it is well known, I took so active and so zealous a part. If the Merchants' House would grant me and my wife a small last resting-place, as a recognition of my labours connected with the cemetery from 1827 to 1833, you will of course accept it—if not, you must purchase one." He only needed to express the desire to have it cordially granted.

In 1831 Dr. Strang made a very extended tour through Germany, increasing his acquaintanceship among its literary men, and viewing with interest its various forms of society; but the fruits of this tour did not appear until 1836, when he published his *Germany in 1831*, in two octavo volumes. The work, which contained much valuable information upon the Teutonic character and usages of life, was well received by the public, and passed through two editions. In 1832 he adventured upon the dangerous enterprise of publishing a daily newspaper, the first of the kind that had appeared in Glasgow: it was called the *Day*, and consisted of eight pages; but although he was ably supported by several talented local contributors, among whom were Motherwell and Carrick, and introduced many of his own contributions, original and translated, the attempt was as yet premature in Glasgow, for the *Day* lasted only six months. In 1834, the office of city-chamberlain having become vacant, Dr. Strang was unanimously

¹ Abridged from Wodrow's *Life of Strang*, in his biographical MSS. in Bibl. Acad. Glasg. fol. vol. ii. See also, *Life*, by Baillie, above mentioned. The extracts from the latter are borrowed from Wodrow's translation, inserted in his life.

appointed to fill it—the electors thus showing their just appreciation both of his civic and literary fitness for such an office. And this office he filled for thirty years so admirably, as to give satisfaction to the magistracy and the mercantile community alike. As chamberlain of such a growing city as Glasgow, his duties were not light; they involved the keeping of public accounts, the arrangement of important pecuniary transactions, and a continuous communication with a changing body of councillors and magistrates. But the appointment and its duties developed a new feature in Dr. Strang's character, for which even his friends were scarcely prepared. They knew well that integrity and accuracy would pervade his management and accounts; and accordingly during his long official career these qualities distinguished, without a single exception, all the important pecuniary transactions of the city. They also knew that from his knowledge of continental speech and manners, and his gentlemanly bearing, his services would be extremely useful to the local authorities when foreign celebrities honoured Glasgow with visits; but they were scarcely prepared for a new and voluntary labour which he imposed on himself soon after his appointment—we allude to his collecting and embodying in a report to the civic council the vital, social, and commercial statistics of the city. He undertook this labour at a time when the means of securing the materials for such statistics were not so easily obtained as they now are, and he continued from year to year to pursue the same course. His reports were printed by the council and eagerly studied, and they gave rise to or favourably stimulated similar collections and reports in many quarters of the kingdom. With commendable perseverance Dr. Strang continued and extended these reports annually till his death, and the result is that in them an amount of statistical information relating to Glasgow, in regard to health, society, and commerce, now exists, which must be of incalculable value to future statisticians and historians. In these reports, too, Dr. Strang introduced occasional notices of changes in city manners, of city institutions and buildings, and of city extensions and developments, so that they form almost a continuous history of the progress of this great city during the last twenty years.

In the midst of all those onerous duties of his office, Dr. Strang found time to illustrate Glasgow manners still farther, and in 1855 he published *Glasgow and its Clubs*, the most characteristic and well-known of all his writings. Of a city which has so rapidly grown in magnitude and importance, little was known, even at the close of the last century, except from the narratives of those "oldest inhabitants" who were now passing away, and it was desirable that this much of its past history should be chronicled by one who was able to appreciate it. And this Dr. Strang was well qualified to do, both by his love of the subject and his free access to the city archives, from which he had long been preparing his materials. His work is a lively and interesting one, and in reading it we pass in a few years from what Glasgow at present is, into something like what London was in the days of Charles I. It is thus correctly criticized by one of his critics:—"Dr. Strang's official and social position has afforded him peculiar opportunities of noting the progress of Glasgow in all its manifold interests and phases, and the result is a volume of much delightful gossip connected with times, characters, and events now passed away for ever, not without romantic sighs and regrets, mingled, however, with suitable and well-grounded congratulations. It is a work which preserves a good deal of what must otherwise

be forgotten, and which must often be referred to by the future historians of Glasgow." All who have perused this lively and interesting production will agree to the foregoing criticism. Two editions of the work were published during the author's lifetime, and a third was published in 1864, the year subsequent to his death, with his last additions and annotations.

In 1842 Dr. Strang married the daughter of Dr. William Anderson, an eminent physician of Glasgow; and soon afterwards the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow. In the summer of 1863, in consequence of an attack of serious illness, he revisited France and Italy, and as usual gave full scope to his active investigating spirit; but the elaborate accounts of the objects of his tour, which he published in a series of letters in the *Glasgow Herald*, were thought to have exhausted his already debilitated constitution. These letters he collected on his return, and published in a volume which he entitled *Travelling Notes of an Invalid in Search of Health*. In the autumn of this year he received from the principal citizens of Glasgow an expression of their sense of the value of his services, by a princely testimonial in the form of £4600, which they had subscribed among themselves. Thus labouring to the last, and honoured by the community for whom he laboured, this talented, useful, and distinguished citizen died on the 8th December, 1863.

STRANGE, SIR ROBERT, Knight, the father of the *line* manner of engraving in Britain, was born in the island of Pomona, in Orkney, July 14, 1721. He was lineally descended from Sir David Strange, or Strang, a younger son of the family of Strang of Balcaskie, in Fife, who had settled in Orkney at the time of the Reformation. He received a classical education at Kirkwall, under the care of Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie, teacher there, and who rendered some estimable service to his country by accurate surveys of the Orkney islands, and of the British and Irish coasts.

The subject of this memoir successively applied himself to the law and to the sea, before his talent for sketching pointed out the propriety of his making art his profession. Some sketches shown by a friend to Mr. Richard Cooper, an engraver of some eminence in Edinburgh, and approved by him, led to Mr. Strange being placed under that individual as an apprentice; and the rapid progress he made in his new profession soon showed that he had only now for the first time fallen into the line of life for which he was destined by nature. He was practising his art in Edinburgh on his own account, when, in September, 1745, the Highland army took possession of the city. Mr. Strange was not only himself well inclined to this cause, but he had formed an attachment to a Miss Lumisden,¹ who had the same predilections. These circumstances, with his local notoriety as an engraver, pointed him out as a proper person to undertake a print of the young Chevalier. While employed on this work, his lodgings in Stewart's Close were daily resorted to by the chief officers and friends of the prince, together with many of the most distinguished ladies attached to his cause. The portrait, when completed, was looked upon as a wonder of art; and it is still entitled to considerable praise. It was a half length in an oval frame on a stone pedestal, on which is engraved, "EVERSO MISSUS SUC-

¹ Sister to Mr. Andrew Lumisden, a Jacobite partizan of some note, and who afterwards formed part of the household of Prince Charles Stuart at Rome, of the antiquities of which city he published an account.





CURRERE SECLIO. As a reward for his services, he was offered a place in the finance department of the prince's army, or, as another account states, in the troop of life-guards; which, partly at the instigation of his mistress, who otherwise threatened to withdraw her favour from him, he accepted. He therefore served throughout the remainder of the campaign. Soon after the battle of Falkirk, while riding along the shore, the sword which he carried in his hand was bent by a ball from one of the king's vessels stationed a little way out at sea. Having surmounted all the perils of the enterprise, he had to skulk for his life in the Highlands, where he endured many hardships. On the restoration of quiet times, he ventured back to Edinburgh, and supported himself for some time by drawing portraits of the favourite Jacobite leaders, which were disposed of to the friends of the cause, at a guinea each. A few, also, which he had destined for his mistress, and on that account adorned with the utmost of his skill, were sold about this period with a heavy heart to the Earl of Wemyss, from whom, in better times, he vainly endeavoured to purchase them back. In 1747 he proceeded to London, but not before he had been rewarded for all his distresses by the fair hand of Miss Lumisden. Without waiting long in the metropolis, he went to Rouen, where a number of his companions in the late unfortunate war were living in exile, and where he obtained an honorary prize given by the Academy. He afterwards resided for some time at Paris, where he studied with great assiduity under the celebrated Le Bas, who taught him the use of the dry needle. In 1751 he returned to London, and settled as an engraver, devoting himself chiefly to historical subjects, which he handled in so masterly a manner that he soon attracted considerable notice. In 1759, when he had resolved to visit Italy, for his further improvement, Mr. Allan Ramsay intimated to him that it would be agreeable to the Prince of Wales and the Earl of Bute if he would undertake the engraving of two portraits which he had just painted for those eminent personages. Mr. Strange refused, on the plea of his visit to Italy, which would thus be put off for a considerable time, and he is said to have thus lost the favour of the royal preceptor, which was afterwards of material disadvantage to him, although the king ultimately approved of his conduct, on the ground that the portraits were not worthy, as works of art, of being commemorated by him.

Mr. Strange set out for Italy in 1760, and in the course of his tour visited Naples, Florence, and other distinguished seats of the arts. He was everywhere treated with the utmost attention and respect by persons of every rank. He was made a member of the academies of Rome, Florence, and Bologna, and professor of the Royal Academy at Parma. His portrait was introduced by Roffanelli, amongst those of other distinguished engravers, into a painting on the ceiling of that room in the Vatican library where the engravings are kept. He had also the distinguished honour of being permitted to erect a scaffold in one of the rooms of that magnificent palace for the purpose of taking a drawing of the Parnassus of Raphael;

a favour not previously granted for many years to any petitioning artist. And an apartment was assigned for his own abode, while engaged in this employment. A similar honour was conferred upon him at the palace of the King of Naples, where he wished to copy a celebrated painting by Schidoni. Mr. Strange's drawings were in coloured crayons; an invention of his own, and they were admired by all who saw them. He subsequently engraved prints on a splendid scale from about fifty of the paintings which he had thus copied in Italy.¹

The subsequent part of the life of Mr. Strange was spent in London, where he did not acquire the favour of the court till 1787, when he was knighted. A letter by him to Lord Bute, reflecting on some instances of persecution which he thought he traced to that nobleman, appeared in 1775, and was subsequently prefixed to an *Inquiry into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy at London*, which was provoked from his pen by a law of that institution against the admission of engravings into the exhibitions. After a life spent in the active exercise of his professional talents, he died of an asthmatical complaint on the 5th of July, 1792, leaving, besides his lady, a daughter and three sons. Sir Robert has been described by his surviving friends as one of the most amiable and virtuous of men, as he was unquestionably among the most able in his own peculiar walk. He was unassuming, benevolent, and liberal. His industry was equally remarkable with his talent. In the coldest seasons, when health permitted him, he went to work with the dawn, and the longest day was too short to fatigue his hand. Even the most mechanical parts of his labours he would generally perform himself, choosing rather to undergo a drudgery so unsuitable to his talents than trust to others. His remains were interred in Covent Garden churchyard.

STRUTHERS, JOHN. "It is said that the solitary and meditative generation of cobblers have produced a larger list of murders and other domestic crimes than any other mechanical trade except the butchers; but the sons of Crispin have, to balance their account, a not less disproportionate catalogue of poets; and foremost among these stands the pious author of the *Poor Man's Sabbath*, one of the very few that have had sense and fortitude to resist the innumerable temptations to which any measure of celebrity exposes persons of their class." This honourable attestation, from the pen of the distinguished editor of the *Quarterly Review*, in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, when speaking of John Struthers, entitles this lowly bard to not a little consideration. The author of the *Poor Man's Sabbath* was born at Forefaulds, a cottage built upon the estate of Long Calderwood, East Kilbride, Lanarkshire, on July 18, 1776, and was the son of William Struthers, who for more than forty years had been a shoemaker in that parish. The education of John, when a boy, was of the simplest kind: he was taught to read from the Shorter Catechism, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Bible; and to write, by copying the letters of the

¹ The following are among the principal engravings by Sir Robert Strange:—Two heads of himself, one an etching, the other a finished proof; The Return from Market, by Wouvermans; Cupid, by Vanloo; Mary Magdalen; Cleopatra; the Madonna; the Angel Gabriel; the Virgin with the Child asleep; Liberality and Modesty, by Guido; Apollo Rewarding Merit and Punishing Arrogance, by Andrea Sacchi; the Finding of Romulus and Remus, by Pietro de Cortona; Cæsar Repudiating Pompeia, by the same; Three Children of Charles I., by Vandyke; Belshazzar, by Salvator Rosa; St. Agnes, by Domenichino; the Judgment of Hercules, by Nicolas Poussin; Venus Attired by the Graces, by Guido; Justice and Meekness, by Raphael; the Offspring of Love, by Guido; Cupid Sleeping, by

the same; Abraham Giving up the Handmaid Hagar, by Guercino; Esther, a Suppliant before Ahasuerus, by the same; Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, by Guido; Venus, by the same; Danae, by the same; Portrait of Charles I. by Vandyke; the Madonna, by Corregio; St. Cecilia, by Raphael; Mary Magdalen, by Guido; Our Saviour Appearing to his Mother after his Resurrection, by Guercino; a Mother and Child, by Parmegiano; Cupid Meditating, by Schidoni; Laomedon, King of Troy, Detected by Neptune and Apollo, by Salvator Rosa. Sir Robert, near the close of his life, formed about eighty reserved proof copies of his best prints into as many volumes, to which he added a general title-page, and an introduction on the progress of engraving.

alphabet in a rude printing fashion upon the side of an old slate. His mother, however, who was his preceptor, was aided in the task of tuition by Mrs. Baillie, widow of Dr. James Baillie, formerly professor of theology in the university of Glasgow, then residing at Long Calderwood, and by her two daughters, the youngest of whom was the afterwards celebrated Joanna Baillie. These accomplished ladies had the sickly little boy frequently brought to their house, where they conversed with him, read to him, told him amusing stories, and gave him his first glimpses of the bright world of music, by airs upon the spinnet. That mind must have had no imagination whatever which such a training could not waken into poetry, or something resembling it. When the house was shut up, and the family had departed to London, it seemed to John, now only seven years old, as if a beatific vision had been closed for ever; and the consequence was a fever, that confined him to bed for six weeks. No one who afterwards knew the hard-visaged and iron-minded John Struthers, would have suspected him of ever having been the victim of such susceptibility, were we not aware that it is often such seemingly impassive characters who feel most keenly. On going afterwards to school, he made such progress in the common branches of education, that his parents were urged to have him trained for the ministry; but this temptation, so strong among the peasantry of Scotland, they had the good sense to resist, and John was sent for three years and a half to the occupation of a cow-herd. During this period he unconsciously trained himself for his future work of an ecclesiastical historian, by devouring the contents of his grandfather's covenanting library, which was stored with the works of Knox, Calderwood, Wodrow, and other Scottish writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while he cherished the polemical spirit, so essential to his future task, by keen debates with a neighbouring herd lad upon the religious controversies of the day.

After a rough kind of life, partly as cow-herd, and partly as farm-servant, John Struthers, at the age of fifteen, settled in Glasgow, for the purpose of learning his father's occupation of shoemaker; and this being fully attained, he returned to the paternal home, and was busily employed in his new calling. During these changes he had also diligently pursued the task of self-education, in which he made himself acquainted with the best poetical and prose writers both of England and Scotland, while his intellectual superiority gave him a high standing among the rustic society by which he was surrounded. At the age of twenty-two he married, after a courtship of more than four years. Having removed once more to Glasgow, which he now made his permanent abode, Struthers adventured on his first attempt in authorship, and, like many tyro authors, he was soon so much ashamed of it that he burned the whole impression, and did his best to forget the trespass. What was the nature of the work, or whether it was in poetry or prose, he has not informed us, although from a chance hint that escapes him in his biography, we rather think it was the former.

The next attempt of Mr. Struthers in authorship was one that was to bring him into notice, and establish his reputation as a poet of no common order. We allude to his *Poor Man's Sabbath*; and as the origin of this work is characteristic both of the writer and the period, we give it in his own words, where he speaks of himself in the third person: "Though the removal of our subject from a country to a town life was upon the whole less grievous than he had anticipated, still it was followed by regrets, which forty-eight long years have not yet laid wholly

asleep. Of these the first, and the most painful, was his position on the Sabbath-day. In the country his Saturday was equally tranquil, rather more so than any other day of the week. He was on the Saturday night always early to bed, and on the Sabbath morning up at his usual hour—had his moments of secret meditation and prayer—his family devotions—his breakfast and dressing over by nine o'clock, when his fellow-worshippers of the same congregation, who lived to the westward of him, generally called at his house. Among them was his excellent father, and one or two old men of the highest respectability as private members of the church, with whom he walked to their place of worship, Black's Well meeting-house, Hamilton, returning with them in the evening, enjoying the soothing influences of the seasons, whether breathing from the fragrant earth, or glowing from the concave of the sky; taking sweet counsel together, and holding delightful fellowship with the God of all grace and of all consolation, and with each other, in talking over the extent, the order, the grandeur, and the excellent majesty of his kingdom." From this picture of a rural Scottish Sabbath at the beginning of the present century, he turns to those Sabbatical evils of our cities, which, at that period of recent introduction, have ever since been on the increase:—"In town, on the contrary, he found Saturday always to be a day of bustle and confusion. There was always work wanted, which could not be had without extra exertion. He was always earlier up in the morning, and later in going to bed, on that day than on any other day of the week. With the extra labour of that day, added to the everyday toils of the week, he was often exhausted, and his hands so cut up that it was not without difficulty that he managed to shave himself. On the morning of the Sabbath, of course, he was weary, drowsy, and listless, feeling in a very small degree that glowing delight with which he had been accustomed to hail the hallowed day. At the sound of the bell he walked into the meeting-house with the crowd, an unnoticed individual, unknown and unknowing; his nobler desires clogged and slumbering; his activities unexecuted; and his whole frame of mind everything but that which he had been accustomed to experience, and which it was, amidst all these evil influences, his heart's desire it should have been."

These feelings wrought themselves into stanzas, and the stanzas, in course of time, grew into a regular poem. Still warned, however, by his late failure, Struthers was afraid to venture once more into the press, until the success of a war ode, entitled *Anticipation*, which he published in 1803, when the dread of a French invasion was at its height, encouraged him to commit the *Poor Man's Sabbath*, in the following year, to the tender mercies of the public. The approbation with which it was welcomed was great, and the sale of it was rapid. A few weeks after this, Graham's *Sabbath* was published, so that the *Poor Man's Sabbath*, on account of its priority, had established a refutation of the charge of plagiarism, which was attempted to be brought against it. A first and second, and afterwards a third impression of the work was rapidly sold; and although the profits collectively amounted to no great sum, it brought Struthers something better than a few fleeting pounds; "it made his name and character known," says Lockhart in his *Life of Scott*, "and thus served him far more essentially; for he wisely continued to cultivate his poetical talents, without neglecting the opportunity thus afforded him through them of pursuing his original calling under better advantages." It is not a little to the honour of Struthers, that his pro-

duction was patronized by Sir Walter Scott, and also by Joanna Baillie, the friend and instructor of his early boyhood, from whom he was so fortunate as to receive a visit at Glasgow, in 1808. Such a visit he thus touchingly commemorates in his old days:—"He has not forgotten, and never can forget, how the sharp and clear tones of her sweet voice thrilled through his heart, when at the outer door she, inquiring for him, pronounced his name—far less could he forget the divine glow of benevolent pleasure that lighted up her thin and pale but finely expressive face, when, still holding him by the hand she had been cordially shaking, she looked around his small but clean apartment, gazed upon his fair wife and his then lovely children, and exclaimed, 'that he was surely the most happy of poets.'"

Encouraged by the success that had crowned his last effort, Struthers persevered amidst the many difficulties of his humble position to cultivate the muse, and the result was the *Peasant's Death*, intended as a sequel to the *Poor Man's Sabbath*, and which was as favourably received by the public as its predecessor. Then succeeded the *Winter Day*, a poem in irregular measure, which he published in 1811. This was followed, in 1814, by a small volume bearing the title of *Poems, Moral and Religious*. In 1818 he published his poem of the *Plough*, written in the Spenserian stanza. About the same time he also edited, from the original MS., a collection of poems by Mr. William Muir, to which he appended a biographical preface. A still more important editorial work, which he was induced to undertake, was a collection of songs, published in three volumes, under the title of the *Harp of Caledonia*. But after all this labour, the author was as poor as ever, and still dependent upon the work of his hands for his daily bread. The cause of this is to be found not only in his general indifference to lucre, but his sturdy independence, that would not stoop to the higgling of the literary market, and the high estimate he had formed of the dignity of literary exertion. Hear his own estimate of the matter:—"The mercenary spirit of literary men he considers to be the disgrace and bane of human nature—an intellectual harlotry, more disgraceful and more destructive to the immortal spirit, than that prostitution of the body which subjects all who submit to it to self-loathing and the contempt of all men—a vice which converts one of the noblest acquisitions of human nature, and that which should be one of the principal sources of distinction in the world—THE KNOWLEDGE OF LETTERS—into a curse the most wide-spreading and morally ruinous to which our frail nature can be subjected; and he confesses candidly, that up to this day he has serious doubts whether general or miscellaneous literature, as the sole means of supporting existence, be, after all, a lawful profession."

It was not, however, merely to poetry that Struthers confined his intellectual exertions. Looking sharply at men and things, he knew much of the prose of life; while his course of reading, which he had never intermitted from boyhood, and which extended over an ample range of Scottish theology, history, and general literature, fitted him for writing upon the most important subjects of the day. He felt it also the more necessary to be a prose writer and public instructor, in consequence of the innovations that were taking place in society, under which all old time-honoured institutions were decried as the mere ignorance of childhood, compared with that great millennium of improvement of which the French revolution was the commencement. On this account he had sturdily opposed the *strikes* of his fellow-workmen,

and the levelling democratic principles of the class of society to which he belonged, although he stood alone in the contest. While these were at the wildest, he published, in 1816, an "*Essay on the State of the Labouring Poor*, with some Hints for its Improvement." The plan he recommended was that of the ten-acre farm, which has so often been reiterated since that period; and such were the merits of the production, which was published anonymously, that more than one writer of eminence had the credit of the authorship. Another pamphlet, which he afterwards published, with the title of *Tekel*, was written during the heat of the voluntary controversy, and intended to represent what he conceived to be the ruinous effects of the voluntary principle upon religion in general. He was now to become more closely connected with authorship as a profession than ever, in consequence of being employed as a literary reader and corrector of the press, first at the printing-office of Khull, Blackie, and Co., Glasgow, and afterwards in that of Mr. Fullarton. During this period, which lasted thirteen years, besides the task of correcting proofs, and making or mending paragraphs, he furnished notes for a new edition of Wodrow's *History of the Church of Scotland*. He also wrote a history of Scotland from the Union (1707) to 1827, the year in which it was published, in two volumes, and was afterwards employed in preparing a third, continuing the narrative until after the Disruption, so that it might be a complete history of the Scottish church; when, just as it was all but completed, death put a period to his labours. He was also, for sixteen or eighteen months, occupied with Scottish biography; and most of the lives which he wrote on this occasion were ultimately transferred to Chambers' *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen*.

In 1833 an important change occurred in the tranquil career of Mr. Struthers, by his being appointed to the charge of that valuable collection, well known in Glasgow as the Stirling Library. Here his salary as librarian was only fifty pounds a year; but his wants were few and simple, and the opportunities of the situation for study were such as would have outweighed with him more lucrative offers. In this office he remained nearly fifteen years, and returning in his old days to his first love, he resumed his poem entitled *Dychmont*, commenced in early life, which he completed and published in 1836. These literary exertions were combined with biographical sketches, which appeared in the *Christian Instructor*, several tracts on the ecclesiastical politics of the period, and essays on general subjects, of which only a few were printed. In 1850 a collection of his poetical works was published in two volumes, by Mr. Fullarton, to which the author added a highly interesting autobiography.

In this manner passed the useful life of John Struthers to its close, while every year added to the esteem of his fellow-citizens, who regarded him not only as an excellent poet, but an able historian and general writer—an estimation in which society at large has fully coincided. He died in Glasgow, on the 30th July, 1853, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

STUART, DR. GILBERT, an eminent historical essayist, was born at Edinburgh in 1742. His father was Mr. George Stuart, professor of humanity (Latin) and Roman antiquities in the university of Edinburgh. Gilbert received an accomplished education in his native city, under the superintendence of his father. His education was directed towards qualifying him for the bar; but it is questionable whether his magnificent opinion of his own abilities

permitted him ever seriously to think of becoming an ordinary practising advocate. Before he was twenty-two years of age he made what was considered a splendid entrance on the career of authorship by publishing a *Historical Dissertation concerning the English Constitution*; the circumstance that four editions of a work on a subject requiring so much information and power of thought, yet which almost every man possessed knowledge enough to criticize, were speedily issued, is of itself sufficient evidence that the young author possessed a very powerful intellect.¹ When we consider the reputation of his father, it cannot perhaps be argued as a very strong additional evidence of the esteem in which the work was held, that the university of Edinburgh conferred on the author the degree of Doctor of Laws. His next literary labour was the editing of the second edition of Sullivan's *Lectures on the English Constitution*, in 1772, to which he prefixed a "Discourse on the Government and Laws of England." Dr. Stuart endeavoured to obtain one of the law-chairs in the university of Edinburgh, whether that of Scottish or of civil law the writers who have incidentally noticed the circumstances of his life do not mention; nor are they particular as to the period, which would appear from his conduct to his opponents, in the *Edinburgh Magazine* of 1773, to have been some time before that year.² Whether he possessed a knowledge of his subject sufficiently minute for the task of teaching it to others may have been a matter of doubt; his talents and general learning were certainly sufficiently high, but his well-earned character for dissipation, the effect of which was not softened by the supercilious arrogance of his manners, was, to Dr. Robertson and others, sufficient reason for opposing him, without farther inquiry. To the influence of the worthy principal it has generally been considered that his rejection was owing; and as he was of a temperament never to forgive, he turned the course of his studies and the future labour of his life to the depreciation of the literary performances of his adversary, turning aside only from his grand pursuit when some other object incidentally attracted his virulence, and making even his inordinate thirst of fame secondary to his desire of vengeance. After his disappointment Stuart proceeded to London, where he was for some time employed as a writer in the *Monthly Review*. His particular contributions to this periodical have not been specified; but to one at all curious about the matter it might not be difficult to detect every sentence of his magniloquent pen, from the polished order of the sentences, their aspect of grave reflection, and the want of distinctness of idea, when they are critically examined. By the establishment of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, in 1773, Stuart had more unlimited opportunities of performing the great duty of his life. As manager of that periodical he was associated with Mr. Smellie, a man of very different habits and temperament; and Blacklock, Richardson, Gillies, and other men of considerable eminence, were among the contributors. This periodical, which

extended to five volumes, was creditable to the authors as a literary production, and exhibited spirit and originality unknown to that class of literature in Scotland at the period, and seldom equalled in England. But in regard to literature, Edinburgh was then, what it has ceased to be, a merely provincial town. The connections of the booksellers, and the literature expected to proceed from it, did not enable it to support a periodical for the whole country. It was the fate of that under consideration, while it aimed at talent which would make it interesting elsewhere, to concentrate it, in many instances, in virulence which was uninteresting to the world in general, and which finally disgusted those persons more personally acquainted with the parties attacked, whose curiosity and interest it at first roused. Mr. D'Israeli has discovered, and printed in his *Calamities of Authors*, a part of the correspondence of Stuart at this period, curiously characteristic of his exulting hopes of conquest. "The proposals," he says, "are issued; the subscriptions in the booksellers' shops astonish; correspondents flock in; and, what will surprise you, the timid proprietors of the *Scots Magazine* have come to the resolution of dropping their work. You stare at all this; and so do I too." "Thus," observes Mr. D'Israeli, "he flatters himself he is to annihilate his rival, without even striking the first blow; the appearance of his first number is to be the moment when their last is to come forth." Authors, like the discoverers of mines, are the most sanguine creatures in the world. Gilbert Stuart afterwards flattered himself that Dr. Henry was lying at the point of death, from the scalping of his tomahawk pen. But of this anon. On the publication of the first number, in November, 1773, all is exultation; and an account is facetiously expected that 'a thousand copies had emigrated from the Row and Fleet Street.' There is a serious composure in his letter of December, which seems to be occasioned by the tempered answer of his London correspondent. The work was more suited to the meridian of Edinburgh, and from causes sufficiently obvious—its personality and causticity. Stuart, however, assures his friend that 'the second number you will find better than the first, and the third better than the second.' The next letter is dated March 4th, 1774, in which I find our author still in good spirits. 'The magazine rises and promises much in this quarter. Our artillery has silenced all opposition. The rogues of the 'uplifted hands' decline the combat.' These rogues are the clergy, and some others, who had 'uplifted hands,' from the vituperative nature of their adversary: for he tells us, that 'now the clergy are silent, the town-council have had the presumption to oppose us, and have threatened Creech (the publisher in Edinburgh) with the terror of making him a constable for his insolence. A pamphlet on the abuses of Heriot's Hospital, including a direct proof of perjury in the provost, was the punishment inflicted in turn. And new papers are forging to chastise them, in regard to the poor's-rate, which is again started; the improper choice of professors; and violent stretches of the impost. *The liberty of the press*, in its fullest extent, is to be employed against them.'³

The natural conclusion from the tone of these letters, from circumstances in the conduct of Stuart which we have already recorded, and from some we may hereafter mention, might perhaps be, that he was a man possessed with a general malignity against the human race; yet it has been said that he was

¹ Kerr (*Life of Smellie*) and others say he was then only twenty-two years old; yet there is no edition of this work older than 1768, when, according to the same authorities, he must have been twenty-six years old.

² According to the list of professors in Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, the only law-chair succeeded to for many years at this period of Stuart's life is that of the law of nature and nations, presented to Mr. James Balfour in 1764. If we can suppose this person to have been Mr. Stuart's successful opponent, we would find him disappointed by the same fortunate person who snatched the moral philosophy chair from Hume. The list seems, however, to be imperfect. No notice, for instance, is taken of any one entering on the Scots law-chair in 1765, when it was resigned by Erskine.

³ *Calamities of Authors*, i. 54-57.

warm in his friendships, and that his indignation against vice and meanness, frequently exhibited, came from his heart. It will appear perhaps to be the truest conclusion as to his character that he was simply one of those men who are termed persons of violent passions, and who may be made Falconbriggs, Squire Westerns, or Gilbert Stuarts, from circumstances.

Mr. Smellie seems to have laboured with patient but ineffectual perseverance to check the ardour of his restless colleague. An attack by Stuart on the *Elements of Criticism* by Lord Kames he managed, by the transmutation of a few words, adroitly to convert into a panegyric. "On the day of publication," says the memorialist of Smellie, "Dr. Stuart came to inquire at the printing-office 'if the ——— was damned,'" using a gross term which he usually indulged in when he was censuring an author. Mr. Smellie told him what he had done, and put a copy of the altered review into his hands. After reading the two or three introductory sentences, he fell down on the floor, apparently in a fit: but on coming to himself again, he good-naturedly said, "William, after all, I believe you have done right."¹ Smellie was not, however, so fortunate on other occasions. The eccentricities of the classical Burnet of Monboddoo afforded an opportunity which Stuart did not wish to omit. He proposed to adorn the first number of the *Magazine* with "a print of my Lord Monboddoo, in his quadruped form. I must, therefore," he continues, "most earnestly beg that you will purchase for me a copy of it in some of the macaroni-print shops. It is not to be procured at Edinburgh. They are afraid to vend it here. We are to take it on the footing of a figure of an animal not yet described; and are to give a grave yet satirical account of it, in the manner of Buffon. It would not be proper to allude to his lordship but in a very distant manner."² Although this laborious joke was not attempted, Stuart's criticism on the *Origin and Progress of Language*, notwithstanding the mollifications of Smellie, had a sensible effect on the sale of the *Magazine*. "I am sorry," says Mr. Murray in a letter to Smellie, "for the defeat you have met with. Had you praised Lord Monboddoo instead of damning him, it would not have happened." It is to be feared the influence against the periodical was produced, not so much by its having unduly attacked the work of a philosopher, as from its having censured a lord of session.

During his labours for this magazine Stuart did not neglect his pleasures. He is said one night to have called at the house of his friend Smellie in a state of such complete jollity, that it was necessary he should be put to bed. Awakening, and mistaking the description of place in which he was lodged, he brought his friend in his night-gown to his bedside by his repeated cries of "*house! house!*" and, in a tone of sympathy, said to him, "Smellie! I never expected to see you in such a house. Get on your clothes, and return immediately to your wife and family; and be assured I shall never mention this affair to any one." The biographer of Smellie, who has recorded the above, gives the following similar anecdote of Stuart and his friends. "On another ramble of dissipation, Dr. Stuart is said to have taken several days to travel on foot between the cross of Edinburgh and Musselburgh, a distance of only six miles, stopping at every public-house by the way in which good ale could be found. In this strange expedition he was accompanied part of the way by several boon companions, who were fascinated beyond their ordinary excesses by his great powers of

wit and hilarity in conversation, but who gradually fell off at various stages of the slow progression. The last of these companions began his return towards Edinburgh from the Magdalen Bridge, within a mile of Musselburgh; but, oppressed by the fumes of the ale which he had too long and too liberally indulged in, he staggered, in the middle of the night, into the ash-pit of a great steam-engine, which then stood by the road-side, and fell into a profound sleep. On awakening before day he beheld the mouth of an immense fiery furnace open; several figures, all grim with soot and ashes, were stirring the fire, ranging the bars of the enormous grate, and throwing on more fuel, while the terrible clanking of the chains and beams of the machinery above impressed his still confused imagination with an idea that he was in *hell*. Horror-struck at the frightful idea, he is said to have exclaimed, 'Good God! is it come to this at last?'"³

The persecution of Henry, the author of the *History of Great Britain*, commenced by Stuart in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*, has been recorded in the memoir of that individual. Before quitting this subject, let us give the parting curse of the editor for his literary disappointments in Scotland. "It is an infinite disappointment to me that the *Magazine* does not grow in London. I thought the soil had been richer. But it is my constant fate to be disappointed in everything I attempt; I do not think I ever had a wish that was gratified; and never dreaded an event that did not come. With this felicity of fate, I wonder how the devil I could turn projector. I am now sorry that I left London; and the moment I have money enough to carry me back to it I shall set off. *I mortally detest and abhor this place, and everybody in it.* Never was there a city where there was so much pretension to knowledge, and that had so little of it. The solemn foppery and the gross stupidity of the Scottish literati are perfectly insupportable. I shall drop my idea of a Scots newspaper. Nothing will do in this country that has common sense in it; only cant, hypocrisy, and superstition will flourish here. *A curse on the country, and on all the men, women, and children of it!*"⁴ Accordingly, Stuart did return to England, and along with Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, a man of very different literary habits, but somewhat similar in temper, for some time supported the *English Review*. In 1778 he published his well-known "*View of Society in Europe in its Progress from Rudeness to Refinement*"; or, *Inquiries concerning the History of Law, Government, and Manners*.⁵ This, the most popular of his works, and for a long time a standard book on the subject, is certainly the most carefully and considerably prepared of all his writings. Its adoption almost to caricature of that practice of the great Montesquieu, which was all of him that some writers could imitate, of drawing reflections whether there were or were not facts to support them, was fashionable, and did not perhaps disparage the work; while the easy flow of the sentences fascinated many readers. It cannot be said that in this book he made any discovery, or established any fact of importance. He contented himself with vague speculations on the description of the manners of the Germans by Tacitus, and new reflections upon such circumstances as had been repeatedly noticed before. To have made a book of permanent interest and utility from facts which every one knew, required a higher philosophical genius than that of Stuart; and since the more accurate researches of Hallam and Meyer, the book has fallen into disuse. In 1779 he published *Observations con-*

¹ Kerr's *Smellie*, i. 409.

² *Calamities of Authors*, i. 53.

³ Kerr's *Smellie*, i. 504.

⁴ *Calamities of Authors*, ii. 60.

cerning the *Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland, with Occasional Remarks concerning English Antiquity*. To a diligent man, who would have taken the trouble of investigating facts, there would here have been a very tolerable opportunity of attacking Robertson, at least on the score of omissions, for his constitutional views are very imperfect; Stuart, however, had no more facts than those which his adversary provided him with, and he contented himself with deducing opposite opinions. As there was a real want of matter sufficient to supply anything like a treatise on the subject—a want scarcely yet filled up—this work was still more vague and sententious than that on the general history of Europe. A sentence towards the commencement is very characteristic of the author's habits of thought. "An idea has prevailed that one nation of Europe adopted the feudal institutions from another, and the similarity of fiefs in all the states where they were established has given an air of plausibility to this opinion. It is contradicted, however, by the principles of natural reason, and by the nature of the feudal usages; and, if I am not mistaken, it receives no real sanction from records or history." Thus, his own opinions on "the principles of natural reason," and on "the nature of the feudal usages," were to him of more importance than "records or history." In 1780 he published his *History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, commencing in 1517 and ending in 1561; and in 1782 the *History of Scotland, from the Establishment of the Reformation till the Death of Queen Mary*. Both these works are said by those who have perused them to be written with the view of controverting the opinions of Dr. Robertson. In 1785 Stuart was at the head of the "*Political Herald and Review*, or a Survey of Domestic and Foreign Politics, and a Critical Account of Political and Historical Publications." In this work we frequently meet the flowing sentences of Stuart, especially in papers relating to Scotland, of which there are several. It is a curious circumstance that, especially in letters of animadversion addressed to individuals, he has evidently endeavoured to ingraft the pointed sarcasm of Junius on his own slashing weapon. One of these, "An Address to Henry Dundas, Esq., Treasurer of the Navy, on the Perth Peerage," is with some servility signed "Brutus." This work extended, we believe, to only two volumes, which are now rather rare.

In London Stuart seems to have suffered most of the miseries of unsuccessful authorship, and to have paid dearly for talents misapplied.

In the life of Dr. William Thomson, in the *Annual Obituary* for 1822, there is the following highly characteristic notice of his life and habits at this period: "Although the son of a professor, and himself a candidate for the same office, after a regular education at the university of Edinburgh, yet we have heard his friend assert, and appeal to their common acquaintance Dr. Grant for the truth of the position, that, although he excelled in composition and possessed a variety of other knowledge, yet he was actually unacquainted with the common divisions of science and philosophy. Under this gentleman, as has been already observed, he (Dr. Thomson) composed several papers for the *Political Herald*, for which the former, as the ostensible editor, was handsomely paid, while the latter received but a scanty remuneration. But it was as a boon companion that he was intimately acquainted with this gentleman, who was greatly addicted to conviviality, and that too in a manner and to an excess which can scarcely be credited by one who is ac-

quainted with the elegant effusions of his polished mind. The 'Peacock,' in Gray's-Inn Lane, was the scene of their festivities, and it was there that these learned doctors, in rivelets of Burton ale, not unfrequently quaffed libations to their favourite deity, until the clock informed them of the approaching day."

His constitution at length broke down, and he took a sea-voyage to the place of his nativity for the recovery of his health, but died of dropsy, at his father's house, near Musselburgh, August 13, 1786, aged forty-four.

STUART, JAMES, Earl of Murray, celebrated in Scottish history by the title of the "Good Regent," was an illegitimate son of James V., by Margaret Erskine, daughter of John fourth Lord Erskine. The precise year of his birth is not certainly known; but there is good reason for believing that this event took place in 1533. Agreeably to the policy which James V. pursued with regard to all his sons—that of providing them with benefices in the church while they were yet in infancy, that he might appropriate their revenues during their nonage—the priory of St. Andrews was assigned to the subject of this memoir when he was only in his third year.

Of the earlier years of his life we have no particulars; neither have we any information on the subject of his education. The first remarkable notice of him occurs in 1548, when Scotland was invaded by the Lords Grey de Wilton and Clinton, the one by land and the other by sea. The latter having made a descent on the coast of Fife, the young prior, who then lived at St. Andrews, placed himself at the head of a determined little band of patriots, waylaid the invaders, and drove them back to their boats with great slaughter. Shortly after this he accompanied his unfortunate sister Queen Mary, then a child, to France, whither a party of the Scottish nobles sent her, at once for safety and for the benefits of the superior education which that country afforded. The prior, however, did not remain long in France on this occasion; but he seems to have been in the practice of repairing thither, from time to time, during several years after. At this period he does not appear to have taken any remarkable interest in national affairs, and none whatever in those of the church, to which he had always a decided aversion as a profession. He, however, did not object to the good things in its gift. In addition to the priory of St. Andrews, he acquired that of Pittenweem, and did not hesitate, besides, to accept that of Mascon in France, *in commendam*, with a dispensation to hold three benefices. For these favours of the French court he took an oath of fealty to Pope Paul III. in 1544.

From the year 1548, when the prior, as he was usually called, defeated the English troops under Clinton, till 1557, there occurs nothing in his history, with the exception of the circumstance of his accompanying Mary to France, worthy of any particular notice. In the latter year, accompanied by his brother Lord Robert Stuart, abbot of Holyrood, he made an incursion into England at the head of a small force, but without effecting any very important service, or doing much injury to the enemy. In the same year he proceeded to Paris, to witness the ceremony of marriage between the young Queen of Scotland and the Dauphin of France, having been appointed one of the commissioners on the part of the former kingdom for that occasion. Soon after the celebration of the marriage, the prior solicited from Mary the earldom of Murray; but this request, by the advice of her mother, the queen-regent, she



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refused; and although she qualified the refusal by an offer of a bishopric, either in France or England, instead, it is said that from this circumstance proceeded, in a great measure, his subsequent hostility to the regent's government.

During the struggles between the queen-regent and the lords of the congregation, the prior, who had at first taken part with the former, how sincerely may be questioned, but latterly with the lords, gradually acquired, by his judicious conduct and general abilities, a very high degree of consideration in the kingdom. He was by many degrees the most potent instrument, after John Knox, in establishing the reformed religion. Having now abandoned all appearance of the clerical character, he was, soon after the death of the queen-regent, which happened on the 11th of June, 1560, appointed one of the lords of the articles; and in the following year he was commissioned by a council of the nobility to proceed to France to invite Mary, whose husband was now dead, to return to Scotland. This commission he executed with much judgment, and with much tenderness towards his ill-fated relative; having, much against the inclination of those by whom he was deputed, insisted on the young queen's being permitted the free exercise of her own religion after she should have ascended the throne of her ancestors.

On Mary's assuming the reins of government in her native land, the prior took his place beside her throne, as her confidant, prime-minister, and adviser; and by his able and judicious conduct carried her safely and triumphantly through the first act of her stormy reign. He swept the borders of the numerous bands of freebooters with which they were infested. He kept the enemies of Mary's dynasty in abeyance, strengthened the attachment of her friends, and by his vigilance, promptitude, and resolution, made those who did not love her government learn to fear its resentment. For these important services Mary, whose implicit confidence he enjoyed, first created him lieutenant of the borders, and afterwards Earl of Mar. Soon after his creation, the earl married the Lady Agnes Keith, daughter of the earl-marischal. The ceremony was publicly performed in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, with a pomp which greatly offended the reformers, who were highly scandalized by the profanities which were practised on the occasion. The earldom which the prior had just obtained from the gratitude of the queen, having been claimed by Lord Erskine as his peculiar right, the claim was admitted, and the prior resigned both the title and the property attached to it; but was soon after gratified by the earldom of Murray, which had long been the favourite object of his ambition. Immediately after his promotion to this dignity the Earl of Huntly, a disappointed competitor for the power and popularity which Murray had obtained, and for the favour and confidence of the queen, having been proclaimed a rebel for various overt acts of insubordination, originating in his hostility to the earl; the latter, equally prompt, vigorous, and efficient in the field as at the council-board, led a small army, hastily summoned for the occasion, against Huntly, whom he encountered at the head of his adherents at a place called Corrichie. A battle ensued, and the Earl of Murray was victorious. In this engagement he displayed singular prudence, skill, and intrepidity, and a military genius which proved him to be as able a soldier as he was a statesman. On the removal of Huntly—for this powerful enemy died suddenly and immediately after the battle, although he had received no wound, and his eldest son perished on the scaffold at Aberdeen—Murray remained in undisputed pos-

session of the chief authority in the kingdom, next to that of the sovereign; and the history of Scotland does not present an instance where a similar authority was more wisely or more judiciously employed. The confidence, however, amounting even to affection, which had hitherto subsisted between Murray and his sovereign, was now about to be interrupted, and finally annihilated. The first step towards this unhappy change of sentiment was occasioned by the queen's marriage with Darnley. To this marriage Murray was not at first averse; nay, he rather promoted it: but some personal insults which the vanity and weakness of Darnley induced him to offer to Murray, together with an offensive behaviour on the part of his father, the Earl of Lennox, produced in the haughty statesman that hostility to the connection which not only destroyed the good understanding between him and the queen, but converted him into an open and undisguised enemy. His irritation on this occasion was further increased by Mary's imprudently evincing in several instances a disposition to favour some of his most inveterate enemies; and amongst these the notorious Earl of Bothwell, who had some time before conspired against his life. In this frame of mind Murray not only obstinately refused his consent to the proposed marriage of Mary to Darnley, but ultimately had recourse to arms to oppose it. In this attempt, however, to establish himself by force, he was unsuccessful. After raising an army, and being pursued from place to place by Mary in person, at the head of a superior force, he fled into England, together with a number of his followers and adherents, and remained there for several months. During his expatriation, however, a total change of affairs took place at the court of Holyrood. The vain and weak Darnley, wrought upon by the friends of Murray, became jealous of the queen, and impatient for uncontrolled authority. In this spirit he was prevailed upon, by the enemies of his consort, to league himself with Murray and the banished lords who were with him. The first step of the conspirators was the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary; the next, the recall, on their own responsibility, sanctioned by Darnley, of the expatriated nobleman, who arrived in Edinburgh on the 9th of March, 1566, twenty-four hours after the assassination of the unfortunate Italian.

Although Murray's return had taken place without the queen's consent, she was yet very soon, not only reconciled to that event, but was induced to receive him again apparently into entire favour. Whatever sincerity, however, there was in this seeming reconciliation on the part of the queen, there appears to be good reason for believing that there was but little of that feeling on the side of Murray; for from this period he may be distinctly traced, notwithstanding of occasional instances of apparent attachment to the interests of the queen, as the prime mover, sometimes secretly and sometimes openly, of a faction opposed to the government of Mary; and whose object evidently was to overthrow her power, and to establish their own in its stead. To this end, indeed, the aim of Murray and his confederates would seem to have been long steadily directed; and the unguarded and imprudent, if not criminal, conduct of the queen, enabled them speedily to attain their object. The murder of Darnley, and the subsequent marriage of Mary to Bothwell, had the twofold effect of adding to the number of her enemies, and of increasing the hostility of those who already entertained unfriendly sentiments towards her. The result was, that she was finally dethroned, and confined a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, and the Earl of Murray was appointed Regent of Scotland. With

this dignity he was invested on the 22d of August, 1567; but whatever objection may be urged against his conduct previous and relative to his elevation, or the line of policy he pursued when seeking the attainment of this object of his ambition, there can be none urged against the system of government he adopted and acted upon when placed in power. He procured the enactment of many wise and salutary laws, dispensed justice with a fearless and equal hand, kept down the turbulent and factious, restored internal tranquillity and personal safety to the people, and in every public act of his authority discovered a sincere desire for the welfare of his country. Still the regent was yet more feared and respected than loved. He had many and powerful enemies; while the queen, though a captive, had still many and powerful friends. These having succeeded in effecting her liberation from Lochleven, mustered in arms, and took the field in great force, with the view of restoring her to her throne. With his usual presence of mind, fortitude, and energy, the regent calmly, but promptly, prepared to meet the coming storm; and in place of demitting the regency, as he had been required to do by the queen, he determined on repelling force by force. Having mustered an army of 3000 men, he encountered the forces of the queen, which consisted of double that number, at Langside, and totally routed them; his cool, calculating judgment, calm intrepidity, and high military talents being more than a match for their numerical superiority. This victory the regent instantly followed up by the most decisive measures. He attacked and destroyed all the castles and strongholds of the nobles and gentlemen who had joined the queen; and infused a yet stronger and more determined spirit into the administration of the laws: and thus he eventually established his authority on a firmer basis than that on which it had rested before.

After the queen's flight to England the regent, with some others, was summoned to York, by Elizabeth, to bear witness against her in a trial which had been instituted by the latter, to ascertain Mary's guilt or innocence of the crime of Darnley's murder. The regent obeyed the summons, and did not hesitate to give the most unqualified testimony against his unhappy sister. Having performed this ungenerous part, he left the unfortunate queen in the hands of her enemies, and returned to the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, of which he was now uncontrolled master. The proud career, however, of this wily but able politician, this stern but just ruler, was now soon to be darkly and suddenly closed. While passing on horseback through the streets of Linlithgow, on the 23d of January, 1570, he was fired at from a window by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, nephew to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The ball passed through his body, but did not instantly prove fatal. Having recovered from the first shock of the wound, he walked to his lodgings, but expired a little before midnight, being at the period of his death in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Hamilton's hostility to the regent proceeded from some severities with which the latter had visited him for having fought under the queen at Langside. The assassin escaped to France, where he died a few years afterwards, deeply regretting the crime he had committed.

STUART, JOHN, third Earl of Bute, and prime minister of Great Britain, was the eldest son of the second Earl of Bute, by Lady Anne Campbell, daughter of Archibald first Duke of Argyle. He was born in the Parliament Square, Edinburgh, May

25, 1713, and succeeded to the title on the death of his father, in January, 1723. In April, 1737, on a vacancy occurring in the representation of the Scottish peerage, the Earl of Bute was chosen to fill it: he was rechosen at the general elections of 1761, 1768, and 1774. His lordship married, August 24, 1736, Mary, only daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, by whom he had a numerous family. On his first introduction to court life, Lord Bute had the good fortune to ingratiate himself with the Princess of Wales, mother of George III., who admitted him to that close superintendence of the education of her son which was the foundation of all his historical importance. In 1750 he was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber to Frederick Prince of Wales; and on the settlement of the household of the heir-apparent, in 1756, the Earl of Bute was appointed his groom of the stole. His lordship acquired the full confidence and friendship of the young prince; and is believed to have been chiefly instrumental in training and informing his mind. Before the prince's accession to the throne in 1760, Lord Bute was continued in his situation as groom of the stole; and in March next year, on the dismissal of the Whig ministry, was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state. His lordship was in the same year appointed keeper and ranger of Richmond Park, on the resignation of the Princess Amelia; and invested with the order of the Garter—an honour, as is well known, rarely bestowed, except upon persons who have rendered important services to the state.

The elevation of a nobleman only known heretofore as the royal preceptor, and who was also obnoxious to vulgar prejudices on account of his country, to such high place and honour, excited much irritation in England. This feeling was greatly increased when, in May, 1762, his lordship was constituted first lord of the treasury. It reached its acme on his lordship taking measures for concluding a war with France, in which the British arms had been singularly successful, and which the nation in general wished to see carried on till that country should be completely humbled. The great Whig oligarchy, which, after swaying the state from the accession of the house of Hanover, had now seen the last days of its dominancy, was still powerful, and it received an effective though ignoble aid from a popular party, headed by the infamous Wilkes, and inflamed by other unprincipled demagogues, chiefly through the medium of the press. A newspaper, called the *Briton*, had been started for the purpose of defending the new administration. It was met by one called the *North Briton*, conducted by Wilkes, and which, in scurrility and party violence, exceeded all that went before it. Wilkes, it is said, might at one time have been bribed to silence by Lord Bute; he now took up the pen with the determined purpose, as he himself expressed it, of writing his lordship out of office. Neither the personal character of the minister nor his political proceedings furnishing much matter for satire, this low-minded, though clever and versatile man, set up his country and countrymen as a medium through which to assail him. The earl, seeing it in vain to contend against prejudices so firmly rooted, lost no time, after concluding the peace of Paris, in resigning; he gave up office on the 16th of April, 1763, to the great surprise of his enemies, who, calculating his motives by their own, expected him, under all circumstances, to adhere to the so-called good things which were in his grasp.

The Bute administration, brief as it was, is memorable for the patronage which it extended to

literature. The minister, himself a man of letters and of science, wished that the new reign should be the commencement of an Augustan era; and he accordingly was the means of directing the attention of the young monarch to a number of objects which had hitherto languished for want of the crown patronage. One of the most remarkable effects of the spirit infused by his lordship into the royal mind was the rescuing of the majestic mind of Johnson from the distresses of a dependence on letters for subsistence; a transaction for which many bosoms, yet to be animated with the breath of life, will expand in gratitude at the mention of the name of George III.

The ministerial character of Lord Bute has been thus drawn by an impartial writer:—"Few ministers have been more hated than Lord Bute was by the English nation; yet if we estimate his conduct from facts, without being influenced by local or temporary prejudices, we can by no means find just grounds for the odium which he incurred. As a war minister, though his plans discovered little of original genius, and naturally proceeded from the measures of his predecessor, the general state of our resources, the conquests achieved, and the dispositions of our fleets and armies, yet they were judicious; the agents appointed to carry them on were selected with discernment, and the whole result was successful. His desire of peace, after so long and burdensome a war, was laudable, but perhaps too eagerly manifested. As a negotiator he did not procure the best terms which, from our superiority, might have been obtained. His project of finance, in itself unobjectionable, derived its impolicy from the unpopularity of his administration. Exposed from unfounded prejudices to calumny, he deserved and earned dislike by his haughty deportment. The manners which custom might have sanctioned from an imperious chieftain to his servile retainers in a remote corner of the island, did not suit the independent spirit of the English metropolis. The respectable mediocrity of his talents, with the suitable attainments, and his decent moral character, deserved an esteem which his manners precluded. Since he could not, like Pitt, command by superior genius, he ought, like the Duke of Newcastle, to have conciliated by affable demeanour. His partisans have praised the tenacity of Lord Bute in his purposes; a quality which, guided by wisdom in the pursuit of right, and combined with the power to render success ultimately probable, is magnanimous firmness, but without these requisites, is stubborn obstinacy. No charge has been more frequently made against Lord Bute than that he was a promoter of arbitrary principles and measures. This is an accusation for which its supporters can find no grounds in his particular acts; they endeavoured therefore to establish their assertion by circuitous arguments. Lord Bute had been the means of dispossessing the Whig connection of power, and had given Scotsmen appointments which were formerly held by the friends of the Duke of Newcastle. To an impartial investigation, however, it appears evident that Lord Bute merely preferred himself as minister to the Duke of Newcastle. If we examine his particular nominations we shall find that he neither exalted the friends of liberty nor despotism, but his own friends. It would probably have been better for the country if Lord Bute had never been minister; but all the evils that may be traced to that period did not necessarily proceed from his measures, as many of them flowed from circumstances over which he had no control. Candour must allow that the comprehensive principle on which his majesty resolved to govern was liberal and meri-

torious, though patriotism may regret that he was not more successful in his first choice. The administration of Bute teaches an instructive lesson, that no man can be long an effectual minister of this country who will not occasionally attend, not only to the well-founded judgment, but also to the prejudices of Englishmen."¹

The Earl of Bute spent the most of the remainder of his life in retirement at his seat of Luton in Bedfordshire, but not without the suspicion of still maintaining a secret influence over the royal counsels. "The spirit of the favourite," says Junius, "had some apparent influence over every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration as long as they submitted to that influence." The chief employment, however, of the ex-minister was the cultivation of literature and science. He was more fond of books of information than of imagination. His favourite study was botany, with which he acquainted himself to such an extent that the first botanists in Europe were in the habit of consulting his lordship. He composed a work on English plants, in nine quarto volumes, of which only sixteen copies were thrown off; the text as well as the figures of the plants being engraved on copper-plates, and these plates, it is said, immediately cancelled, though the work cost upwards of £1000. He presented to the Winchester College a bronze statue of their founder, William of Wykham, supposed to have been the work of some great artist in the fourteenth century. It is a full-length figure in the episcopal habit, sixteen inches high, and executed with remarkable elegance. His lordship was elected one of the trustees of the British Museum in 1765; held the office of chancellor of the Marischal College of Aberdeen; and on the institution of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland (1780), was elected president. He was an honorary fellow of the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh, and to him the university of that city was indebted for its useful appendage the botanic garden.

Part of his lordship's time in his latter years was spent at a marine villa which he built on the edge of the cliff at Christ Church, in Hampshire, overlooking the Needles and the Isle of Wight. Here his principal delight was to listen to the melancholy roar of the sea, of which the plaintive sounds were probably congenial to a spirit soured with what he believed to be the ingratitude of mankind. His lordship died at his house in South Audley Street, London, March 10, 1792, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Of his private character and manners, which may now properly be touched upon, an acute observer has written as follows:—"I never knew a man with whom one could be so long *tête-à-tête* without being tired. His knowledge was so extensive, and consequently his conversation so varied, that one thought one's self in the company of several persons, with the advantage of being sure of an even temper in a man whose goodness, politeness, and attention were never wanting to those who lived with him."²

STUART, JOHN M'DOUALL, a distinguished Australian explorer, was born at Dysart in Fife, on the 7th September, 1815. He was the fifth son of Captain William Stuart, a retired military officer, who served with distinction in the Irish rebellion of 1798. After being privately educated for some years in Edinburgh, he finished his education in the Military Academy. He then entered on a commer-

¹ Bisset's *Reign of George III. and Brydges' Peerage*.

² *Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement*, iv. 177.

cial life, but probably finding it not to his taste, he emigrated in 1838 to Adelaide, South Australia. There he joined the government survey, and subsequently surveyed for some years on his own account, chiefly in the bush. During part of this time he tried sheep-farming also, but in this he seems not to have had much success. His experiences as surveyor and sheep-farmer gave him excellent opportunities for learning the art of "roughing it in the bush," and accordingly he became a splendid bushman. In 1844, when Captain Sturt was preparing to set out on his last journey, Stuart volunteered to join the exploring party in the capacity of draughtsman. Leaving Lake Torrens on their left, the travellers pushed their way in a northerly direction into the interior, and after crossing a long stretch of barren land, encamped by the side of a sheet of water in a rocky glen. Here the dryness of the country compelled them to remain for six months, with the sun glaring down upon them, while not a drop of rain fell. Scurvy attacked them; Mr. Poole, the second in command, died; they had to dig a cave in the earth as a refuge from the intolerable heat. Rain came at last, and they pushed on; but after struggling for some hundreds of miles through deserts of rocks and sandstone, they were compelled to return. They had reached to within 250 miles of the centre of Australia. In 1858 M'Douall Stuart passed to the westward of the saline tract in which Lake Torrens and other sheets of water lie, and discovered a well-watered and more elevated region, with several thousand square miles of good pasturage. For his discoveries on this occasion he was awarded a gold watch by the Royal Geographical Society of London. In 1859-60 he accomplished two journeys of exploration in the region north-west of Lake Torrens. In 1860, with only two companions, thorough bushmen like himself, and thirteen horses, he set out with the intention of crossing the country to the Gulf of Carpentaria. Leaving Chambers Creek on the 2d March, he reached the centre of Australia on the 22d of April, and planted the British flag on the top of a hill, which he named Central Mount Stuart. Passing this, he advanced as far as lat. $18^{\circ} 47' S.$, when he was forced to return after a sharp fight with some hostile natives. On this expedition he had gone farther than any previous traveller, and in recognition of his valuable discoveries was presented by the Royal Geographical Society with the patron's gold medal. Undismayed by his repulse, he again set out on the 31st December, 1860, and holding chiefly by his old track, reached lat. $17^{\circ} S.$; but being brought to a halt by an impenetrable scrub, and finding provisions running short, he reluctantly turned his face homeward, and reached Adelaide on the 23d of September, 1861. These repulses might have daunted many a man, but such was not their effect on John M'Douall Stuart. Before the end of the year, after a very short rest, he set out on his last and greatest journey. After passing the arid plains that lay beyond the farthest point he had previously reached, the scenery began gradually to change, and he finally found himself in the midst of a most luxuriant tropical vegetation, with pines and palm-trees rising on every side. Pushing onward, the party reached the Adelaide river, which flows into Van Diemen's Gulf, more than 300 miles westward of the Gulf of Carpentaria. On the 24th July, after forcing their way through a belt of scrub, the travellers hailed with a shout of joy the blue rolling waves of the Indian Ocean. They were the first that had crossed the continent from sea to sea. Burke and Wills, indeed, had reached a tidal river, and M'Kinlay was separated from the shore by

nothing but mangrove swamps, but Stuart and his men were the first to stand with the water of the ocean bathing their feet. Having fixed the union-jack to one of the tallest trees near the beach, and buried at the foot of it a paper in a tin case stating that the party left Adelaide on the 26th of October, 1861, and after crossing the continent, passing through the centre, had reached that spot on the 25th July, 1862, they bade farewell to the Indian Ocean. After suffering much from drought on their homeward route, the party succeeded in reaching Mount Stuart station on the 10th of December. In reward for his services Stuart received liberal grants of money and land from the government of South Australia. An accident that happened to him before the commencement of this last journey fatally injured his health; and in 1862-3 he became so ill, that the doctors recommended, as his only chance of recovery, a return to his native land. Here he arrived in September, 1864, with a shattered constitution. He survived till 5th June, 1866, when he died at Notting Hill Square, London, where he had lived from his arrival in England. He lies buried in Kensal Green Cemetery.

STUART, MARY, Queen of Scots, daughter of James V. and Mary of Guise, was born in the palace of Linlithgow, December 7, 1542. Her father was on his death-bed at Falkland, when her birth was announced to him; and in seven days after that event he expired, bitterly regretting, in his dying moments, that it was a female and not a male child that had been born to him. The young queen having been removed to Stirling, was there solemnly crowned by Cardinal Beaton on the 9th of September, 1543, while she was yet only nine months old. The two first years of the infant princess's life were spent at Linlithgow, under the immediate charge of her mother, and, more remotely, under that of commissioners appointed by parliament, on the part of the nation, to watch over the tender years of their future sovereign. During her residence here she was attacked with smallpox; but the disease was of so mild a nature as to leave no trace behind.

The three following years she spent at Stirling, under the superintendence of the Lords Erskine and Livingstone. At the end of this period she was removed to Inchmahome, a small island in the lake of Menteith, in Perthshire. The disturbed state of the country had rendered this measure necessary, as a precaution against any attempts which might be made to get possession of her person. To divert the young princess in her solitary residence, four young ladies of rank were chosen by her mother, the queen-dowager, to accompany her. These ladies were, Mary Beaton, niece of Cardinal Beaton; Mary Fleming, daughter of Lord Fleming; Mary Livingstone, daughter of one of the young queen's guardians; and Mary Seton, daughter of Lord Seton. Whether it was by chance or by design that these four ladies bore the same surname with the queen is not now known; but they have since been distinguished by the conjunctive appellation of the *FOUR MARIES*, and as such are celebrated in history.

In this island Mary resided for upwards of four years; when, agreeably to an intention which had been early entertained regarding her, she was sent to France, to receive the refined education which that country then, above all others, was capable of affording. The young queen, now in her sixth year, embarked at Dumbarton on board of a French ship, which, accompanied by several other vessels of that nation, had been sent to the Clyde to receive her. On her arrival at Brest, which she reached on the

14th of August, 1548, after a tempestuous and tedious voyage of nearly three weeks' duration, she was received, by the orders of the French monarch, Henry II., with all the marks of respect due to her exalted station; and was soon afterwards sent, with the king's own daughters, to one of the most celebrated monasteries in France, to receive such an education as should become the future queen.

Remarkable as was the beauty of Mary's person, it was not more worthy of admiration than her intellectual superiority. In all the various and numerous branches of education in which she was instructed she made rapid progress, and attained in all a proficiency that excited universal admiration. She rode fearlessly and gracefully, and in dancing was unrivalled even at the gay and refined court of Henry II. Caressed and admired by all, and surrounded by every enjoyment within the reach of humanity, the earlier part of Mary's life glided rapidly away, while she herself, in her person, gradually advanced towards that perfection of beauty, which is to this hour matter of interesting speculation, and which she seems to have possessed in the highest degree of which perhaps the human form is susceptible.

A desire long entertained by Mary's mother, the queen-dowager, and Henry of France, to unite the interests of the two kingdoms, had early produced a contract of marriage between Francis, the young dauphin, and the Scottish queen. This contract Henry now thought it full time to consummate, and the youthful pair were accordingly united. The nuptials took place on the 24th of April, 1558. Mary was then in the sixteenth year of her age, and her husband but little older. The ceremony, which was celebrated with great pomp, was attended, amongst others, by the Lord James, prior of St. Andrews, and other eight persons of distinction from Scotland, who had been deputed for that purpose by the parliament of that kingdom. Mary, already Queen of Scotland and heir-presumptive of England, was now, by her marriage to the dauphin, queen-consort apparent of France; a concentration of dignities which perhaps never before occurred in one person. The last of these honours was realized, but only for a short period. In 1559, a year after her marriage, her husband the dauphin succeeded to the throne by the death of his father; but in another year afterwards, in 1560, he died, while yet only in the seventeenth year of his age. Mary's husband was not, either in mental attainments or personal appearance, at all equal to his beautiful and accomplished wife; he was, besides, of a weakly and sickly habit of body, but he appears to have been of a mild and affectionate disposition; and there is every reason to believe that he was sincerely beloved by his royal consort. On the death of her husband Mary was invited to return to Scotland, in order to undertake the government. Political motives seconding this invitation, she complied with it, and in August, 1561, sailed from the harbour of Calais, and on the 21st of the same month arrived safely at Leith. Her reception in her native land was warm and enthusiastic; and although she soon discovered many things to increase her respect for the country she had left, she yet fully appreciated the sincerity with which she was welcomed.

The period of Mary's arrival in Scotland was singularly inauspicious for a sovereign educated as she had been, in devoted attachment to the faith which her Scottish subjects had just abjured. The Reformed religion had gradually advanced from small beginnings, amidst great opposition, until it had now attained a parliamentary establishment. Mary had been taught to regard the late proceedings of

her Scottish subjects in the light of rebellion against her lawful authority. Before she left France her mind was filled with prejudices against the Reformed faith and its promoters. She came to Scotland prepared to subvert the Reformation. The reformers apprehended such an attempt on the part of Mary and her French courtiers; and, amidst the enthusiastic loyalty expressed on her arrival, it is not surprising that every opportunity was taken to impress the queen's mind with a sense of the value which her subjects attached to their new-born liberties. Knox and the other leading reformers, who have been censured for their uncompromising deportment towards their sovereign, were, in addition, influenced by a just regard for their personal safety, which could not fail to be seriously compromised in the event of Popery regaining its ascendancy in Scotland. The recent history of France, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and England bore testimony to the perfidious and truculent foe with which they had to contend in the Romish church. "The rage for conquest on the Continent (remarks Dr. Mc'Crie) was now converted into a rage for proselytism; and steps had already been taken towards forming that league among the Popish princes which had for its object the universal extermination of Protestants. The Scottish queen was passionately addicted to the intoxicating cup of which so many of 'the kings of the earth had drunk.' There were numbers in the nation who were similarly disposed. The liberty taken by the queen would soon be demanded for all who declared themselves Catholics. Many of those who had hitherto ranged under the Protestant standard were lukewarm in the cause; the zeal of others had already suffered a sensible abatement since the arrival of their sovereign; and it was to be feared that the favours of the court, and the blandishments of an artful and accomplished princess, would make proselytes of some, and lull others into security, while designs were carried on pregnant with ruin to the religion and liberties of the nation." On the first Sunday after her arrival Mary was so ill-advised as to have mass celebrated in the chapel at Holyrood, on which occasion her attendants received some rough treatment at the hands of the people. John Knox denounced the observance of mass as idolatry in the pulpit on the succeeding Sabbath. Two days afterwards the queen sent for Knox to the palace, and held a long conversation with him in the presence of her brother, the prior of St. Andrews, afterwards Earl of Murray. She plied all her blandishments to soften the reformer; failing in which she resorted to threats, in the hope of overawing him. The firmness of the reformer was as immovable as his faith was inflexible, and both were proof against the smiles and tears of the youthful princess. On taking leave of her majesty, Knox said, "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

Mary soon afterwards made her first public entry into Edinburgh. Mounted on her palfrey and suitably escorted, she proceeded up the High Street to the castle, where a banquet was prepared for her. The reception she met with from the citizens was extremely gratifying, notwithstanding the somewhat obtrusive manner in which many of them indicated their contempt for her religion, and their resolution to defend their own. In a subsequent progress through Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, St. Andrews, and the neighbouring districts, she was welcomed with high-hearted loyalty, such as the Scottish nation never withheld from Mary or her descendants so long as they respected the religious principles and

political liberties of the people. On one occasion during the royal tour, some public demonstration of the reformers moved the queen to tears. On her return to Edinburgh she evinced a disposition to check the practice of publicly insulting her faith. Within a few days after her arrival the civil authorities issued a proclamation, proscribing the "wicked rabble of the antichrist of the pope," and ordering them to withdraw from the bounds of the town within four-and-twenty hours, under pain of carting through the streets, burning on the cheek, and perpetual banishment. Mary, however, did not allow this invasion of her authority to pass with the same impunity which she had permitted in some other instances of a similar kind. She ordered the town-council to deprive the provost and bailies instantly of their offices, and to elect others in their stead.

All the French friends who had accompanied her to Scotland, excepting her uncle the Marquis d'Elbeuf, disgusted with the treatment which they met with from the reformers, now returned to their own country; and the young and inexperienced queen was thus left nearly alone, to maintain the elevated and dangerous position in which hereditary right had placed her, against the stormy and conflicting interests and passions of those by whom she was surrounded. She was now thrown upon her own resources, and at a most critical period left to rely wholly upon the firmness and energy of her own character to carry her through the arduous part which destiny had assigned her.

The fame of Mary's beauty and accomplishments, as was naturally to be expected, procured her many suitors, not only amongst her own nobility, but amongst foreign princes. She, however, declined all addresses of this nature, and resolved, in the meantime at least, to remain as she was: a resolution which it had been well for the unfortunate queen she had always adhered to.

In the month of August, 1562, little of any interest having occurred in the interval, Mary set out on a progress through the northern part of her dominions, accompanied by her brother the Earl of Murray and a numerous train of nobles and attendants. On this expedition she spent three months, when she again returned to Edinburgh. The two following years, viz. 1563 and 1564, were undistinguished by any public event of importance, and were, on that account, probably the happiest that Mary ever spent in her native land. Though no circumstance of national consequence, however, occurred during this period, one of a singular and melancholy interest did take place. This was the execution of the young French poet Chatelard. This unfortunate gentleman, who was attached to Mary's court, had fallen wildly and desperately in love with his royal mistress. He wrote numerous verses to her; and, encouraged by the unreflecting approbation with which they were received, and mistaking the good-natured courtesy of Mary for a return of his passion, he madly intruded himself into her bed-room. Here he was discovered by her maids of honour; but, after being severely reprimanded by the queen for his audacity, was allowed, from a natural feeling of lenity, as it was his first offence, to escape further punishment. Undeterred by the imminence of the danger to which he had been exposed, and of which he must have been fully aware, Chatelard, in two nights afterwards, again entered the queen's bed-chamber. On this occasion it was at Dunfermline, where Mary had stopped for one night on her way to St. Andrews. Highly incensed by the young man's insolent pertinacity, Mary, after having in vain ordered him to quit her apartment, called out for assistance, and

was instantly attended by the Earl of Murray, who happened to be within hearing. The unfortunate Chatelard was immediately taken into custody, tried at St. Andrews, condemned to death, and executed on the 22d of February, 1563. Before laying his head on the block, which he did with the utmost composure, he turned towards the house in which the queen lodged, and where he presumed her at the moment to be, and exclaimed, "Farewell, loveliest and most cruel princess whom the world contains!"

Mary, if she had not hitherto enjoyed positive happiness, had at least been free from any very serious annoyances, since her accession to the throne. This comparative quiet, however, was now about to be disturbed, and the long series of miseries and misfortunes, which render her history so remarkable, were on the eve of assailing her. These began with her unfortunate marriage to Darnley, an event which took place on the 29th of July, 1565. The ceremony was performed in the chapel of Holyrood on a Sunday, between the hours of five and six in the morning. Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, at the time of his marriage was in the nineteenth year of his age; Mary in her twenty-third. The former was the son of Matthew Earl of Lennox and of the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece of Henry VIII. Even at this early period of his life Darnley was esteemed one of the handsomest men of his time; but, unfortunately, there was little correspondence between the qualities of his person and his mind. He was weak, obstinate, and wayward, possessing scarcely one redeeming trait, unless it were a simplicity, or rather imbecility, which rendered him an easy dupe to the designing.

Amongst the first evil results which this unfortunate connection produced to Mary, was the hostility of her brother the Earl of Murray, who foresaw that the new character of a king-consort would greatly lessen, if not entirely put an end to, the almost regal power and influence which he enjoyed whilst his sister remained single. Impressed with this feeling he had, at an early period, not only expressed his displeasure at the proposed marriage, but, in concert with some other nobles, whom he had won over to his interest, had taken measures for seizing on the queen's person whilst she was travelling between Perth and Edinburgh. Being earlier on the road, however, and better guarded than the conspirators expected, she reached the latter place without experiencing any interruption; and in a few days afterwards her union with Darnley took place. On the 15th of August, 1565, seventeen days after the celebration of the queen's marriage, Murray, who now stood forward as an open and declared enemy, summoned his partisans to meet him, attended by their followers, armed, at Ayr, on the 24th of the same month. To oppose this rebel force Mary mustered an army of 5000 men, and with a spirit worthy of her high descent placing herself in the midst of her troops, equipped in a suit of light armour, with pistols at her saddle-bow, she marched from Edinburgh to the westward in quest of the rebel forces. Murray, who had been able to raise no more than 1200 men, finding himself unable to cope with the queen, retired from place to place, closely pursued by the royal forces. Being finally driven to Carlisle, whither he was still followed by Mary with an army now increased to 18,000 men, his troops there dispersed, and he himself and his friends, abandoning their cause as hopeless, fled to the English court.

This triumph of Mary's, however, in place of securing her the quiet which might have been expected to result from it, seemed merely to have opened a way for the admission of other miseries,

not less afflicting than that which had been removed. Murray and the other lords who had joined him in his rebellious attempt, though now at a distance and under a sentence of expatriation, still continued their machinations, and endeavoured to secure, by plot and contrivance, that which they had failed to obtain by force. In these attempts they found a ready co-operator in the Earl of Morton, who, though entertaining every good-will to their cause, having taken no open part in their rebellious measures, was now amongst the few counsellors whom Mary had left to her. Working on the vanity and weakness of Darnley, Morton succeeded in inducing him to join a conspiracy, which had for its object the restoration of the banished lords, and the wresting from, or at least putting under such restraints as they should think fit, the authority of the queen. Tempted by promises of undivided sway, that imbecile prince, slighting the ties of natural affection, and forgetting all the kindnesses and honours which his wife had heaped upon him, became an active partisan in a plot devised against her interest, her dignity, and her happiness. There was, however, one person whose fidelity to the queen made him sufficiently dangerous to render it necessary, for the safety of all, that he should be removed out of the way. This was David Rizzio, Mary's secretary. Sincerely interested in the safety and honour of his royal mistress, he was known to have exerted his influence with her against those who had aimed at depriving her of her authority; and he was also known to have exerted that influence to prevent her yielding up too much of that authority to Darnley. Being thus equally detested by both, and generally unpopular on account of his religion and his country, and for the high estimation in which he was held by the queen, his destruction was determined upon. On the evening of the 9th of March, 1565, the conspirators, headed by Lord Ruthven, entered the queen's chamber while she was at supper with several of her household, including Rizzio. On their entering the queen indignantly demanded the meaning of this intrusion. This they soon explained; and immediately proceeded to attack their victim with their drawn weapons. Rizzio, by taking shelter behind the queen, for some time escaped the blows of the assassins, but was at length stabbed in the side over the queen's shoulder, and immediately after dragged into an adjoining apartment, and despatched with no fewer than fifty-six wounds. Immediately after the assassination Darnley and Morton placed the queen in ward; and on the following morning issued a proclamation, in the king's name, proroguing the parliament, which was then sitting, and which had discovered such a disposition in favour of the queen as rendered it highly dangerous. In the evening of the same day Murray, with the other banished lords, returned from England.

At this critical period the vacillating Darnley, unable to pursue any course whether for good or evil steadily, began to repent of the part he was acting, and allowed himself to be persuaded by Mary, not only to desert his accomplices, but to assist and accompany her in making her escape from Holyrood. Attended only by the captain of the guard and two other persons, Mary and her husband left the palace at midnight for Dunbar, at which they rode without stopping. Here the queen found herself, in the course of a few days, surrounded by the half of her nobility, and at the head of a powerful army. With these she returned, after an absence of only five days, in triumph to Edinburgh, where she was again reinstated in full and uncontrolled authority. The conspirators, unable to offer the slightest resistance, fled

in all directions; while their leaders, Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay, sought safety in New-castle. Mary had, a few days before, with not an unwise policy, lessened the number of her enemies, and increased that of her friends, by receiving Murray, and several others of those who had been associated with him, into favour; and therefore now again enjoyed the benefit of the judicious counsel of her able but ambitious brother.

Soon after the occurrence of the events just related Mary became aware of the near approach of the hour which was to make her a mother. In the anticipation of this event she took up her abode, by the advice of her privy-council, in the castle of Edinburgh, where, on the 19th of June, 1566, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, she was delivered of a son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. The intelligence of Mary's accouchement was received with the utmost joy throughout the whole kingdom. In Edinburgh it amounted to enthusiasm. All the nobles in the city, accompanied by the greater part of the citizens, went in solemn procession to the High Church, and returned thanks to the Almighty for bestowing a prince upon them, and for the mercy which had been extended to their queen. This impressive ceremony was followed by three entire days of continued revelry and triumph. After her recovery the queen proceeded on an excursion through various parts of the country; and again returned to Edinburgh on the 11th or 12th of September, having previously placed the infant prince in charge of the Earl and Lady Mar. From this period the page of Mary's history rapidly darkens; and it is now that her enemies assail her character, and that her friends find themselves called upon to defend it. Each have written volumes in their turn to establish her guilt or her innocence, but hitherto without approaching to anything like complete success on either side.

At the suggestion of the Earl of Bothwell, now one of the most active of Mary's officers of state, the privy-council submitted to Mary, then (December, 1566) residing at Craigmillar Castle, the proposal that she should divorce her husband Darnley, to whom she had now been married about a year and a half. There were sufficient reasons, both of a public and personal nature, to make such a proposal neither singular nor unwarrantable. Darnley's intellectual incapacity rendered him wholly unfit for his situation, and his wayward temper had wrecked the happiness of his wife. But the proposal originated in neither of these considerations. It was the first step of the new ambition of Bothwell, which aimed at the hand of his sovereign. Mary refused to accede to the proposal, alleging, amongst other considerations, that such a proceeding might prejudice the interests of her son. This resolution, however, in place of diverting Bothwell from his daring project, had the effect only of driving him to a more desperate expedient to accomplish it. He now resolved that Darnley should die. Attended by a band of accomplices, he proceeded, at midnight on Sunday the 9th of February, 1567, to the Kirk of Field House, situated near to where the college of Edinburgh now stands, and where Darnley, who was at the time unwell, had taken up a temporary residence. The mode of his death had been matter of some discussion previously, but it had been finally determined that it should be accomplished by the agency of gunpowder. A large quantity of that material had been therefore secretly introduced into the chamber beneath that in which Darnley slept. This, on the night spoken of, was fired by a match applied by the assassins, but which burned slowly enough to

allow of themselves escaping to a safe distance; and in a few minutes the house, with all its inmates, including Darnley, was totally destroyed.

For some time after the murder, vague and contradictory surmises regarding the assassins filled the kingdom. Suspicion, however, at length became so strong against the true perpetrator, that, at the instigation of Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, he was brought to a public trial. Bothwell, however, was too powerful a man, and had too many friends amongst the nobility, to fear for the result. He had provided for such an occurrence. On the day of trial no one appeared to prosecute him, and he was acquitted. Thus far the dark and daring projects of Bothwell had been successful, and he now hurried on to the consummation of his guilty career. On the 20th of April, little more than two months after the assassination of Darnley, Bothwell procured the signatures of a number of the nobility to a document setting forth, first, his innocence of that crime; secondly, the necessity of the queen's immediately entering again into the married state; and lastly, recommending James Earl of Bothwell as a fit person to become her husband. In two or three days after this Mary left Edinburgh for Stirling, on a visit to her infant son; and as she was returning from thence, she was waylaid by Bothwell, accompanied by a troop of 1000 men, all well mounted, at a bridge which crosses the river Almond, within a mile of Linlithgow. Mary, when she encountered Bothwell, was attended by but a slight retinue, and by only three persons of note; these were the Earl of Huntly, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville. Bothwell having dismissed all her attendants, with the exception of the three last, seized the bridle of Mary's horse, and immediately after the whole cavalcade proceeded with their utmost speed to Dunbar, one of Bothwell's castles. Here Mary was detained for ten days, during which time Bothwell had succeeded in obtaining her consent to espouse him. At the end of this period the queen and her future husband returned to Edinburgh, and in a few weeks afterwards were married, Bothwell having previously obtained a divorce from his wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, and a formal pardon, before the lords of session, from Mary herself, for his having seized upon her person. With regard to these transactions, thus briefly narrated, much has been said of the determined, unprincipled, and ferocious character of Bothwell, and much of the helplessness of the condition to which Mary was reduced; but it cannot be denied that they present still a startling appearance, even after all that has been said to explain away what part of them affects the character of Mary. Bothwell, however, did not long enjoy the success of his villany. Disgusted with the insolence of his manner, and not improbably disappointed in the hopes which they had entertained from his elevation, a number of those very lords who had assisted him to attain it, together with many others, took up arms to displace him. On learning the designs of his enemies Bothwell hastily collected at Dunbar a force of 2000 men, and with these marched towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June, 1567. The hostile lords, with an army somewhat less in number, marched from the latter city to meet him, and on the 15th the two armies came in sight of each other, Bothwell's troops occupying Carberry Hill, a rising ground to the east of Musselburgh. Neither army evincing much inclination to come to blows, negotiations were entered into, and the final result of these was, that Mary, who had accompanied Bothwell to the field, offered to deliver herself up to the opposite party, on condition that they would

conduct her safely to Edinburgh, and thereafter yield obedience to her authority. This being agreed to, she prevailed upon her husband to quit the field, and, conducted by Kirkcaldy of Grange, presented herself before the hostile lords and claimed their protection. Mary was now conducted into Edinburgh, but with little respect either to her rank, her sex, or her feelings. Insulted by the rabble as she passed along, and dissolved in tears, she was taken to the house of the provost instead of the palace, a circumstance which added greatly to her distress. Dreading a reaction of the popular feeling towards the queen—which, indeed, shortly afterwards took place—Mary's captors, for they now stood in that position, conveyed her on the evening of the following day to Holyrood, and at midnight hurried her away on horseback to the castle of Lochleven, situated on a small island in a lake of that name in Fifehire, and placed her in charge of Lady Douglas, mother of the Earl of Murray by James V., a woman of haughty and austere manners and disposition.

This extreme proceeding towards the unhappy queen was in little more than a month afterwards followed by another still more decisive and humiliating. On the 24th of July, 1567, Lord Lindsay and Sir Robert Lindsay, deputed by the lords of secret council, proceeded to Lochleven, and by threats of personal violence compelled Mary to sign a deed of abdication, a proceeding which was soon after followed by the election of Murray to the regency. Bothwell, in the meantime, after some ineffectual attempts to regain his lost authority, retired to his estates in the north, but being pursued thither by Grange and Tullibardine, he embarked for Denmark. Ruthless and desperate in all his proceedings, he attempted, on his way thither, to replenish his exhausted finances by piracy. The intelligence of his robberies reaching Denmark, several ships were despatched from that country in quest of him, and in a very short time he was taken and carried a prisoner into a Danish port. On his landing he was thrown into prison, where he remained for many years, and finally ended his days in misery and neglect. Such was the fate of the proud, ambitious, and wicked Bothwell, the husband of Mary Queen of Scotland.

Though Mary's fortunes were at this low ebb, and her enemies both numerous and powerful, she had still many friends, who waited anxiously for an opportunity of asserting her rights; and for such an opportunity, although it was unsuccessful, they had not to wait long. On the 25th of March, 1568, about nine months after she had been imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, an attempt was made, by the assistance of George Douglas, a relation of the family of Lochleven, who resided in the castle, to effect Mary's escape in the disguise of a laundress. She was, however, discovered by the boatmen who had been employed to convey her to the shore, and carried back to the castle. In about a month afterwards the attempt was again made, but now under the auspices of William Douglas, a young man of sixteen years of age, a relation of the Douglas family, and also a resident on the island. Douglas, having purloined the keys of the fortress, liberated the captive princess, May 2d, and conducting her to a boat which was in readiness to receive her, conveyed her to the shore. Here she was met, with joy and loyal affection by a number of her nobility, who, having been previously informed of the design, were awaiting her arrival. Placing the queen on horseback the whole party instantly set off at full speed for Hamilton, where they arrived on the following forenoon.

The intelligence of Mary's escape, and of the place of her temporary abode, rapidly spread throughout the whole kingdom, and nobles and troops instantly poured in from all quarters to her assistance. In a few days Mary found herself at the head of a formidable army, and surrounded by the greater part of her nobility. She now solemnly and publicly protested that her abdication had been compulsory, and therefore not valid, and called upon Murray, who was then at Glasgow, to surrender his regency. This he refused to do, and both parties prepared for hostilities. On Thursday the 13th of May, Murray, who was still at Glasgow, having learned that the queen with her forces were on their way to Dunbarton, where it was proposed by the friends of the former that she should be lodged, as being a place of greater safety than Hamilton, he hastily assembled an army of 4000 men, and marched out to a place called Langside, about three miles distant from the city, to intercept her. The hostile armies soon came in sight of each other, and a battle followed, fatal to the hopes of Mary. The main body of the queen's army was led by the Earl of Argyle, the van by Claud Hamilton second son of the Duke of Chateherault, and the cavalry by Lord Herries. Murray himself led on the main body of the opposing forces, and the Earl of Morton the van. Mary, on perceiving that the day had gone against her (for she had witnessed the contest from a neighbouring height), instantly took to horse, and, accompanied by Lord Herries and a few other trusty friends, rode off at full speed, nor ever drew bridle until she had reached Dundrennan Abbey in Galloway, sixty miles distant from the field of battle.

Here she remained for two days, uncertain whither to proceed. Resolving at length to throw herself on the protection of Elizabeth, she embarked, with a train of eighteen or twenty persons, on board a fishing boat, and, sailing along the shore until she arrived at Workington in Cumberland, was there landed with her suite. From Workington she proceeded to Cockermouth, twenty-six miles distant from Carlisle, where she was met by the deputy of the warden of these frontiers and a number of gentlemen of rank and respectability, and conducted with every mark of respect to the castle of Carlisle. This honourable treatment, however, was but of short duration. Mary was now in the hands of her bitterest and most inveterate enemy, Elizabeth, and though not yet aware of it, the conviction of its truth was very soon forced upon her. From Carlisle Mary was, by Elizabeth's orders, removed to Bolton, where she was strictly guarded, and forbidden to hold any communication with her Scottish subjects. Elizabeth had previously refused to admit Mary to a personal interview, alleging that she was under a suspicion of having been accessory to the murder of Darnley, and that until her innocence of that crime was established, she could not afford her any countenance, or bestow upon her any mark of favour. Affecting an anxiety for Mary's honour, Elizabeth now proposed that an examination of evidence should be gone into, to prove either the truth or falsehood of the allegation. Three sets of commissioners were accordingly appointed for this purpose, one by Elizabeth, as umpires or judges, one by Murray and his party as defenders, and one by Mary as plaintiff. These met at York on the 4th of October, 1568, bestowing upon their proceedings the gentle name of *conference*. From York the conference, unattended yet with any decisive result, was removed to Westminster, where it was again resumed, and finally, after several disingenuous proceedings on the part both of Elizabeth and Murray's commissioners, was

brought to a close without being terminated. Without any conclusive or satisfactory evidence of her guilt, or any decision having been pronounced on the evidence which had been led, Mary was, though not formally, yet virtually condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The unfortunate queen was now moved from castle to castle as notions of caprice or fancied security dictated, and with diminished comforts and enjoyments at each remove, until she was finally stripped, not only of all personal liberty, but of every consolation which could make life endurable. Her letters of remonstrance to Elizabeth under this treatment are pathetic in the last degree, but they had no effect upon her to whom they were addressed. For eighteen years the severities to which she was exposed were left not only uninvestigated, but were gradually increased to the end of her unhappy career.

On the 25th of September, 1586, Mary was removed from Chantry to the Castle of Fotheringay, with a view to her being brought to trial before a commission appointed by Elizabeth, on a charge of having abetted a conspiracy, in which the chief actor was one Anthony Babington, and which had for its object the assassination of Elizabeth and the liberation of the captive queen. The trial commenced on the 15th of October, but was afterwards adjourned to the Star Chamber at Westminster, where on the 25th of the same month it was finally adjudged that "Mary, commonly called Queen of Scots and Dowager of France, was accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and had compassed and imagined divers matters within the realm of England, leading to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of Elizabeth, in opposition to the statute formed for her protection." Mary had been charged with abetting a number of minor plots during the previous term of her captivity, and one in especial set on foot by the Duke of Norfolk, who had not only aimed at restoring her to liberty, but had looked forward to the obtaining her hand. Norfolk's designs were discovered, and he perished on the scaffold. Elizabeth's parliament now, therefore, alleged that their sovereign's security was incompatible with Mary's life, and urged her to give effect to the sentence of the Star Chamber, by ordering her immediate execution. Elizabeth affected to feel the utmost reluctance to proceed to the extremity recommended by the councillors, but at length gave way to their importunity, and signed the warrant for her unfortunate captive's execution, and a commission was given to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, and others, to see it carried into effect. Aware of her approaching fate, for the sentence of the commissioners had been early conveyed to her, with an intimation to prepare for the result, Mary calmly awaited its consummation, without stooping to any meanness to avert it, or discovering the slightest dread in its contemplation.

The fatal hour at length arrived. On the 7th of February, 1587, the earls who were appointed to superintend her execution arrived at Fotheringay, and requesting an audience of Mary, informed her of the purpose for which they came, and that her execution would take place on the following morning at eight o'clock. Mary heard the dreadful intelligence without discovering the slightest trepidation. She said she had long been expecting the manner of her death, and was not unprepared to die. Having, with the utmost composure and self-possession, arranged all her worldly affairs she retired to bed, about two in the morning; but though she lay for some hours, she slept none. At break of day she arose, and, surrounded by her weeping domestics,

resumed her devotions. She was thus employed when a messenger knocked at the door to announce that all was ready, and in a short time afterwards the sheriff, bearing in his hand the white wand of office, entered her apartment to conduct her to the place of execution. Mary was now led into the hall in which her trial had taken place, and which had been previously fitted up for the dreadful scene about to be enacted. A scaffold and block, covered with black cloth, rose at the upper end, and on one side of the latter stood the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, on the other two executioners. Having ascended the scaffold, which she did with a dignity and composure that rather increased than diminished as her fate approached, Mary prepared for the fatal stroke. After spending a short time in prayer, she desired Jane Kennedy, one of two female attendants for whom she had with difficulty obtained the melancholy privilege of accompanying her to the scaffold, to bind her eyes with a handkerchief which she had brought with her for the purpose. This done, she laid her head on the block, and the axe of the executioner descended. The

severed head was immediately held up by the hair, which was now observed to have become gray, by the executioner's assistant, who called out, "God save Elizabeth Queen of England!" To this sentence the Earl of Kent added, "Thus perish all her enemies!"

Mary's remains were embalmed and buried in the cathedral at Peterborough, but twenty-five years afterwards were removed by her son James VI. to Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey. She was at the time of her death in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity. Time and grief had greatly impaired the symmetry and beauty of her person; yet her figure, even at the hour of her death, was one of matchless elegance. Still mindful of her dignity, of her high birth, and of what she once had been, the unfortunate queen appeared upon the scaffold arrayed in her best and most splendid attire, and her whole conduct throughout the trying scene was marked with the noble bearing and unshaken fortitude of a heroine. Mary never for a moment forgot that she was Queen of Scotland, and she died with a magnanimity worthy of the title.

T.

TANNAHILL, ROBERT, a very popular writer of Scottish songs, was born in Paisley on the 3d of June, 1774. He was the son of James Tannahill, a weaver of silk gauze there, who originally came from Kilmarnock, and Janet Pollock, the daughter of a farmer near Beith. Both parents were much respected for their intelligence and worth; the mother, in particular, was a woman of very general information and exemplary conduct in life. Their family consisted of six sons and one daughter; Robert being the fourth child. At his birth one of his legs was deformed, the foot being considerably bent, and the leg smaller than the other. During his boyhood he was much ashamed of his crooked foot, and took every opportunity, when alone, to try and straighten it with his hand. In this manner, by constant application, he brought it into a proper position; but the leg always continued smaller than its fellow, and to hide this deformity, he generally wore upon it two or more pairs of stockings. The deception succeeded so well, that few of his companions knew that the one leg differed from the other; nor did he suffer much inconvenience from it, being able to join in the dance or afternoon excursion without betraying any lameness, although in long journeys it generally failed him. When at school he began to distinguish himself by writing verses. These were generally upon some odd character about the place, or upon any unusual circumstance that might occur. After school-hours it was customary for the boys to put riddles to each other, or, as they called it, to "speer guesses." Robert usually gave his in rhyme; and a schoolfellow, to whom we are indebted for some of the particulars of this memoir, remembers one of them to this day. It was as follows:—

My colour's brown, my shape's uncouth,
On ilka side I hae a mouth;
And, strange to tell, I will devour
My bulk of meat in half an hour.

This riddle, on being solved, turned out to allude to the big, brown, unshapely nose of a well-known character, who took large quantities of snuff.

From the school, where he was taught to read,

write, and cast accounts, Tannahill was sent to the loom. About this time, the weaving of cotton was introduced into Paisley, and the high wages realized by it induced parents to teach their children the trade at an early age, so that their apprenticeships were generally finished by the time they reached fifteen or sixteen. The flow of money which persons thus so young could command by the exercise of a flourishing handicraft, led to the early marriages for which Paisley was then noted; and no town at the time abounded in more merrymakings, or presented a more gay and thriving community. Education was widely diffused amongst the inhabitants, who were remarkable for the intelligent and active interest they took in public affairs. The weaving population could always afford a weekly half-holiday for cultivating their gardens or rambling into the country. Tannahill participated in the general prosperity. Dancing parties and rural excursions were frequent among the young people of both sexes, and in these he often joined. He then formed many of those poetical attachments which he afterwards celebrated in song. It was in such meetings, and such excursions, that he first saw "Jessie the Flower o' Dumblane,"—first heard the song of the "mavis" from the "Wood of Craigielee,"—and first breathed the fragrant "broom" of the "Braes o' Gleniffer."

While at work it was his custom to occupy his mind with the composition of verses. To his loom he attached a sort of writing-desk, by which he was enabled, in the midst of his labours, to jot down any lines that might occur to him, without rising from his seat. In this way some of his best songs were composed. He had a correct ear for music, and played the flute well; and whenever a tune greatly

¹ It disturbs the fancy to know, that, although Tannahill wrote all his love-songs under the inspiration of some particular object, in this case the girl was neither a Jessie, nor was she from Dumblane. The words were originally written to supplant the old doggerel song, "Bob o' Dumblane,"—hence the title. Tannahill never was in Dumblane—never, indeed, beyond the Forth—and knew no person belonging to Dumblane; yet the guards of coaches and others hesitate not to point out the very house in Dumblane in which Jessie was born.







JOHN HENRY LAMARTINE
1800-1870

pleased him, it was his ambition to give it appropriate words of his own. It has been said in most of the notices of his life, that from his fourteenth to his twenty-fourth year, he wholly neglected the muse; but this is a mistake. He seldom allowed many days to pass without composing some song or copy of verses, which it was his custom to read to one or two only of his intimate acquaintances. The first poem of his which appeared in print was in praise of Ferguslee Wood, a wood which was one of his favourite haunts, and which often in the summer evenings rang to the notes of his flute. The lines were sent to a Glasgow periodical, and obtained immediate insertion, accompanied with a request for further favours. This was the more gratifying to the young poet, as in one or two previous endeavours at publication he had been unsuccessful; and from this period he continued, for two or three years afterwards, to send occasional contributions to the Glasgow papers.

After his apprenticeship had expired, he removed to the village of Lochwinnoch, about nine miles from Paisley, where he continued to work at the loom for some time. It may be worth mentioning, that Alexander Wilson, the poet and future American ornithologist, was at this time also weaving in the same village. He was by some years the senior of Tannahill; and the latter, being then unknown to fame, had not the fortitude to seek his acquaintance, although he greatly admired the pieces by which Wilson had already distinguished himself.

About the year 1800 some of the figured loom-work for which Paisley was famed was beginning to be manufactured in England, and it was reported that great wages were to be had there for weaving it. Tempted by the report, or more probably by a desire of seeing the country, Tannahill left Paisley for England, accompanied by a younger brother. They went away without informing their parents, who, they rightly supposed, would have put a stop to the journey, as their circumstances in Paisley were too comfortable to justify a change. They were both at this time in the strength and buoyancy of youth; they were both also of industrious habits, of excellent dispositions, and of modest manners. They travelled mostly on foot, often stepping out of the way to view the curiosities of the country, until they reached Preston, which they had marked as the limit of their journey. They found, however, that nothing but plain work was woven there, and while Robert went forward to Bolton, to inquire after figured work, his brother took lodgings at Preston, in the house of an old woman of the Roman Catholic persuasion. At Bolton Robert found plenty of employment of the desired description: but his brother, notwithstanding the superior wages to be made there, remained at Preston all the time he resided in England, being constrained to do so by the kindness of his old landlady, in whom he found a second mother. The two brothers, though thus separated, did not forget each other. Being much attached, they frequently met half-way between Preston and Bolton, and spent a few hours together: they also frequently wrote home to their parents an account of their welfare. Their stay in England lasted two years, and was only cut short by receiving intelligence of the fatal illness of their father. They hurried home without delay, and arrived in time to receive his dying blessing. After that event they did not choose to return to England. The younger brother married, while Robert took up his abode with his mother, and till his death continued to be a comfort to her. His filial affections were at all times strong, and through life he honourably discharged the duties of an affectionate son.

It may be proper here to advert to a very erroneous

impression which prevails respecting his worldly circumstances. In most of the notices taken of him, he is represented as leading a life of privation, and as fulfilling all that is supposed to be connected with the poet's lot in regard to penury. But so far from this being the case, his means were always above his wants. The house in which his mother resided was her own, and she was not only herself comfortably situated, but was enabled, by indulging in little charities, to add somewhat to the comforts of others. Such, also, was the state of trade at the time, that Robert could command good wages without extreme labour, and though more than one respectable situation, as foreman or overseer, was offered him, he chose to continue at the loom, because by doing so his time was more at his own disposal, and his personal independence greater. He had no wish to accumulate money; but long before his death he lodged twenty pounds in the bank, with the express intention that it should go to defray the expense of his funeral, and this sum was found untouched when his melancholy decease took place—a circumstance which of itself proves the unfounded nature of the reports regarding his poverty and destitution.

Soon after his return from England, he had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. R. A. Smith, a gentleman of distinguished talent as a composer, who set to music and arranged some of his finest songs. He also formed an intimacy with several other individuals possessed of good judgment in musical matters, such as Mr. James Barr of Kilbarchan (composer of the tune of "Craigielee"), Mr. Andrew Blaikie, engraver, Paisley, and Mr. James Clark, master of the Argyle band. These gentlemen, and several others, were of service to him, in improving his taste for composition, and in encouraging him in his love of song. His own manners were so retiring, and his reliance on himself so small, that, without the assurances of friendship, he probably would never have been induced to give to the world many of those pieces which have made his name known.

The first edition of his *Poems and Songs* appeared in the year 1807. It was very favourably received by the public, the previous popularity of several of his songs tending to make it sought after. But the author speedily came to regret that he had so prematurely given it to the world. Errors and faults he now detected in it, which had before escaped him, and he began assiduously to correct and rewrite all his pieces, with a view to a second edition. He continued also to add to the number of his songs, and in these reached a high degree of excellence. Some of them, indeed, may be pronounced to be the very perfection of song-writing, so far as that consists in the simple and natural expression of feelings common to all. The extensive popularity which they attained indicates how universally were felt and understood the sentiments which they recorded. It is gratifying to know, that the poet was in some measure a witness of his own success, and lived to hear his songs sung with approbation both in hall and cottage. In a solitary walk, on one occasion, his musings were interrupted by the voice of a country girl in an adjoining field, who was singing by herself a song of his own—

"We'll meet beside the dusky glen, on yon burnside;—"

and he used to say, that he was more pleased at this evidence of his popularity than at any tribute which had ever been paid him.

But his celebrity as a song-writer brought its annoyances. Visitors of every description broke in

upon his daily labours; an adjournment to the tavern was often the result, and acquaintanceships were formed too frequently over the bowl.¹ Tannahill at no time was addicted to liquor; but the facility of his nature prevented him from resisting the intrusions of idle and curious people, and the very character of the pieces for which he was distinguished led to convivialities, for how could the merits of a song be tested without the flowing glass? This was the more to be pitied, as the slightest irregularity injured him. His constitution was never strong. His father, his sister, and three brothers had all died of consumption; and he himself was often troubled with a pain in the chest, which was increased by working too hard. For some time before his lamentable end he was observed frequently to fall into a deep melancholy. His temper became irritable, he was easily agitated, and prone to imagine that his best friends were disposed to injure him. His eyes were observed to sink, his countenance got pale, and his body emaciated. His whole appearance, in short, indicated a breaking up of his mental and bodily powers. The second edition of his poems, which he had prepared for the press, was offered about this time to Mr. Constable of Edinburgh for a very small sum, but was unfortunately declined. This tended still farther to depress him, and he came to the resolution of destroying everything which he had written. All his songs, to the amount of one hundred, many of which had never been printed, and of those printed all had been greatly corrected and amended, he put into the fire; and so anxious was he that no scrap of his should be preserved, he requested his acquaintances to return any manuscript which they had ever got from him. Of the immediate circumstances connected with his death we have received the following account. The day previous to that event he went to Glasgow, and displayed there such unequivocal proofs of mental derangement, that one of his friends upon whom he called, felt it necessary to convoy him back all the way to Paisley, and to apprise his relations of the state of his mind. Alarmed at the intelligence, his brothers, who were married and resided at different parts of the town, hastened to their mother's house, where they found that he had gone to bed, and as it was now late, and he was apparently asleep, they did not choose to disturb him, hoping that by the morning he would be better. About an hour after leaving the house, one of the brothers had occasion to pass the door, and was surprised to find the gate that led to it open. On further investigation, it was found that Robert had risen from bed, and stolen out, shortly after their departure. Search was now made in every direction, and by the gray of the morning, the worst fears of the poet's friends were realized, by the discovery of his coat lying at the side of a pool in the vicinity of Paisley, which pointed out where his body was to be found. This melancholy event happened on the 17th of May, 1810, when he had only reached his thirty-sixth year.

Tannahill's appearance was not indicative of superior endowment. He was small in stature, and in manners diffident almost to bashfulness. In mixed company he seldom joined in general conversation, yet from the interest he manifested in all that was said, his silence was never offensive. Among inti-

mate friends he was open and communicative, and often expressed himself with felicity. His sympathies invariably went with the poor and unfortunate, and perhaps it was the result of his education and position in society that he was jealous of the attentions of the wealthy, and disposed rather to avoid than to court their company. In his disposition he was tender and humane, and extremely attached to his home, his kindred, and his friends. His life was simple and unvaried in its details, but even the uneventful character of his existence renders more striking and more affecting its tragic close. In 1838 an enlarged edition of his poems and songs, with memoirs of the author and of his friend Robert Archibald Smith, by Mr. Philip A. Ramsay, was published in Glasgow.

TASSIE, JAMES. This excellent sculptor, who acquired distinction by his imitations of antique gems, was of humble parentage, and born in the neighbourhood of Glasgow in or about 1735. Although brought up in the mechanical occupation of a country stone-mason, the struggles of a higher genius in the direction of imitative arts were going on within him, which an accidental visit was sufficient to call into action. Having gone to that great saturnalia of the west of Scotland, a fair annually held at Glasgow, with a troop of his companions, he visited the collection of paintings then forming by the brothers Foulis, for the establishment of an academy for the fine arts in that city. This exhibition decided the vague aspirations of James Tassie; he resolved to become a painter, and with that view removed to Glasgow and became a student in the Foulis' Academy, continuing, however, to practise his former mechanical occupation in consequence of his poverty. Finding, however, that he was not likely to secure superior excellence as a painter, or unwilling to be confined to one branch of imitative art, he attempted sculpture, in which he hoped for greater success; and in consequence of this change he went to Dublin in 1766, and for some time found employment as a modeller and sculptor. There he fortunately became acquainted with Dr. Quin, who was making experiments in the beautiful art of imitating engraved gems by means of coloured glass or pastes, and who selected Tassie as his confidential assistant. The latter, after his previous attempts, had now fallen upon the art in which he was best fitted to excel, and he adhered to it until he had secured a reputation which incontestably placed him at the head of his department. It will be seen from this statement that all his previous efforts in painting and statuary had been merely preparatives, and that had he solely adhered to these, he might never have won a higher grade than that of a third-rate artist.

After he had aided Dr. Quin in making extensive improvements in the art of imitating engraved gems, Tassie was advised by his employer to remove to London, and adopt the art as his profession. With this judicious counsel the former complied, and went to London in 1766. His occupation was of a kind that could as yet be only appreciated by few, and although frugal, industrious, and persevering, his diffidence and modesty, however commendable, were not the qualities which carry an adventurer onward in the great struggle of the metropolis. What could an illiterate country mason know about antique cameos? The national jealousy of England, also, against Scotsmen in general, had been intensified into white heat by the Wilkes riots and Bute administration. In coming to London, therefore, poor Tassie had a double amount of the usual difficulties of an unfriended stranger to confront and overcome;

¹ An exception must here be made in favour of Mr. James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who, much to his own credit and the credit of Tannahill, made a pilgrimage to Paisley, with the express purpose of seeing him. They spent one happy night together, and next morning Tannahill conveyed him half-way on the road to Glasgow. On parting, Tannahill, with tears in his eyes, said, "Farewell! we shall never meet again! Farewell! I shall never see you more!" a prediction which was too truly verified.

and a trying penance of poverty and neglect had to be endured before he could struggle into notice. But he bravely persevered and was successful; and among his earliest patrons in the metropolis were the Society of Arts, who in 1767 awarded him the sum of ten guineas for imitations of ancient onyx. When his reputation was established his productions were in great request; he realized a comfortable income, and the principal cabinets of Europe were opened to his inspection. His carefulness also in preserving his professional reputation showed how well and worthily it had been won. He would allow no imperfect impression to pass from his hands—a precaution all the more necessary, as in consequence of their celebrity, very inferior imitations were introduced into the market under his name.

In 1775 Tassie, who pursued his occupation in Compton Street, Soho, had a collection of 3000 gems ancient and modern, published a catalogue of them, and sold his imitations of them in pastes or sulphur at very moderate prices. But this valuable collection grew so rapidly, that in 1791 it consisted of 15,500 articles, of which he published a new catalogue in two volumes quarto. This work was also something much better than a dry inventory, being compiled by Mr. E. Raspe, who prefixed to it an introduction on the utility of such a collection of works of art, and on the history of engraving upon hard stones, and the imitation of gems by artificial pastes. The volumes were also adorned with a frontispiece, and fifty-seven plates of gems, etched by David Allan. From the introduction of Raspe it also appears that the demand for Tassie's paste imitations of seals and cameos had been largely encouraged by the jewellers, who made them fashionable by setting them in seals, bracelets, rings, and other trinkets. About 1787 or 1788 Tassie received an order from the Empress of Russia for a complete set of his gems; which he executed in a most satisfactory manner, and upon a beautiful white enamel composition, so hard as to strike fire with steel; of such a texture as to take a fine polish, and to show every touch of the artist with the greatest accuracy. His imitations both of ancient and modern gems were in every way facsimiles of the originals: the colouring was the same, and in other cases where this could not be done, such colours were used as might display the works with the best effect. Besides this branch of his art, upon which his highest reputation was established, Tassie displayed considerable talent in modelling small portraits in wax, from which he frequently made pastes. After a life in which he was respected for his piety, simplicity, modesty, and benevolence, as well as for his professional talents and beautiful productions, he died in 1799.

TAYLOR, JAMES, whose name must ever bear a conspicuous and honourable place in the history of the invention of steam navigation, was born, May 3, 1758, at the village of Leadhills, in Lanarkshire, and received the rudiments of his education at the academy of Closeburn. After fitting himself to enter the medical profession, he was engaged, in the year 1785, by Mr. Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, to superintend the education of the two sons of that gentleman who were in attendance at the university of Edinburgh. It was also the aim of Mr. Miller that Mr. Taylor, whose scientific acquirements had been warmly spoken of by the common friend who recommended him to the situation, should assist him in those mechanical pursuits with which for some years he had been in the habit of amusing his leisure hours. In the year just mentioned Mr. Miller was engaged in a series of operations for applying paddle-wheels

to vessels, rather with a view to extricating them from perilous situations against the impulse of wind and tide, than with any expectation that such machinery, driven, as he contemplated it to be, by human power alone, could be of use in ordinary navigation. Mr. Taylor entered at once into Mr. Miller's views, and aided in the preparation of a double vessel of sixty feet in length, with intermediate paddles, driven by a capstan, which Mr. Miller tried in the Firth of Forth, in spring, 1787, against a custom-house wherry, which it easily distanced. On this occasion Mr. Taylor became convinced of the utility of the paddles; but observing that the men were much exhausted by their labour, he was equally convinced that a superior mechanical power was wanting, in order to realize the full value of the invention. Having communicated his thoughts to Mr. Miller, he received from that gentleman the following answer:—"I am of the same opinion, and that power is just what I am in search of. My object is to add mechanical aid to the natural power of the wind, to enable vessels to avoid and to extricate themselves from dangerous situations, which they cannot do on their present construction." Invited to co-operate in this object, Mr. Taylor applied himself to the consideration of all the mechanical powers already in common use, but without being able to convince himself of the applicability of any of them. At length the steam-engine presented itself to him; and though he might be naturally supposed to have been himself startled at the boldness of such a thought, he soon convinced himself of its being practicable. On suggesting it to Mr. Miller he found he had excited more astonishment at the novelty than respect for the feasibility of the scheme. Mr. Miller allowed the sufficiency of the power; but was disposed to deny that it could be applied, more particularly in those critical circumstances to obviate which was the chief aim of his own project. "In such cases," said he, "as that disastrous event which happened lately, of the wreck of a whole fleet upon a lee-shore, off the coast of Spain, every fire on board must be extinguished, and of course such an engine could be of no use." Mr. Taylor was not daunted by these objections, but, on the contrary, the more he thought of the project, the more convinced he became of its practicability. He represented to Mr. Miller that, if not applicable to purposes of general navigation, it might at least prove useful on canals and estuaries. After many conversations, the latter gentleman at length conceded so far to Mr. Taylor's suggestion, as to request him to make drawings, for the purpose of showing how the engine could be connected with the paddle-wheels. Mr. Taylor did so, and Mr. Miller, being still farther satisfied, though as yet, it appears, unconvinced, agreed to be at the expense of an experiment, provided it should not amount to a large sum, and that Mr. Taylor should superintend the operations, as he candidly confessed he was a stranger to the use of steam. The two projectors were then at Dalswinton; but it was arranged that, when they should return to Edinburgh in the early part of winter, an engine should be constructed for the purpose. Part of the summer was employed by Mr. Miller in drawing up a narrative of his experiments upon shipping, with a view to its being printed and circulated. This he submitted to Mr. Taylor for the benefit of his correction; and the latter gentleman, observing that no mention had been made of the application of the steam-engine, "I have not done that inadvertently," answered Mr. Miller, "but from a wish not to pledge myself to the public for a thing I may never perform: you know my intentions on that subject are as yet

conditional." Mr. Taylor replied, that he could hardly look upon them in that light, as he was satisfied that any expense which could attach to so small a matter would not prevent him (Mr. Miller) from making the experiment; that he considered the mention of the steam-engine as of importance; and that it could be alluded to in such a manner as to pledge him to nothing. Mr. Miller was convinced, and introduced an allusion to steam, as an agent he might perhaps employ for the propulsion of his vessels. Copies of the paper thus improved were transmitted to the royal family, the ministers, many of the leading members of both houses of parliament, and to all the maritime powers in Europe, besides the president of the United States of America.

In November, 1787, Mr. Miller removed as usual to the capital, and Mr. Taylor, having been empowered by his employer to proceed about the construction of an engine, recommended to Mr. Miller's notice a young man named Symington, who had attempted some alterations upon the steam-engine, and was now residing in Edinburgh for his improvement in mechanics. It was agreed that Symington should form an engine on his own plan, and that the experiment should be made in the ensuing summer upon the lake of Dalswinton. The construction of the engine occupied several months, and was not completed at the conclusion of that session of the university; so that Mr. Taylor was detained in town, to superintend the operations, for some time after his pupils had returned with their father to the country. When all was ready he proceeded with Symington to Dalswinton, where, on the 14th of October, 1788, the experiment was made in the presence of Mr. Miller and a considerable concourse of spectators. The boat was a double one, and the engine, which had a four-inch cylinder, was placed in a frame upon the deck. The experiment was successful beyond the most sanguine wishes of any of the parties concerned. The vessel moved at the rate of five miles an hour, and neither was any awkwardness found in the connection of the engine with the wheels, nor hazard apprehended in any considerable degree from the introduction of a furnace into so inflammable a fabric. The experiment was repeated several times during the course of the few ensuing days, and always with perfect success, inasmuch that the invention became a subject of great local notoriety. An account of the experiments, drawn up by Mr. Taylor, was inserted in the *Dumfries Journal* newspaper, and the event was also noticed in the *Scots Magazine* of the ensuing month.

Mr. Miller now formed the design of covering his own and Mr. Taylor's joint invention by a patent; but, in the first place, it was judged expedient that experiments should be made with a vessel and engine more nearly approaching the common size. For this purpose Mr. Taylor went to the Carron Foundry, with his engineer, Symington, and there, in the summer of 1789, fitted up a vessel of considerable dimensions with an engine, of which the cylinder measured eighteen inches in diameter. In the month of November this was placed on the Forth and Clyde Canal, in the presence of the Carron committee of management, and of the parties chiefly interested. The vessel moved along very smoothly for a space beyond Lock Sixteen, when, on giving the engine full play, the flat boards of the paddles, which had been weakly constructed, began to give way, which put an end to the experiment. The paddles having been reconstructed on a stronger principle, another experiment was made on the 26th of December, when the vessel made easy and uninterrupted progress, at the rate of seven miles an hour. Except in speed

the performances on these occasions were as perfect as any which have since been accomplished by steam vessels. The project was now conceived by all parties to have gone through a sufficient probation, so far as the objects of inland navigation were concerned; and in an account of the latter experiments, drawn up by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cullen, and published in the Edinburgh newspapers, February, 1790, this view is firmly taken.

On reviewing the expenses of these proceedings, Mr. Miller found considerable cause of chagrin in their amount, which, chiefly in consequence, as he said, of the extravagance of the engineer, greatly exceeded what he had been led to expect. Subsequently he devoted his attention and means to agricultural improvements; and Mr. Taylor could never prevail on him to resume their project. The cultivation of fiorine grass at last took such hold of the mind of Mr. Miller, that, in the belief of Mr. Taylor, no other object on earth could have withdrawn him from it. Mr. Fergusson, younger of Craigdarroch, in 1790, endeavoured, but in vain, to engage the interest of the court of Vienna in the new invention.

The indifference of Mr. Miller, the direction of public attention to the war which soon after commenced, and the unfavourable situation of Mr. Taylor in an inland part of the country, and unable of himself to do anything, conspired to throw the project for several years into abeyance. At length, in 1801, Mr. Symington, who had commenced business at Falkirk, resolved to prosecute a design, in the origination of which he had borne an active and serviceable, though subordinate part. He wished Lord Dundas to employ him to fit up a small experimental steam-vessel, which was tried on the Forth and Clyde Canal, but, causing much disintegration of the banks, was forbidden by the company to be ever set in motion again. This vessel was laid up at Lock Sixteen, where it remained for a number of years. Symington was afterwards in terms with the Duke of Bridgewater for introducing steam navigation on his grace's canal, and Messrs. Miller and Taylor were about to take measures to protect their joint invention from being appropriated by this individual, when the death of the duke, and the abandonment of the scheme, saved them that trouble.

Some time after, Mr. Fulton, from the United States of America, accompanied by Mr. Henry Bell of Glasgow, when on a visit to the Carron works, waited on Mr. Symington, and inspected the boat which he had fitted up for the Forth and Clyde Canal. The consequence was, that, in 1807, the former gentleman launched a steam vessel on the Hudson, and, in 1812, Mr. Bell another upon Clyde, being respectively the first vessels of the kind used for the service of the public in the new and old hemispheres. Thus, after all the primary difficulties of the invention had been overcome—when the bark was ready, as it were, to start from the shore, and waited only for the master to give the word for that purpose—did two individuals, altogether alien to the project, come in and appropriate the honour of launching it into the open sea. Unquestionably, the merit of these individuals in overcoming many practical difficulties, is very considerable; yet it is clear that they were indebted for the idea to the previous inventions and operations of Messrs. Miller and Taylor; and that if the latter gentlemen had, in the one instance, been inclined, and in the other able, to carry their project into effect at the proper time, they would not have been anticipated in this part of the honour, any more than in the suggestion of the paddles and the engine.

It appears that Mr. Taylor by no means sat tamely

by, while Fulton and Bell were reaping the credit due to their labours. Mr. Taylor repeatedly urged Mr. Miller to renewed exertions, though always without success; kept his claims as well as he could before the public eye; and on finding that Mr. Symington had obtained a patent, forced him into an agreement to share the profits, none of which, however, were ever realized. When the vast importance of steam navigation had become fully established, the friends of Mr. Taylor, who was not in prosperous circumstances, urged upon him the propriety of laying his claims before the government, and soliciting a reward suitable to the magnitude and importance of the discovery. At last, in 1824, he was induced to draw up a statement of his concern in the invention of steam navigation, which he printed and addressed to Sir Henry Parnell, chairman of a select committee of the House of Commons upon steam-boats. He hoped that this narrative might be the means of obtaining from the government some remuneration for the incalculable services he had performed to mankind; but it had no such effect. Bowed down by infirmities and the fruits of a long life of disappointments, this ingenious man died on the 18th of September, 1825, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

TELFORD, THOMAS, an eminent engineer and constructor of public works, was born about the year 1755, in the parish of Westerkirk in Dumfriesshire. His outset in life was strikingly humble in comparison with its close. He began the world as a working stone-mason in his native parish, and for a long time was only remarkable for the neatness with which he cut the letters upon those frail sepulchral memorials which "teach the rustic moralist to die." His occupation fortunately afforded a greater number of leisure hours than what are usually allowed by such laborious employments, and these young Telford turned to the utmost advantage in his power. Having previously acquired the elements of learning, he spent all his spare time in poring over such volumes as fell within his reach, with no better light in general than what was afforded by the cottage fire. Under these circumstances the powers of his mind took a direction not uncommon among rustic youths; he became a noted rhymster in the homely style of Ramsay and Fergusson, and, while still a very young man, contributed verses to Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*, under the unpretending signature of "Eskdale Tam." In one of these compositions, which was addressed to Burns, he sketched his own character, and hinted his own ultimate fate—

Nor pass the tentie curious lad,
Who o'er the ingle hangs his head,
And begs of neighbours books to read:
For hence arise
Thy country's sons, who far are spread,
Baith bold and wise.

Though Mr. Telford afterwards abandoned the thriftless trade of versifying, he is said to have retained through life a strong "frater-feeling" for the corps, which he showed in a particular manner on the death of Burns, in exertions for the benefit of his family. Having proceeded to London in quest of work, he had the good fortune to be employed under Sir William Chambers in the building of Somerset House. Here his merit was soon discovered by the illustrious architect, and he experienced promotion accordingly. We are unable to detail the steps by which he subsequently placed himself at the head of the profession of engineering; but it is allowed on all hands that his elevation was owing solely to his consummate ability and persevering

industry, unless we are to allow a share in the process to the singular candour and integrity which marked every step in his career. His works are so numerous all over the island that there is hardly a county in England, Wales, or Scotland, in which they may not be pointed out. The Menai and Conway bridges, the Caledonian Canal, the St. Katharine's Docks, the Holyhead roads and bridges, the Highland roads and bridges, the Chirke and Pontcysulste aqueducts, the canals in Salop, and great works in that county, of which he was surveyor for more than half a century, are some of the traits of his genius which occur to us, and which will immortalize the name of Thomas Telford.

The Menai Bridge will probably be regarded by the public as the most imperishable monument of Mr. Telford's fame. This bridge, which is on the suspension principle, passes over the Bangor ferry, and connects the counties of Caernarvon and Anglesea. The distance between the two main piers is 570 feet, and the height of the roadway above high-water 102 feet. Seven stone arches connect the land with the two main piers, which rise fifty-three feet above the level of the road, and over the top of which the chains are suspended, each chain being 1714 feet from the fastenings in the rock. The first three-masted vessel passed under the bridge in 1826. Her top-masts were nearly as high as a frigate, but they cleared twelve feet and a half below the centre of the roadway. The suspending power of the chains was calculated at 2016 tons. The total weight of each chain, 121 tons.

The Caledonian Canal is another of Mr. Telford's splendid works, in constructing every part of which, though prodigious difficulties were to be surmounted, he was successful. But even this great work does not redound so much to his credit as the roads throughout the same district. That from Inverness to the county of Sutherland, and through Caithness, made not only, so far as respects its construction but its direction, under Mr. Telford's orders, is superior, in point of line and smoothness, to any part of the road of equal continuous length between London and Inverness. This is a remarkable fact, which, from the great difficulties he had to overcome in passing through a rugged, hilly, and mountainous district, incontrovertibly establishes his great skill in the engineering department, as well as in the construction of great public communications.

Mr. Telford was not more remarkable for his great professional abilities than for his sterling worth in private life. His easiness of access, and the playfulness of his disposition, even to the close of life, endeared him to a numerous circle of friends, including all the most distinguished men of his time. For some years before his death he had withdrawn himself in a great measure from professional employment, and amused his leisure by writing a detailed account of the principal works he had planned, and lived to see executed. He died September 9, 1834, in his seventy-ninth year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

TENNANT, WILLIAM, LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. This most accomplished linguist and excellent poet was born in Anstruther, a royal burgh on the south-eastern coast of Fife, once a town and seaport of great commercial importance in the history of Scotland, but which has now dwindled, in the course of mercantile changes, into a place of little note. He was, however, the fellow-townsmen and contemporary of Dr. Chalmers. He was born in the year 1784. His father, who was a small merchant in Anstruther,

appears to have been a man in straitened circumstances, while in early infancy the future poet and professor, without any original malformation, lost the use of both his feet, and was obliged for life to move upon crutches. Thus desperate from the beginning was his chance of attaining to excellence and distinction. But within that puny frame was lodged a spirit that could wrestle down such obstacles, and grow stronger from the conflict.

In those days it was the custom in Scotland, that whosoever was thought not fit to be anything else, was judged good enough to be a teacher, and destined accordingly; and thus it too often happened that our parochial seminaries were Bethesda pools, surrounded by the lame, the halt, and paralytic, waiting for the friendly hand of patronage to lift them into office when a vacancy occurred. It was not wonderful, therefore, that the poor lame boy was educated with the view of permanently occupying a schoolmaster's chair, instead of *poussing* his fortune by a life of travel and adventure. He was accordingly sent betimes to the schools of his native town, and after he had learned all that they could teach him, he was transferred in 1799 to the university of St. Andrews, with the view of finishing his education. One so fitted to be a linguist by nature, could not fail to make a rapid progress under the prelections of such instructors as Dr. Hunter and Dr. Hill. After having spent two years at the United College, St. Andrews, in the study of the classics, the state of pecuniary affairs at home did not permit him to enjoy the usual curriculum, and he was hastily recalled to Anstruther. In the meantime, however, by the study of two languages, he had acquired the key that could unlock them all, be his circumstances what they might; and of this facility he soon showed himself a ready occupant. Independently of the higher Latin and Greek writers, so seldom mastered at our universities, but with which he became as conversant as with the authors of his own tongue, he ventured upon the study of Hebrew, with no other teachers than a dictionary and grammar, and made such proficiency, that in half a year and three days he read through the whole of the Hebrew Bible. While thus employed in the study of languages at Anstruther, and laying the foundation of his future renown and success, the claims of business called him away to Glasgow in 1803-4, where he was employed as clerk to his brother, a corn-factor in that city; and on the removal of the business to his native town a year after, he continued in the same capacity in Anstruther. While thus exalted upon the high tripod of a counting-house, or haggling with borrel discontented farmers upon the price of *aits* and barley—an admirable specimen of the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties"—he was making, by his unaided efforts, and in his moments of leisure, such acquisitions as the halls of Oxford or Cambridge would have been proud to have enshrined. Language after language yielded before his onset, whether dead or living, whether barbarous or refined, whether eastern, western, northern, or southern. One startling proof of this desperate indomitable perseverance, as well as peculiar aptitude in acquiring a tongue, was, that in a very few weeks after studying the Gaelic, reckoned the most impracticable of all living languages, he was able to read the whole of the Highland New Testament with ease and fluency.

While William Tennant was thus laudibly occupied, a more than ordinary portion of the cares of life interposed to annoy him. The business of a corn-factor, in which his brother was engaged in Anstruther, was unsuccessful, and became involved in such pecuniary responsibilities, that the principal

found it advisable to make a hasty retreat, leaving poor William, his substitute, to answer in his stead. This the latter did, not only by enduring incarceration, as if he had been the real debtor, but a large amount of obloquy to boot, from those who went in search of the assets of the business, but could not find them. After the innocent scape-goat had sustained his unmerited share of reproach and imprisonment, he was set free, upon which he retired to his father's humble dwelling. He was soon to emerge into the world in a new character. To his remarkable powers of application and abstraction, by which he was enabled to acquire so many languages, he added the higher qualities of taste and imagination, so that the study of poetry and the occupation of verse-making had been alternated with his graver pursuits. He now set himself in earnest to attempt authorship as a poet, and the result was *Anster Fair*, not only the first, but the best of all the productions he has given to the world. Its chances of fame were at first extremely precarious, for it appeared in 1811 in a humble unpretending form, and from the obscure press of an Anstruther publisher. It was thus accessible to few except the peasants and shopkeepers of Fife, who had no fitting relish for such poetical *caviare*; so that, after languishing a year unnoticed, it might have passed into oblivion, but for one of those simple accidents that sometimes arrest a work of merit in downward transit, and restore it to its proper place. Lord Woodhouselee, the accomplished scholar and critic, having seen the little volume, perused it—and to read it was to admire and appreciate. Anxious to know who the author was—for the poem was published anonymously—and to make his merits known to the world, he applied to Mr. Cockburn, the Anstruther publisher, for information, in the following letter:—

"SIR,—I have lately read, with a very high degree of pleasure, a small poetical performance, which, I observe, bears your name as publisher on the title-page. The author of *Anster Fair* cannot long remain concealed. It contains, in my opinion, unequivocal marks of strong original genius, a vein of humour of an uncommon cast, united with a talent for natural description of the most vivid and characteristic species, and, above all, a true feeling of the sublime—forming altogether one of the most pleasing and singular combinations of the different powers of poetry that I have ever met with. Unless the author has very strong reasons for concealing his name, I must own that I should be much gratified by being informed of it.

"ALEX. FRASER TYTLER."

After this *Anster Fair* began to be read in circles where it could be best appreciated, and a criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*, from the discriminating pen of Jeffrey, in 1814, established the character of the poem as one of the most talented and remarkable productions of its kind that had yet appeared. Its merits are thus summed up by the lynx-eyed, accomplished critic: "The great charm of this singular composition consists, no doubt, in the profusion of images and groups which it thrusts upon the fancy, and the crowd, and hurry, and animation with which they are all jostled and driven along; but this, though a very rare merit in any modern production, is entitled perhaps to less distinction than the perpetual sallies and out-breakings of a rich and poetical imagination, by which the homely themes on which the author is professedly employed are constantly ennobled or contrasted, and in which the ardour of a mind evidently fitted for higher tasks is somewhat capriciously expended. It is this frequent kindling of the diviner spirit—this tendency to rise above the trivial subjects among which he has chosen to disport himself, and this

power of connecting grand or beautiful conceptions with the representation of vulgar objects or ludicrous occurrences—that first recommended this poem to our notice, and still seem to us to entitle it to more general notoriety. The author is occupied, no doubt, in general with low matters, and bent upon homely mirth, but his genius soars up every now and then in spite of him; and ‘his delights’—to use a quaint expression of Shakspeare—

—‘his delights
Are dolphin-like, and show their backs above
The element they move in.’”

Thus far the critic. The groundwork which the poet selected for this diversified and gorgeous superstructure was as unpromising as it well could be, for it was the dirty and unpicturesque Loan of Anster; the sports were sack-racing, ass-racing, and a yelling competition of bagpipes; and the chief personages of the tale were Maggie Lauder, a nymph of less than doubtful reputation in the songs and legends of Fife, and Rob the Ranter, a swaggering, deboshed bagpiper, of no better character. All this, however, was amplified into a tale of interest, as well as purified and aggrandized by redeeming touches; so that, while Maggie under his hands became a chaste bride, and Rob the pink of rural yeomanry, Puck, almost as kingly as Oberon himself, and his tiny dame, scarcely less fair than Titania, take a part in the revels. And the exuberant wit that sparkles, effervesces, and bubbles o’er the brim—the mirth and fun, that grow fast and furious as the dancing nimble-footed stanzas proceed—for all this, too, we can find a sufficient cause, not only in the temperament of the poet, but the peculiar circumstances under which the poem was produced. For Tennant himself, although a cripple, so that he could not move except upon crutches, was requisited for the loss by a buoyancy of spirit that bore him more lightly over and through the ills of life than most men. In addition to this, also, it must be remembered that he had been impoverished, imprisoned, and vilified; and that *Anster Fair* was the natural rebound of a happy cheerful spirit, that sought and found within itself a bright and merry world of its own, in which it could revel to the full, undisturbed by debts, duns, writs, empty pockets, and sour malignant gossipred. What were John Doe and Richard Roe compared with Rob the Ranter and his bright-haired Maggie, or with Puck and his little Mab fresh from their imprisonment of mustard-pot and pepper-box. These were circumstances that made him write in such a rattling mirthful strain as he never afterwards reached, when every aid of an honoured and prosperous condition stood obedient beside his learned chair.

As for the mechanical structure of the poem, this too was happily suited to the subject, being as completely out of the beaten track as the tale itself. The following is his own account of it in his original preface: “The poem is written in stanzas of octave rhyme, or the *ottava rima* of the Italians, a measure said to be invented by Boccaccio, and after him employed by Tasso and Ariosto. From these writers it was transferred into English poetry by Fairfax, in his translation of *Jerusalem Delivered*, but since his days has been by our poets, perhaps, too little cultivated. The stanza of Fairfax is here shut with the ‘Alexandrine’ of Spenser, that its close may be more full and sounding.” It was not the least of Tennant’s poetical achievements, that he restored this long-neglected stanza into full use in English poetry. It was adopted by Lord Byron in his *Beppo* and *Don Juan*, and has since been followed by a whole host of imitators, both in the serious and comic strain.

As it was not by poetry, however, that William

Tennant meant to live, he set himself in earnest to the humble and laborious but less precarious occupation of a schoolmaster, for which he had been originally designed. In 1813, he was so fortunate as to be appointed teacher of a school in the parish of Denino, a district situated between Anstruther and St. Andrews, and about five miles from the last-named seat of learning. And it speaks not a little for his contented spirit and moderate wishes, that he accepted a situation yielding only £40 a year, at a time when his poetical reputation had obtained a fair start in the race, while his acquirements as a linguist could scarcely have been matched in Scotland. But for the present he was fully content with a quiet little cottage, and access to the stores of St. Andrews College library; and here, without any other teacher than books, he made himself master of the Syriac, Persian, and Arabic languages. From his limited means he also published a second edition of *Anster Fair*, much superior in typography and external appearance to the humble little volume that had first issued from the press of Anstruther. After labouring three years at Denino, where he had little literary society of any kind, except that of Hugh Cleghorn, Esq., of Stravithie, and the minister of the parish, Tennant was promoted to the more lucrative situation of schoolmaster of Lasswade, chiefly through the kind offices of Mr. George Thomson, the friend and correspondent of Burns. Besides the superior means which he now possessed of pursuing his beloved studies, his nearness to the capital and his growing reputation brought him into full intercourse with the distinguished literary society with which Edinburgh at this time abounded, so that, both as linguist and poet, his social spirit found ample gratification. At Lasswade he continued to perform the duties of a parish schoolmaster, when a further rise in office awaited him. The newly established and richly endowed institution of Dollar was in want of a teacher of the classical and oriental languages, and as Tennant’s reputation was now deservedly high, not only for his scholarship, but—what was of far greater importance—his power of making others good scholars as well as himself, he was appointed to this profitable and important charge, in January, 1819. Even yet, however, he had not attained a promotion that was fully adequate to his merits, for in the highest charge which profound and varied scholarship could reach he would have been found the best fitted to occupy it. The opportunity seemed to occur in 1831, when the chair of oriental languages in St. Mary’s College, St. Andrews, became vacant, and Tennant offered himself as candidate for the professorship, and had almost succeeded, his claims and those of his rival, Dr. Scott, minister of Corstorphine, having been for some time doubtfully deliberated by the crown authorities. The latter, however, was preferred, and Tennant continued three years longer at Dollar, when, by the death of Dr. Scott, he was, on the strength of his former competition, appointed to the professorship.

In this way the author of *Anster Fair*, by a series of steps, ascended from the lowest to one of the highest grades of Scottish academical distinction. But while he was thus struggling onward as a teacher, and at every stage adding to his philological acquirements, he did not lose sight of that poetical character through which he had first risen into notice. Some years, therefore, after his Anstruther production, he produced a new poem, entitled *Papistry Storm’d, or the Dingin’ doun o’ the Cathedral*. The subject, as may be guessed, was the demolition of the cathedral of St. Andrews, the metropolitan church of Scotland at the commencement of the Reformation; and in

the style of the narrative he endeavoured to imitate the quaint and vigorous manner of Sir David Lyndesay. But it was not easy for a poet of the 19th century to imitate one who impersonated the very fashion and spirit of the 16th; and therefore it is no wonder that the attempt was a failure. Had there been a "No Popery" cry, or had the poem been published in the present day, the subject, independently of the intrinsic merits of the work, might have forced it into wide though temporary popularity; but as it was, the age had not yet got reconciled to the demolition of the stately strongholds of Antichrist, and therefore his *Dingin' down o' the Cathedral* was as complete a downfall as the eversion it tried to commemorate.

The next poetical attempt of Tennant was a poem of the epic character, which he published in 1822, under the title of the *Thane of Fife*, having for its theme the invasion of the east coast of Fife by the Danes in the 9th century, when Constantine, the Scottish king, was slain, and the enemy obtained a footing on the coast of Fifehire, to the great advantage of our fishing villages, and the provision of skate, haddocks, and oysters for the tables of the present generation. But who of our living race could otherwise care for Hungar and his hard-knuckled belligerent Scandinavians, although the poet brought in Odin, the sire of gods and men, and Niord, the god of the winds, to back them? Therefore, although the poem was a very good poem as far as the rules of epic poetry went—even better by half than Sir Richard Blackmore's *Arthur*—and although the correctness of the Runic mythology was such that an ancient Scald would have translated it into a rune without alteration, the *Thane of Fife* was such an utter failure, that it met with less acceptance than its predecessor. Luckily only the first part of the poem, consisting of six cantos, was published; the rest, like the story of *Cambuscan Bold*, or of the *Wondrous Horse of Brass*, remained unsung.

Only a year after the *Thane* (in 1823), Tennant published his "*Cardinal Beaton*, a Tragedy in Five Acts." This dramatic poem few have read, and of that few not half of the number would greatly care to remember it. The subject itself is a noble one, and the character of the cardinal, that "less than a king, yet greater," was amply fitted to develop the very highest of poetic talent. But, unluckily, the poet, instead of exhibiting this bold bad man with the lofty regal and intellectual qualities which he undoubtedly possessed, has stuck to the sordid and sensual vices with which Beaton was chargeable, and has thus converted him into a mere vulgar incubus. In fact, he has made him talk, not in the elevated language of one to whom high designs, by which Europe itself was to be shaken, were familiar, but rather after the fashion of the vulgar sensualist, who, in the phrase of Knox, "was busie at his compts with Mistris Marion Ogilbie." This was not a picture suited to the improved tastes of the day, and therefore the public would none of *Cardinal Beaton*.

Undeterred by the failure of this attempt in dramatic poetry, Tennant, in 1825, published *John Balioh*, and only added another unit to his failures. His adoption of the "toom tabard" as his hero seemed to intimate that his own wits were run out, and the poem therefore fared as its namesake had done—it was deposed and sent into oblivion. The public now wondered, and well it might, that the rich promise given in *Auster Fair* had been so poorly redeemed. What had become of that ungovernable wit that had burst its bounds, and overflowed in such profusion? A single stanza of *Rob the Kanter* was worth fifty Baliohs and Beaton's to boot. Fortu-

nately for Tennant's character as a poet, his retirement from the stage was calm and graceful. His last work, which he published in 1845, entitled *Hebrew Dramas, founded on Incidents in Bible History*, and consisting of three dramatic compositions illustrative of characters and events mentioned in the earlier part of the Old Testament, are free of the extravagance and bad taste of his former productions, while they abound in passages of poetical dignity and gracefulness. It will easily be surmised, however, from the foregoing statements, that Tennant would have ranked higher as a poet, had he abandoned poetry altogether after his first fortunate hit. It would seem as if he had either poured out all his poetical genius in this one happy attempt, or dried it up in those verbal studies that occupied him wholly to the last.

As a prose writer, Tennant, like other great masters of languages, never attained any high distinction. It would be too much, indeed, to expect from a man who has acquired a dozen or a score of tongues, that he should possess the same power over the world of thought. Accordingly, although he was a contributor to the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, his articles, which chiefly consisted of a correspondence with the Ettrick Shepherd about a new metrical version of the Psalms, do not exhibit any peculiar excellence. His prose, indeed, is as stiff and artificial as if it were a translation, leaving the reader to suspect that he could have written it every whit as well in Syriac or Hindostanee. It seemed, indeed, as if in the study of so many languages, he had partly forgot his own.

By a system of rigid economy, which his early condition had probably taught him, Tennant became proprietor of the pleasant villa of Davengrove, near Dollar, where he usually spent the summer months at the close of each college session; and there his library was his world, and his books his chief companions. There, also, his peaceful life passed away, on the 15th of October, 1848, in consequence of a cold of two years' standing, by which his constitution was exhausted.

THOM, JAMES. This wonderful self-taught sculptor, whose productions excited such general interest, was born, we believe, in Ayrshire, and in the year 1799. Such is all that we can ascertain of his early history, except the additional fact that he was brought up to the trade of a mason or stone-cutter, in which humble and laborious occupation he continued unnoticed until he started at once into fame. This was occasioned by his celebrated group of "Tam o' Shanter," where the figures of that well-known legend, as large as life, were chiselled out of the material upon which he had been accustomed to work—the Scotch gray-stone. No sooner was this singular production unveiled to the public gaze, than everyone recognized the likeness of personages who had long been familiar to their thoughts, and who were now thus strangely embodied, as if they had been recalled from the grave. Tam himself, happier than a king—the Souter in the midst of one of his queerest stories—and the "couthie" landlady supplying the materials of still further enjoyment, until it should reach its utmost, and enable "heroic Tam" to encounter and surmount the terrible witches' sabbath that was awaiting him at Alloway Kirk—all these, in feature, expression, figure, attitude, and costume, were so admirably embodied, that each seemed ready to rise up and walk; and so truthfully withal, that in each impersonation the delighted beholder saw an old acquaintance. While such was the fitness of the humblest classes for the task of

criticism, and while such was the manner in which it was expressed, the same approving feelings were uttered by those who were conversant with the highest rules of art, and conversant with the productions of ancient Greece and modern Italy. Here was evidently a kindred genius with Burns himself—one who had expressed in stone what the poet had uttered in words; and the admiration which had been exclusively reserved for the “Ayrshire ploughman,” was now shared by the Ayrshire stone-cutter, who had shown himself such an able and congenial commentator.

Thom having thus attained, by a single stride, to high celebrity, and been recognized as the Canova of humble everyday life, was not allowed to remain idle; orders for statues and groups poured in upon him, which brought him not only fame but fortune; and his productions in gray-stone, the first material in which he had wrought, and to which he still adhered, were eagerly sought, as choice ornaments for princely halls and stately classical gardens. After Mr. Thom had been for some time thus employed in London, he found it necessary to visit America, in consequence of the agent who had been commissioned to exhibit his “Tam o’ Shanter” group and that of “Old Mortality,” by the proprietors of these statues, having made no returns, either in money or report of proceedings. In this pursuit he was partially successful; and having been gratified with his reception by the Americans, he resolved to become a citizen of the United States. In his new adopted country his fame soon became as extensive as in the old, so that his chisel was in frequent demand for copies of those admirable statues upon which his fame had been established. To this, also, he joined the profession of builder and architect; and as his frugality kept pace with his industry, in the course of twelve or fourteen years of his residence in America, he acquired a comfortable competence. He died of consumption, at his lodgings in New York, on the 17th of April, 1850, at the age of fifty-one.

THOM, WILLIAM. This poet of humble life, known by the title of the weaver-poet of Inverurie, was born at Aberdeen in 1799. Even in earliest life his misfortunes, which accompanied him to its close, commenced, for while an infant his leg was crushed under the wheel of a carriage, in consequence of which he became lame. This misfortune not only unfitted him for labours requiring much personal activity or strength, but obliged him to use mechanical appliances of his own contriving for the performance of the heavier parts of handloom occupations. Being the son of a poor widow who could not afford to keep him idle at home, he was placed in a public factory where he was apprenticed for four years, and at the end of that time entered another weaving establishment, where he remained seventeen years. During his apprenticeship, he tells us he “picked up a little reading and writing,” and afterwards commenced the study of Latin; but want of time, and the necessity of supporting his mother, who was becoming frail, soon arrested his progress in classical learning. He was more successful in the study of arithmetic, of which he acquired as much proficiency as might fit him for a better situation, should such await him; in flute-playing, in which he became a tolerable proficient. Such appears to have been the whole of his education, which was chiefly acquired by his own industry; but although his opportunities of intellectual improvement were so scanty and precarious, even the little of his prose writings which he published shows considerable vigour of thought, as well as gracefulness and correctness of language.

Still, however, the opportunities of self-improvement were at a stand, and he could not emerge from the condition of a hard-working loom-weaver. At the age of thirty he married, and while his family was increasing, he, after several removals in the vain hope of bettering his circumstances, at last settled at the village of Newtyle, near Cupar-Angus, in Forfarshire.

It was here that the calamities of William Thom were to commence in earnest. When the great commercial failures in America occurred, the working of more than 6000 looms was stopped in Dundee. This calamity so sorely affected the weavers in Newtyle, that all of them who could migrate left the village, while those who had families only remained from want of the means of removal. But hard was their fate, a heavy week’s work yielding only a return of five shillings of wages. Among these sufferers were poor Thom and his family, whose condition he has thus piteously described: “Imagine a cold spring forenoon. It is eleven o’clock, but our little dwelling shows none of the signs of that time of day. The four children are still asleep. There is a bed-cover hung before the window to keep all within as much like night as possible; and the mother sits beside the beds of her children to lull them back to sleep whenever any shows an inclination to awake. For this there is a cause, for our weekly five shillings have not come as expected, and the only food in the house consists of a handful of oatmeal saved from the supper of last night. Our fuel is also exhausted. My wife and I were conversing in sunken whispers about making an attempt to cook the handful of meal, when the youngest child awoke beyond its mother’s power to hush it again to sleep, and then fell a whimpering, and finally broke out in a steady scream, which, of course, rendered it impossible any longer to keep the rest in a state of unconsciousness. Face after face spring up, each with one consent exclaiming, ‘Oh, mother, mother, gie me a piece!’ How weak a word is sorrow to apply to the feelings of myself and wife during the remainder of that dreary forenoon!”

In this state the family lingered through the spring, in the vain hope that matters would mend; and finding that their strength would soon be too exhausted for flight, Thom resolved with his wife and children to go forth either as homeless wanderers, or in quest of some other residence, and trust the while to the chances of the highway. For this purpose he pawned at Dundee the last and most valued relic of his better days, on which he raised ten shillings; and laying out four shillings on the contents of a “pack,” which his wife was to carry, and other four on second-hand books, which were to be his own stock in trade (and which proved unsaleable), he and his famished household in 1837 departed on their do-or-die pilgrimage, where a dinner, or a ditch for a grave, might be the alternative. And seldom has such a piteous quest been more pathetically detailed than in the description which he has left of it. The weather was bleak and inclement; the mother, besides having an infant at her breast, frequently had to carry the youngest boy also, while the father had to look out for their sustenance during the day, or accommodation for the night. And need it be added, that the first was both scanty and precarious, and the last often denied them? Amidst these privations the poor infant died, and the diminished family continued on their route to Errol, and afterwards to Methven, finding shelter at nights in the wretched houses of “tramps,” where wanderers of every shade of poverty and crime—the sweepings of the highway—were huddled together. Finding by the time he had reached

Methven that his peddler's wares were not in request, Thom at last humbled himself into the grade of a mendicant musician, consoling his wounded pride with the thought that Homer had sung his epics for a morsel of bread, and Goldsmith piped his way over half the Continent. His flute was accordingly disinterred from the budget, and at evening, in the outskirts of the town, he commenced his new vocation, which he found somewhat more profitable than peddling. Thus encouraged, he improved upon his scheme by wedding music to voice, and after sundry excogitations by waysides and in barns produced the following stanzas, of which he sent a printed copy into the houses before which he played:—

TO MY FLUTE.

'Tis nae to harp, to lyre, nor lute,
I ettle now to sing;
To thee alane, my lo'esome flute
This hamely strain I bring.
Oh! let us flee on memory's wing
O'er twice ten winters flee,
An try ance mair that ae sweet spring
Whilk young love breathen in thee.

Companion o' my happy then,
Wi' smilin' frien's around,
In ilka but, in ilka ben,
A couthe welcome found—
Ere yet thy master proved the wound
That ne'er gaed skaitless by;
That gies to flutes their safest sound,
To hearts their saddest sigh.

Since then, my bairns hae danced to thee,
To thee my Jean has sung;
And mony a night in guiltless glee,
Our hearty hallan rung.
But noo, wi' hardship worn and wrung,
I'll roam the world about;
For her, and for her friendless young,
Come forth, my faithful flute!

Your artless notes may win the ear
That wadna hear me speak,
And for your sake that pity spare,
My full heart couldna seek.
And whan the winter's cranreuch bleak
Drives houseless bodies in,
We'll aiblings get the ingle-check
A' for your lightsome din.

Although the wandering musician was thus elevated into a genuine bard, and the addition of poetry to his music brought him an increase of pence, Thom grew sick of what he considered to be mere beggar's work, and on reaching Aberdeen he sat down once more to the loom. Finding more profitable occupation at Inverurie, he in the following year removed to that village, where, nine months afterwards, Jean, the affectionate partner of his wanderings, died, in consequence of the fatigues and privations she had undergone. A lull in his occupation having occurred, he employed his leisure time in writing verses; and having sent a poem entitled the "Blind Boy's Pranks, No. 1," to the *Aberdeen Herald*, he was delighted to find it copied from that print into most of the newspapers in the kingdom. Still, however, he was without work, and he and his family, now reduced to their last meal, had no prospect but the house of refuge, or a fresh pilgrimage in quest of a new home, when he was gratified by a highly flattering letter from Mr. Gordon of Knockespock, a gentleman in the neighbourhood, who not only admired his poem of the "Blind Boy's Pranks," but sent him immediate relief, and undertook to patronize him. And now occurred a change sufficient to overturn a poor poet's brain. Through the kindness of Mr. Gordon William Thom was carried to London, introduced to fashionable and intellectual society as a poet of Heaven's own making, and for four months was whirled about the metropolis and other parts of England as a second Burns whom men should welcome and worship. The public was soon cured of

the temporary fever, but not so poor Thom, and although he returned to Scotland and his loom it was no longer as the man he had been. To dissipation of mind intemperate habits were added, and although he published at Aberdeen a small volume of poems entitled *Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand-loom Weaver*, it met with a neglect from which its merits might have saved it. He married a second wife, was often exposed to even worse destitution than he had previously encountered, and at last he died in great poverty in March, 1850. His wife died in the following July, and a subscription of about £250 was raised for the support of his destitute children.

Such is the brief but melancholy record of the poetical weaver of Inverurie. The flattery that aided in accomplishing his ruin can no longer assert that he was a first-rate poet, or even one of the second class. Still, his merits of themselves were considerable, and viewed in reference to his position and opportunities, were absolutely wonderful. His poetry displays an elevated and well-regulated imagination, with a happy command of language and melody of versification; and instead of aiming at themes too high for him, he confined himself to those with which he was best acquainted—the fireside virtues, and the sorrows and sufferings of the poor. His little volume of *Rhymes and Recollections* is an evidence of the power that was in him, and a promise of what in happier circumstances he might have been able to accomplish.

THOMSON, ANDREW, D.D., an eminent modern divine and leader in the national church-courts, was born at Sanquhar, in Dumfriesshire, July 11, 1779. His father, Dr. John Thomson, was originally minister of Sanquhar, afterwards of Markinch in Fife, and lastly one of the ministers of Edinburgh. In early life the subject of this memoir exhibited no indications of those singular talents which afterwards distinguished him; and he was several years at college before he discovered any predilection for that profession of which he was destined to become so great an ornament, or felt the influence of that spirit which is so necessary for its effectual exercise. The precise period when he first turned his attention to the ministry is not known; but in 1802 he was licensed to preach the gospel by the presbytery of Kelso; and on the 11th of March of the same year, was ordained minister of the parish of Sprouston: shortly after which he married, and, by a happy union, added greatly to his felicity.

Though Dr. Thomson's earlier years presented no indications of those powerful talents which raised him, in more advanced life, to a high place amongst the eminent men of his country and time, he had not long occupied the pulpit before these talents became conspicuous. During his ministry at Sprouston he was distinguished by that unbending integrity of character, that zeal in the sacred cause to which he had devoted his life, and that vigorous eloquence which procured him so high a reputation in the elevated sphere in which he was afterwards placed. Dr. Thomson now, also, began to take an active part in the business of the church-courts of which he was a member; and further aided the interests of religion by publishing a *Catechism on the Lord's Supper*, which subsequently passed through many editions, and has proved eminently beneficial and useful.

In 1808 Dr. Thomson was removed to the East Church of Perth, where he laboured assiduously and successfully till the spring of 1810, when he received a presentation from the magistrates and council of Edinburgh to the New Grayfriars' Church in that





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city. He was now in a situation where his singular talents could be fully appreciated, and where they had a field wide enough for their exercise: of these advantages he did not fail to avail himself. He applied himself to the discharge of his sacred duties with redoubled ardour, and with a vigour and activity, both of body and mind, that at once procured him an extraordinary share of public admiration. His powerful eloquence and fearless character pointed him out as no ordinary man, and made an impression on the public mind which has but few parallels in the history of ministerial labours. Indefatigable and zealous in a singular degree, he left no hour unemployed and no means untried to forward the good work in which he was engaged. He laboured incessantly; and such was the vigour and grasp of his comprehensive mind, and the versatility as well as brilliancy of his talents, that he could, at one and the same time, bring the most various and wholly different means to bear upon the one great end which he had in view—the spiritual and temporal happiness of mankind. To the discussion of every variety of subject within the sphere of his calling, he came alike prepared, and on each shed the strong light of his powerful intellect, exciting the admiration of all who heard him by his manly eloquence, and convincing most, it is to be hoped, by the force of his reasoning.

Among the other means to which Dr. Thomson had recourse to promote the interests of religion, was the publication of a periodical work entitled the *Christian Instructor*. This work he commenced, with the assistance of several of his clerical brethren, a few months after his settlement in Edinburgh; and for many years he discharged the duties of its editor, besides contributing largely to the work itself. It is almost unnecessary to add, after what has been said of Dr. Thomson, that the *Christian Instructor* is a work of singular merit, and altogether, perhaps, one of the ablest of the kind which the cause of Christianity has produced.

Dr. Thomson's literary labours were not, however, confined at this period to the *Christian Instructor*. He contributed, besides, many valuable articles to the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*; all of which are distinguished by that nervous style and accuracy of conception which so peculiarly belonged to their author.

The extraordinary merits of Dr. Thomson had early forced themselves on the public notice; but they were now become so obvious and incontestable, as to engross a very large share of the public attention, and to form a subject of its consideration. The result of this general feeling was, his appointment to St. George's Church, which took place on the 16th of June, 1814; one of the most important and dignified charges in the Church of Scotland. In this conspicuous situation he rapidly extended his reputation, and increased the number of his friends; and ultimately acquired an influence over his congregation, composed of the most influential persons in the metropolis, which few preachers have ever enjoyed. Previously to his appointment to St. George's, Dr. Thomson had not been in the habit of writing out his discourses. He trusted to the natural promptness with which his ideas presented and arranged themselves, and to the remarkable fluency of expression with which he was gifted; and these did not fail him: but he now thought it advisable, as he was to preach to a more refined class of persons, to secure more correctness for his discourses, by committing them to paper before delivering them from the pulpit. And in the pursuance of this resolution he weekly composed and wrote two sermons, and this in the midst of other avocations which alone would

have occupied all the time of any man of less bodily and mental activity than he was possessed of.

To the ordinary duties of the Sunday Dr. Thomson added the practice of catechising the young persons of his congregation, devoting to this exercise the interval between the forenoon and afternoon services. He also held week-day meetings in the church, for the purpose of instructing in the principles of religion, as they are taught in the *Shorter Catechism*; and to complete the system of moral and religious culture which his unwearying zeal had planned out, he instituted a week-day school for the benefit of those of his young parishioners whose circumstances either prevented their attending church, or rendered a greater extent of tuition necessary than he could afford to bestow on Sunday. But he did still more than merely institute this little seminary. He compiled suitable books for the different classes it comprised, and crowned the good work by acting himself as their teacher—as the teacher of the poorest and humblest of his flock.

With all this devotion to the higher and more important duties of his sacred office, Dr. Thomson did not neglect those of a minor character. Amongst these, church-music had an especial share of his attention. Together with his other rare endowments, he possessed an exquisite ear and taste for music, and not only introduced an improved psalmody into the Scottish church, but added to it several eminently beautiful compositions of his own. Admirable as Dr. Thomson was in all his relations to his flock, he was in none more so than in that of the personal friend, the soother of affliction, and the alleviator of domestic misery. His private labours of this kind were very great, and eminently successful. His presence never failed to excite a new feeling of animation, nor his words to inspire hope. To the sick and the bereaved his visits were peculiarly acceptable, for his manner and his language were kind, and soothing, and conciliating, in a remarkable degree: and although these could not always lessen pain, they never missed of reconciling the sufferer to that which was inevitable.

Besides thus faithfully and laboriously discharging the various important duties of his office, Dr. Thomson took an active part in all the church-judicatories of which he was a member. In these his singular talents and high character, as might be expected, always secured for him the first place, and at length acquired for him the distinction, conceded silently but spontaneously, of being considered the leader of the Evangelical party in the church to which he had attached himself. Amongst the other characteristics of that party, was a strong feeling of hostility to the system of patronage; and to this feeling Dr. Thomson gave utterance in the General Assembly, on several occasions, in a strain of eloquence and with a power of reasoning that will not soon be forgotten.

Although a zealous member of the Church of Scotland, and strongly attached to her institutions, Dr. Thomson's liberal and enlightened mind kept him entirely aloof from anything approaching to bigotry. With dissenters of all descriptions he maintained a friendly understanding. He made every allowance for difference of opinion on points of comparatively inferior importance; and, when he was satisfied that a genuine spirit of Christianity existed, never allowed such difference of opinion to disturb that harmony which he wisely and benevolently conceived ought to exist between those who, after all, laboured in the same vineyard, and to obtain the same end.

Ever ready to lend his powerful aid to all rational schemes for promoting the interests of religion and

extending its sacred influence, he eagerly enrolled himself amongst the supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and while that society adhered to the principles which were laid down at its institution, he continued to take a warm interest in its affairs, and laboured with tongue and pen to secure success to its efforts. On the departure, however, of this society from one of the leading conditions by which it was understood it should be regulated, namely, that the copies of the Bible which it issued should be purely scriptural, and unaccompanied by note or comment of any kind, Dr. Thomson felt himself called upon, as a minister of the gospel, not only to withdraw his support from it, but to oppose, by every means in his power, the continuance of a system so injurious to the best interests of religion. Into the well-known controversy which ensued, and which has been called "the Apocrypha Controversy," he entered with all his characteristic zeal; and so effectually employed his powerful talents during its progress, that his enemies, whatever cause they may have found for rejoicing in the issue, could find but little in the circumstance of having provoked his resentment.

The last great public effort of Dr. Thomson was in behalf of the slaves in our West India colonies; and in the prosecution of this humane and philanthropic work, he, on several occasions, made displays of oratory which have been seldom equalled, and still seldomer surpassed. He demanded immediate emancipation, and supported this demand with an eloquence and power of reasoning which were altogether overpowering.

These mighty labours and unceasing exertions in the causes of religion and philanthropy, were destined, however, to come to a premature termination. Dr. Thomson's constitution was naturally strong, and in person he was robust and athletic; but unremitting study, and incessant toil of both body and mind, had their usual effects. His health was impaired; and for some time before his death, a secret sensation gave him warning that that event would take place soon, and suddenly. The fulfilment of this melancholy anticipation took place on the 9th of February, 1831. On that day he appeared in his usual health, and went through the ordinary routine of business with his accustomed activity and energy, taking the same interest in everything that came under his consideration as he had been accustomed to do; and altogether presenting nothing, in either manner or appearance, to indicate the near approach of that catastrophe which was to deprive religion and morality of one of their ablest supports, and society of one of its brightest ornaments. Having completed the out-door business of the day, Dr. Thomson returned home about five o'clock in the afternoon, and while standing on the threshold of his own door, just previous to his entering the house, he suddenly fell down, and expired without a struggle or a groan. His remains were interred in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard; and if anything were wanting to impress those who have only read or heard of him with a full conception of the estimation in which he was held by all ranks and denominations in the metropolis, it would be found in a description of his funeral,—the most numerously attended, perhaps, that had ever been witnessed in the Scottish capital. Dr. Thomson's literary labours exhibit a long array of religious works of various descriptions, including lectures, sermons, and addresses. To these there is to be added a volume of posthumous *Sermons and Sacramental Exhortations*, published in Edinburgh in the same year in which he died, with a memoir of the author prefixed.

THOMSON, ANTHONY TODD, M.D. This distinguished medical practitioner and teacher of medical science was born at Edinburgh, on the 7th of January, 1778. His father, a Scotsman, had settled in America, and held two lucrative appointments under the British government, being postmaster-general for the province of Georgia, and collector of customs for the town of Savannah. But on the breaking out of the revolt of the transatlantic colonies, he refused to take the oath of allegiance to the American government, and was in consequence obliged to relinquish his offices and return to Edinburgh. Previous to his return Anthony was born at that city, while his mother was there upon a visit.

After the usual education of early boyhood, Anthony was enrolled a pupil in the high-school of Edinburgh, and here he formed an intimacy with Henry (afterwards Lord) Cockburn, which he continued to the end of his days. His father had intended him for a life of active business, but his own inclinations had always been for medical studies; and having obtained a clerkship in the post-office, he was enabled to gratify his wishes. At the university he attended the classes of Munro, Gregory, Black, and Dugald Stewart; and having in 1798 become a member of the Speculative Society, at that time the nursery of some of the best intellects of Scotland, he there established an acquaintanceship with Jeffrey, Horner, Brougham, and Lord Lansdowne. This combination of literary friendships and studies, with his application to the science of medicine, could not fail to produce an effect upon his subsequent career, so that while he was eminent in his own profession, he also distinguished himself in the walks of science and literature.

In 1799 Thomson became a member of the Royal Medical Society, and in the same year he graduated. Having selected London as his place of occupation, he removed thither about the year 1800, and commenced his profession as a general practitioner in Sloane Street, Chelsea. His progress at first was slow, as might have been expected in so young a physician; but he waited and persevered until occupation came, after which the tide continued without interruption to the end of his life. His course was one of active practice intermixed with extensive literary and scientific authorship, and perhaps can be best given in chronological order.

When he had been about ten years in the metropolis, and had secured a considerable practice, Dr. Todd Thomson published in 1810 his *Conspectus Pharmacopæie*. The fate of this work was not unusual in authorship. He sold the copyright of it for twenty pounds, but it has gone through fourteen editions, and was purchased by the Messrs. Longman in 1833 for £200. In 1811 he published the *London Dispensatory*, a work of great labour and research, giving a critical account of all the medicines and their compounds which were in use in Great Britain. This work was so highly valued that it has been translated into several languages, while in England it has gone through ten editions. In his extensive researches into the *materia medica*, he perceived the necessity and uses of a knowledge of botany, and having mastered this science, he delivered in London a course of lectures on the subject, and in 1821 published a first volume of his *Lectures on Botany*, a work containing many valuable observations on the structures and functions of plants—a department of the subject which has since become an important part of the study of botany. In his botanical investigations he also introduced an extensive use of the microscope, a valuable aid which his example brought into general practice in the study

of the science. In 1826 he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and commenced practice as a consulting physician.

Having so high a professional reputation both as an author and practitioner, his appointment to some correspondent office appeared so certain as only to depend upon the first that might fall vacant. This was decided by his election to the chair of *materia medica* in the newly-established London University, now the University College, in which situation he applied himself with great ardour to the subject of therapeutics, and was one of the first to introduce the new substances discovered by chemistry into medical practice. He also collected a valuable private museum of specimens of *materia medica*, which after his death the college unfortunately had not the means to purchase, so that it was unfortunately neglected, and finally dispersed. In 1832 Dr. A. T. Thomson was appointed professor of medical jurisprudence, and his lectures in this department were published in the *Lancet* in 1836-37. In 1832 he published his *Elements of Materia Medica*, a work more ample and accurate than his *London Dispensatory*, and entering more fully into the subject of therapeutics, which at the time of his death had passed through three editions. In 1839 he edited *Bateman on Cutaneous Diseases*; and until disabled by his last illness he was employed in preparing a *Practical Treatise on Diseases affecting the Skin*, a work which he did not live to finish, but which was completed and edited by Dr. Parkes.

The foregoing list of publications is still insufficient to give a full idea of the varied talents and intellectual industry of Professor Thomson. His was a life in which every day had its work, and in authorship his principal relief amidst grave professional subjects was only a transition into the lighter departments of literature, so that he was frequently a contributor, and a valued one, to the principal reviews and magazines. He translated from the French and edited a work by M. Salvarte, entitled the *Philosophy of Magic, Omens, and Apparent Miracles*, which he also largely illustrated with notes both curious and interesting. He edited an edition of Thomson's *Seasons*, to which he appended copious notes and a life of the author. He contributed many articles to the *Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine*, and was for many years editor of the *Medical Repository*. One of his last works was entitled *Domestic Management of the Sick-Room*, which has gone through several editions. In 1848, when he had now reached the general terminus of human life, the age of three-score and ten years, the health of Professor Todd Thomson first began to fail, but he still continued his lectures, although with occasional interruptions, until the following summer, when he was obliged to retire into the country. He died at Ealing, of bronchitis, on the 3d of July, 1849.

Professor Thomson was married, and happily to one whose literary tastes and habits were similar to his own, while the subjects were so different as to occasion no unpleasant collision. The contributions of Mrs. Thomson to literature were various, and occupied a considerable range. Besides being authoress of a considerable number of romances and novels, she published *Memoirs of the Court of Henry VIII.*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1826; *Memoirs of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough*, and *of the Court of Queen Anne*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1839; *Memoirs of the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1845; and *Memoirs of Viscountess Sandon, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline, Consort of George II., including Letters from the most Celebrated Persons of her Time, now first published from their Originals*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1847. Subsequently to these

she published a light, sketchy, popular work called *Recollections of Literary Characters and Celebrated Places*, 2 vols. 8vo. These were a series of articles which originally appeared in *Bentley's Miscellany* and *Fraser's Magazine*, under the signature of a "Middle-aged Man," assumed, as she informs us, "in order that by better disguising myself, I might at that time express myself the more unreservedly."

THOMSON, GEORGE. Independently of the merited reputation he acquired for his successful labours in Scottish music and song, he will go down to posterity as the "friend and correspondent of Burns." In the very brief sketch which he has given of his own life till 1838, written for the *Land of Burns*, a valuable and well-known publication, he states that he was born at Limekilns in Fife, and, as he supposes, about 1759, at least he was so informed; for at the time of writing, although touching on his eightieth year, he found himself so hale and vigorous, that, as he playfully adds, he could scarcely persuade himself that he was so old. His father was a teacher at Limekilns, and afterwards in the town of Banff; and at this latter place George was taught by his parent the elements of education, and afterwards sent to study Latin and Greek at the grammar-school. From Banff his father, who had been struggling for some time in vain for a moderate livelihood, removed to Edinburgh, and here his son, now seventeen years old, soon obtained a situation as clerk in the office of a writer to the signet. In this situation he remained till 1780, when, through the recommendation of Mr. John Home, author of the tragedy of *Douglas*, he was appointed junior clerk to the honourable Board of Trustees, and soon after, on the death of the principal clerk, he was promoted to that vacant office. Here he found himself so comfortable in worldly circumstances, and so highly esteemed by Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, the secretary of the board, and afterwards by Sir William, his son and successor, that he had no desire to risk his present happiness in search of more, and accordingly he continued in this situation until the close of his long and well-spent life. On having thus established himself in comfort, Mr. George Thomson performed what he calls the "wisest act of his life," for at the age of twenty-five he married Miss Miller, daughter of Lieutenant Miller, of the 50th Regiment, a lady who made him the happy father of two sons and four daughters.

The tastes of Thomson from an early period were those that are best qualified to foster such a happy contented spirit. He saw that there were other aims in life than that of seeking adventures, and purer pleasures to be enjoyed than that of making money. In boyhood a love of the beautiful led his heart to the study of music and painting, and these attractive pursuits he continued to cherish in the society of their ablest professors. It was a most unwanted occupation, as some can still remember, for a young lawyer's clerk in the city of Edinburgh, in the latter part of the 18th century; and in Mr. Thomson's case no small amount of devoted enthusiasm must have been required to meet the ridicule of his companions, or resist their invitations, that would have drawn him from his path. But he persevered in his own way, and soon found that the fine arts, like virtue itself, are their own reward. As one of these is generally found sufficient for the final occupation of one man, music obtained the preference, and his retrospections, in old age, of the musical evenings of his early days among those who were of kindred spirit with himself, in some measure serve to redeem even the Edinburgh of that period from its notorious

grossness. "Having studied the violin," he tells us, "it was my custom, after the hours of business, to con over our Scottish melodies, and to devour the choruses of Handel's oratorios, in which, when performed at St. Cecilia's Hall, I generally took a part, along with a few other gentlemen—Mr. Alexander Wight, one of the most eminent counsel at the bar; Mr. Gilbert Innes, of Stow; Mr. John Russel, W.S.; Mr. John Hutton, &c.—it being then not uncommon for grave amateurs to assist at the Cecilia concerts, one of the most interesting and liberal musical institutions that ever existed in Scotland, or, indeed, in any country. I had so much delight in singing those matchless choruses, and in practising the violin quartettos of Pleyel and Haydn, that it was with joy I hailed the hour when, like the young amateur in the good old Scotch song, I could hie me hame to my Cremona, and enjoy Haydn's admirable fancies:—

"I still was pleas'd, where'er I went; and when I was alone
I screw'd my pegs, and pleas'd myself with John o' Baden-
yon."

Although music was his recreation, not his profession, George Thomson could not long content himself with being merely a musical dilettante. Like Burns, he resolved to do something for "puir auld Scotland's sake," in the way that nature and training had best qualified him. Might he not make a national collection of our best melodies and songs, and obtain for them suitable accompaniments? With this patriotic ambition he was inspired by the arrival of that celebrated *musico*, Signor Tenducci, into Scotland—the first *man* of his kind, be it observed, who had ever visited the country, and who brought to Scottish ears a style of singing of which they previously could have little or no conception. The enterprise which Mr. Thomson thus contemplated was one of the most daring and self-denying description. There was the toil of collecting, arranging, and improving to be undergone; there was the expense of publishing such a costly work to be encountered. If it succeeded, there was no hope of profit to be obtained from it, or at least of profit adequate to the toil; and if it failed, he was certain to be buried in the ruin of the downfall, amidst the jeers of those who would wonder that a lawyer should have embarked in such an undertaking. But it was now the great business of his life, and he was ready to stake life itself upon the issue.

At the very commencement of his labour he was confronted by difficulties under which most persons would have succumbed. "On examining with great attention," he says, "the various collections on which I could by any means lay my hands, I found them all more or less exceptionable; a sad mixture of good and evil, the pure and the impure. The melodies in general were without any symphonies to introduce and conclude them; and the accompaniments (for the piano only) meagre and common-place; while the verses united with the melodies were, in a great many instances, coarse and vulgar, the productions of a rude age, and such as could not be tolerated or sung in good society." He first obtained the melodies themselves, both in print and manuscript, and after comparing copies, and hearing them sung by his fair friends, he selected the copy which he found the most simple and beautiful. His next work was to obtain accompaniments to these airs, and symphonies to introduce and conclude them; and for this purpose he applied to Pleyel, at that time at the height of his musical popularity. As the collection grew upon his hands, Thomson found that more extensive aid than that of Pleyel was necessary, and

accordingly, after dividing the numerous airs which he thought worthy of preservation into different portions, he transmitted them to Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, Hummel, and other musicians, at that time the most distinguished in Europe, to whom his commission was a welcome one—for they at once appreciated the beauties of our national melodies, at that time little known beyond the boundary of the Tweed, and composed for them such rich original accompaniments, as have imparted to them all the superiority as well as permanence of an established classical music. It was, indeed, a glorious achievement that made such lifts as the "Broom of the Cowdenknows," "O'er the Muir among the Heather," or "Logan Water," become almost as much at home on the banks of the Seine, the Rhine, or the Dnieper, as they had hitherto been among their native streamlets. From the Grampians to the Himalayas every mountain was thenceforth to re-echo with the music of Scotland.

The poetry, which was the last, was also the greatest of Thomson's difficulties. It was needful that the music, now so beautified and adorned, should be "married to immortal verse;" but where was he to find the Cupid of such a Psyche? Some, indeed, of the old songs were everyway worthy of the music in which they were embodied; but these were so few, that while of the Scottish muse it was too justly said,

"High-kilted was she
As she gaed o'er the sea,"

our worthy countryman felt that in such a trim she could not be allowed to go inland, to provoke the scoff and merriment of proud conceited foreigners. But the hour brought the man—the soul of Scottish song to the body of Scottish melody—the Promethean fire to the beautifully modelled clay. Burns was living, for whose poetry no loveliness or grandeur of music could be too much; and when Thomson, in a happy hour, applied to him for co-operation, and unfolded to him the nature of his work, the great bard threw himself into the undertaking with all his characteristic enthusiasm. It needed but this to make the work perfect, for when has the world ever seen such a song-maker? It needed also a noble occasion like this to make Burns put forth his uttermost, and surpass all that he had as yet accomplished, for by far the choicest of his poetry is certainly to be found in Thomson's collection. The correspondence between the musical lawyer and the poetical ploughman, which extended from 1792 till the death of the latter in 1796, while it is full of wit, vivacity, and hearty patriotic ardour in the good work in which they were engaged, reflects high credit not only upon the critical taste and vigorous intellect of George Thomson, but also upon his affectionate feelings and honourable upright disposition. It is the more necessary to announce this fact, as, after the death of Burns, certain anonymous biographers presumed to state that Thomson, after securing the services of the poet to a large extent, had churlishly and unjustly refused to requite them. A single glance at the correspondence between them, which was published by Dr. Currie, is sufficient to refute this odious calumny, independently of the subsequent attestations of Thomson himself. It will there be seen that the latter, although engaged in so precarious and costly an undertaking, invited the assistance of the bard with offers of a fair remuneration; and that although Burns gladly embarked in the enterprise, he studiously stipulated that his contributions should be accepted gratuitously, or not at all. It will also be seen that after some time Thomson,

impatient at receiving such rich donations without requital, ventured, in the most delicate manner, to transmit to the poet a sum of money, at which the latter was so indignant that he vowed, if the offence was repeated, he would drop the correspondence at once and for ever. It is well known that Burns entertained, among his other peculiarities, such lofty notions of independence as would have stopped all reciprocity in the interchange of favours, and thrown an impassable gulf between giver and receiver, or even debtor and creditor. He would bestow, and that largely and freely, but he would not for an instant stoop to receive; his songs must be considered as either beyond price or not worth purchase. Had he lived in the present day, when genius and poetical inspiration are as marketable as the commodities in the bakehouse or shambles upon which they are nourished; and had he seen, not starveling threadbare authors, but high-born dames and mighty earls, haggling about the price of their productions, and sticking upon a few shillings more or less per sheet, against the calculating and demurring publisher; he would have learned that even poetry has its price, and that a Milton himself might exact it to the last doit, without derogation of his dignity.

Of these matchless contributions which Burns submitted to Thomson, it is enough to state, that during the course of four short years they amounted to more than 120. He also fully empowered Mr. Thomson to make use of all the songs he had written for Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*. But during the lifetime of Burns only six of his productions appeared in Thomson's collection. On the death of the poet, Mr. Thomson, had he been avaricious, might have turned the rich contributions which he had on hand to his own account, by publishing them as a separate work; for they had been unreservedly given to him, and were his own unquestionable property. But on learning that the poetical works of his friend were about to be republished in behalf of the poet's family, he transmitted the whole of these contributions to Dr. Currie, as well as the correspondence, by which the value of the publication was immeasurably enhanced, and ample profits realized for the bereaved survivors. Little indeed did Burns imagine that such a controversy would ever have been raised; and still less would he have thanked the ill-advised zeal of those who endeavoured to heighten the public sympathy in behalf of his memory by traducing the character of a man whom he had so highly and justly esteemed.

After the completion of his great national work, little remains in the life of George Thomson that is of public interest. He left the Trustees' office in 1838, after a long course of usefulness in that department; and on the September of that year he went to London, where he took up his residence, and afterwards to Brighton. In June, 1845, he returned to Edinburgh, and three years afterwards went again to the British metropolis; but after little more than a year of residence there, he came back at the close of 1849 to the city in which all his early affections were enshrined. He was now so old that it seemed as if the day of his death could not be distant; and as he trod the streets of Edinburgh, now one of the oldest of its inhabitants, he must have felt that this was no longer the world in which he had once lived. But still his cheerfulness was unbroken, and his enjoyment of happiness undiminished, and his letters of this period, written in the regular formal text-like hand of our great grandfathers, are as juvenile and buoyant as his productions of a former century. In this way the "time-honoured" lived till the 16th of February, 1853, when he was gathered to his fathers

after a few days' illness, and with a gentle departure, in which he suffered little pain, and enjoyed the full possession of all his faculties to the last. Independently of his invaluable services to Scottish song, his name will go down to posterity from being associated with that of Burns, whose memory ages will continue to cherish.

THOMSON, JAMES, a celebrated poet, was born September 11, 1700, at Ednam, near Kelso, of which parish his father was minister. Beatrix Trotter, the mother of the poet, was daughter and co-heiress of a small portion of land at Foggo, in Berwickshire, and is described as having been a woman of "a singular fervour of imagination," at the same time that she shone in the domestic and social virtues. The difficulty with which his father supported his family, having nine children, occasioned his removal, in the early childhood of the poet, to the parish of Southdean, in the presbytery of Jedburgh, where the stipend, though not large, was somewhat better than that which he had enjoyed at Ednam. The change was from a low and beautifully ornamented part of the country, and the close neighbourhood of a considerable market-town, to an elevated pastoral district, enlivened only by the slender waters of the Jed, and frequented by few except the lonely angler. In the churchyard of Southdean may yet be seen the humble monument of the father of the poet, with the inscription almost obliterated. The manse in which that individual reared his large family, of whom one was to become so illustrious, was what would now be described as a small thatched cottage.¹ The poet received the rudiments of his education at the school of Jedburgh, and was not distinguished among his youthful companions by remarkable superiority of parts. He was still, however, very young when his talents for writing verses attracted the attention of several respectable individuals in that part of the country. Mr. Riccarton, minister of the neighbouring parish of Hobkirk, and a man of taste and learning, observed and encouraged this talent; and young Thomson was occasionally invited, on account of his promising abilities, to spend his vacations at the country seats of Sir William Bennet of Chesters, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and Lord Cranstoun. He was so little pleased, however, with the poetry he produced at this early period, that on every new-year's day he burned all that he had composed during the foregoing year. At a proper age he was sent to the university of Edinburgh. According to tradition, a servant of his father conducted him to the capital, seated behind himself on horseback; but such was his reluctance to forsake the country, that he had no sooner been left to himself in the city, than he set out on foot for home, and was back at his father's manse (between fifty and sixty miles distant) as soon as the man and the horse. When his parents remonstrated with him respecting this disobedient conduct, he passionately observed that "he could study as well on the haughs of Sou'den [so Southdean is commonly pronounced] as in Edinburgh."² He was, nevertheless, prevailed upon to commence a course of study in Edinburgh.

In the second year of his attendance at the university, his studies were interrupted by the sudden death of his father. He was summoned home to receive his parent's dying benediction, but came too late. This circumstance contributed to increase his sorrow, and his filial piety was expressed on this mournful

¹ Information supplied by Mr. Richmond, formerly minister of Southdean.

² The editor is obliged for this curious anecdote to Mr. Richmond.

occasion in instances of conduct which his surviving relations afterwards delighted to recollect.

His mother now realized as much as she could from her own little inheritance, and removed with her family to Edinburgh, in order to give them what persons of her rank in Scotland generally consider as the best of all endowments—a good education. James recommenced his studies, and with some reluctance was induced by his friends to enter upon a course of divinity, with the view of applying his talents to the church. After the usual attendance on the professor of theology, he delivered a probationary exercise in the hall; but his diction was so poetically splendid that the professor reproved him for using language unintelligible to a popular audience; which so disgusted him with his theological pursuits that he seems to have, soon after this event, resolved to abandon them. He had already contributed to a poetical volume entitled the *Edinburgh Miscellany*, which was compiled by a society of young aspirants in verse who were attending the college, and among whom was David Mallet. About the same time he acted as tutor to Lord Binning—the son of the sixth Earl of Haddington, and himself a poet; to whom he had probably been introduced by his mother's friend, Lady Grizel Baillie, mother-in-law to his lordship, and whose *Memoirs* possess so much tender interest; who, finding him unlikely to do well in any other pursuit, advised him to try his fortune in London as a poet, and promised him some countenance and assistance. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1725, he took leave of his mother, whom he was never more to behold, and proceeded by sea to London, carrying with him little besides his poem of "Winter." On arriving in the metropolis, he found his way to his college friend Mallet, who then acted as preceptor to the two sons of the Duke of Montrose; he also sought out Mr. Duncan Forbes, afterwards president of the Court of Session, who, having conceived a favourable opinion of his talents in Scotland, was now disposed to promote his views by all means in his power. He was at first in considerable difficulties for the means of subsistence, and is found writing to an ancient friend of his family, the minister of Ancrum, for the loan of twelve pounds, in order to pay off some little debts he had contracted since his arrival in the metropolis, and to procure necessities till he should raise something by the sale of his deceased mother's lands of Whitehope. By the friendly intervention of Mallet, a bookseller named Millar was induced to buy "Winter" at a low price, and it was accordingly published in 1726, with a dedication to Sir Spencer Compton, and several commendatory verses by his friends. Though unnoticed for some time, it gradually attained that estimation which it has ever since maintained, and soon procured for the author the friendship of all the men then distinguished in literature. His acquaintance was sought by Dr. Rundle, afterwards Bishop of Derry, who recommended him to the Lord-chancellor Talbot. In 1727 he published another of his *Seasons*, "Summer," which he at first proposed dedicating to Lord Binning, but eventually, by the disinterested advice of that nobleman, inscribed to Mr. Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, whom Binning thought likely to advance his interest. The same year he gave to the public two more of his productions: *A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton*, who died in that year; and *Britannia*, a poetical invective against the ministry, whom the nation then thought not forward enough in resenting the depredations of the Spaniards. His "Spring," published in 1728, and addressed to the Countess of Hertford, afterwards Duchess of

Somerset, procured him an invitation to pass a summer at Lord Hertford's country-seat. The *Seasons* were not completed by the addition of "Autumn" till 1730, when he published his poems collectively. "Autumn" was addressed to Mr. Onslow.

In the same year he brought upon the stage, at Drury Lane, his tragedy of *Sophonisba*, which raised such expectation that every rehearsal was dignified with a splendid audience, collected to anticipate the delight that was preparing for the public. It was observed, however, that nobody was affected, and that the company rose as from a moral lecture. It was one of the many proofs that dramatic genius is a very different thing from the power of putting in dialogue fine sentiment and poetical description. Not long afterwards, the recommendation of Dr. Rundle caused him to be selected as the travelling associate of the Honourable Mr. Talbot, eldest son of the chancellor, with whom he visited most of the courts and countries of the European continent. Such an opportunity could not fail to be a source of much improvement to one whose mind was well prepared for the observation of the different forms of society, and appearances in external nature. The idea of his poem on *Liberty* suggested itself to him during this tour, and after his return he employed nearly two years in its completion. He was now enabled to pursue his studies at leisure, having been remunerated for his attendance on Mr. Talbot by the place of secretary of the briefs, which was nearly a sinecure. His poem *Liberty* at length appeared, being inscribed to Frederick Prince of Wales, and opening with an affectionate tribute to the memory of Mr. Talbot, who had died during his journey with the poet. Thomson congratulated himself upon this work as the noblest effort of his mind; but it was received with coldness by the public, and has never been so generally read as the rest of his compositions. In reality, a long historical piece in blank-verse, the incidents of which were taken from common reading, was not very likely to prove attractive.

The lord-chancellor soon after died, and Thomson having neglected to apply for a renewal of his place, it was bestowed by the succeeding judge, Lord Hardwicke, upon another. The poet was therefore reduced once more to a dependence on his talents for support. It is creditable to him that while in this painful situation he showed, in his letters to a friend in Edinburgh, an affectionate anxiety to assist the narrow circumstances of his sisters Jean and Elizabeth, who then lived with Mr. Gusthart, one of the ministers of the city. He was introduced, about this time, by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lyttleton to the Prince of Wales; and being questioned as to the state of his affairs, he answered, "that they were in a more poetical posture than formerly;" which induced the prince to bestow upon him a pension of £100 a year.

In 1738 his second tragedy, entitled *Agamemnon*, was brought upon the stage at Drury Lane. Pope, who had favoured the author when in Italy with a poetical epistle, countenanced the performance on the first night by his presence; and was received in the house with a general clap. It had the fate of most mythological pieces, and was only endured, not favoured. The reception it met with is said to have thrown the author into such a copious perspiration that he found it necessary to change his wig before he could join a party of friends at supper. Another tragedy which he offered to the theatre was *Edward and Eleonora*; but it was prevented from appearing by the lord-chamberlain, on account of its political complexion. In 1740 he wrote, in conjunction with Mallet, the *Masque of Alfred*, which

was performed before the Prince of Wales, at Cliefden House, on the birth-day of the Princess Augusta. In this piece was introduced the song, "Rule Britannia," which has ever since maintained so high a popularity. It is understood to be the composition of Thomson.¹

The most successful of his dramatic compositions, *Tancred and Sigismunda*, was brought out at Drury Lane in 1745: it is still occasionally acted. His poem entitled the *Castle of Indolence*, which had been several years under his polishing hand, and which is perhaps the most perfect and pleasing of all his compositions, was published in 1746. His friend Lord Lyttleton was now in power, and procured him the place of surveyor-general of the Leeward Islands; from which, when his deputy was paid, he received about £300 a year. He did not live long to enjoy this state of comparative independence. He was in the habit of walking from London to his house at Richmond for the sake of exercise. One evening, after he had proceeded a certain distance, being fearful that he would be too late, he took a boat for the remainder of the way, not observing that the dews of the evening, and the cold air of the river, were dangerous to a person whose pores were opened by the perspiration of a hasty walk. The cold which he caught on this occasion terminated in a fever, which carried him off, August 27, 1748, when he had nearly completed the forty-eighth year of his age. He was buried under a plain stone in Richmond Church, where the Earl of Buchan, forty years afterwards, erected a tablet to his memory. A monument, however, had been raised to him at an earlier period in Westminster Abbey. The poet left a tragedy entitled *Coriolanus*, which was brought upon the stage at Covent Garden, in 1749, and realized a considerable sum for the benefit of his relations.

It is as a descriptive poet that Thomson has gained a permanent fame; for all his compositions, except of that kind, have sunk into comparative neglect. His *Seasons* has now kept its place amongst the poetical classics of England for upwards of a century; and still there is no perceptible tendency to decline in its popularity. In reference to this poem Dr. Johnson has written as follows; and no further criticism seems to be necessary:—"As a writer, Thomson is entitled to one praise of the highest kind—his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, is original. His blank-verse is no more the blank-verse of Milton, or of any other poet, than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and he always thinks as a man of genius: he looks round on nature and on life with the eye which nature only bestows on a poet, the eye that distinguishes, in everything presented to its view, whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained, and with a mind that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of the *Seasons* wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shows him, and that he never yet felt what Thomson impresses. His descriptions of extended scenes and general effects bring before us the whole magnificence of nature, whether pleasing or dreadful. The gaiety of spring, the splendour of summer, the tranquillity of autumn, and the horrors of winter, take in their

turns possession of the mind. The poet leads us through the appearances of things as they are successively varied by the vicissitudes of the year; and imparts to us so much of his own enthusiasm, that our thoughts expand with his imagery, and kindle with his sentiments. Nor is the naturalist without his share in the entertainment; for he is assisted to recollect and to combine, to arrange his discoveries, and to amplify the sphere of his contemplation."

"Thomson," says Dr. Aikin, "was in person large and ungainly, with a heavy unanimated countenance, and nothing in his appearance or manner in mixed society indicating the man of genius or refinement. He was, however, easy and cheerful with select friends, by whom he was singularly beloved for the kindness of his heart, and his freedom from all the little malignant passions which too often debase the literary character. His benevolence is said to be more ardent than active, for indolence was extremely prevalent in his nature; and though he would readily give to the utmost of his ability, he could not overcome his reluctance to exert himself in doing services. He was fond of indulgences of every kind, and was more attached to the grosser pleasures of sense than the sentimental delicacy of his writings would lead a reader to suppose: but this is a common failing. No poet has deserved more praise for the moral tenor of his works. Undoubted philanthropy, enlarged ideas of the dignity of man, and of his rights; love of virtue, public and private, and of a devotional spirit, narrowed by no views of sect or party, give soul to his verse when not merely descriptive: and no one can rise from the perusal of his pages without melioration of his principles or feelings."

The remark here made as to the attachment of Thomson "to the grosser pleasures of sense" demands some comment. The purity of his writings has been celebrated by Lord Lyttleton, and generally allowed by the world; and excepting the above remark, which is to be traced to the report of Savage to Dr. Johnson, and has not been generally credited, no charge was for a long period laid against the private character of the poet.

In a work published in 1832, under the title of *Records of my Life*, a posthumous autobiography of Mr. John Taylor, the author of the humorous poem of *Monsieur Tonson*, a curious tale is related on the authority of Mr. George Chalmers. "Mr. Chalmers," says Taylor, "had heard that an old housekeeper of Thomson's was alive, and still resided at Richmond. Having determined to write a life of the celebrated poet of his country, he went to Richmond, thinking it possible he might obtain some account of the domestic habits of the poet, and other anecdotes which might impart interest and novelty to his narration. He found that the old housekeeper had a good memory, and was of a communicative turn. She informed him Thomson had been actually married in early life, but that his wife had been taken by him merely for her person, and was so little calculated to be introduced to his great friends, or indeed his friends in general, that he had kept her in a state of obscurity for many years; and when he at last, from some compunctious feelings, required her to come and live with him at Richmond, he still kept her in the same secluded state, so that she appeared to be only one of the old domestics of the family. At length his wife, experiencing little of the attention of a husband, though otherwise provided with everything that could make her easy, if not comfortable, asked his permission to go for a few weeks to visit her own relations in the north. Thomson gave his consent, exacting a promise that she

¹ It appears from the letters published by the Earl of Buchan, that Thomson at this time rented a house at the upper end of Kew Lane; and that the Amanda whom he so frequently celebrated in his verses, was a Miss Young, sister of Mrs. Robertson, wife of the surgeon to the household at Kew.

would not reveal her real situation to any of his or her own family. She agreed; but when she had advanced no farther on her journey than to London she was there taken ill, and in a short time died. The news of her death was immediately conveyed to Thomson, who ordered a decent funeral; and she was buried, as the old housekeeper said, in the churchyard of old Marylebone Church. Mr. Chalmers, who was indefatigable in his inquiries, was not satisfied with the old woman's information, but immediately went and examined the church register; where he found the following entry—"Died, Mary Thomson, a stranger"—in confirmation of the housekeeper's testimony."

There is little, perhaps, in this story to invalidate the commonly received notions as to the worth of Thomson's character; though, allowing it to be true, it certainly is not calculated to elevate him in the estimation of the world. The present writer has, of course, no wish to degrade any of the eminent names of the past; but he thinks it worth while, by way of correcting a piece of literary history, to mention that the Earl of Buchan possessed a poem in Thomson's handwriting, and bearing all the erasures, interpolations, and other peculiarities that could mark the composition as his own, which displayed a marked degree of licentiousness. He has therefore been satisfied that Thomson, though he had the good sense to publish nothing of an impure character, was not incapable of delighting in gross ideas, and composing lines

"——— which dying, he could wish to blot."

THOMSON, REV. JAMES, D.D. This excellent country clergyman, and talented scholar and writer, was born at Crief in Perthshire, in May, 1768. He was the second son of John Thomson and Elizabeth Ewan. His father had been in the wool business; but being unsuccessful he was finally obliged to retire upon a scanty income, which, however, was dutifully augmented by his sons, who among other uses, were thus enabled to turn their superior education to a good account. In his early life James attended the parish school, where he was trained in the usual branches of an English education, accompanied with a tincture of Latin; but the teacher was not only a wrong-headed pedant but an indiscriminate flogger—and one proof of this was the infliction of a severe scourging upon the unlucky James, for accentuating the word "deponent" upon the second syllable instead of the first, as it had issued from the infallible lips of the pedagogue. It took the youth no little labour, after he had left the school, to get rid of the blunders engrafted on his education by such a preceptor.

At the age of sixteen Mr. James Thomson became a student of the university of Edinburgh, and the diligence with which he prosecuted his studies quickly won for him the regards of Professors Hardie and Finlayson, the latter of whom was distinguished by his kindness to deserving young men in the course of their college career. On completing the course prescribed by the laws of the church, James Thomson was licensed to preach, and frequently officiated as assistant to his uncle, the Rev. John Ewan, minister of Whittingham in East Lothian. While thus employed in that county he frequently met with John Home, the author of the tragedy of *Douglas*, in company with Anderson of Whitburgh, and the latter sometimes joked with the poet at his having been a prisoner in the army of the Pretender. There was a tender part, however, in Anderson's history, which afforded a good mark for reprisals. He had been in the "forty-five" a supporter of Prince Charles, and

after the defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden was obliged to betake himself to hidings. While skulking about in this obscure fashion he was apprehended on the suspicion of robbing the mail; and on being carried to prison the jail-birds gathered round him, and asked if he had been committed for high treason—not supposing it possible that one of so respectable an appearance could have condescended to the ordinary crimes of highway robbery or burglary.

When an edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was passing through the press, Mr. James Thomson in 1795 became colleague in the editorship with Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Gleig, in consequence of the vacancy left by the retirement of Bishop Walker from the office. It was a charge well suited to try the abilities of a young man who had only reached the age of twenty-seven. While he was connected with this great national publication he wrote the articles "Thomas Ruddiman," "Scripture," "Septuagint," "Spectre," "Suicide," "Superstition," "Thrashing," "Water," which were all composed in the year 1796. Of these articles, that of "Scripture" was judged so important, that it was republished in several of the subsequent editions, until a wider acquaintance with the science of theology superseded it by a new treatise. Thomson's article, for the day at least, was a very valuable *résumé* of the history of the peculiarities and sources of the books of the Old and New Testaments, and an excellent foundation for the Christian's faith in their authenticity and authority. While editing the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he had a free house, with coal and candle, and £50 a year of regular salary, besides an allowance of £3, 3s. per sheet for the articles of his own writing—but this last was a remuneration which he never claimed. The house which he occupied was the most northerly on the east of the Advocate's Close, the windows looking to the new town. While he was thus supporting himself by literature, until he should change the nominal condition of a probationer for the practical status of a parish minister, Mr. Thomson also edited an edition of the *Spectator*, with biographies prefixed to the contributions of the principal authors; and these biographies are still retained in many reprints of the work. He also wrote a work in 1799 entitled *The Rise, Progress, and Consequences of the New Opinions and Principles lately Introduced into France*, 8vo, a volume which from the time and the paramount importance of the subject, as well as the ability with which it was treated, obtained an extensive sale.

Having become tutor to Stirling of Kippendavie, Mr. Thomson resigned his share in the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to his brother Thomas, afterwards Dr. Thomas Thomson, the renowned chemist and professor of chemistry in the university of Glasgow. James, after teaching the boy Latin and arithmetic, had sent him to the grammar-school of Stirling, at that time taught by the distinguished Dr. Doig, author of *Letters on the Savage State*, and opponent of Lord Kames. When the question of school fees was to be settled, Dr. Doig was referred to the elder brother, James, as the person from whom payment was to be obtained; but the generous teacher declared that he would rather wait until Thomas himself had entered into public life, when he was certain to be repaid—a hope which was by no means disappointed. While James resided in Edinburgh, employed in the study of theology and engaged in literary employment, he also attended the medical classes at college; and when the alarms occasioned by the French revolution had culminated in the fear of an invasion, he became a volunteer, and regularly

attended his military duties. It was one of those outbursts of national enthusiasm which occasionally enlist strange recruits into the ranks of soldier citizens. Of one of these Mr. Thomson related an amusing anecdote. The gallant volunteer in question was Dr. Gregory, who belonged to his own corps, but the philosopher was so awkward in the simplest parts of military exercise that Sergeant Gould lost all patience with him, and advised that as he never could be a soldier, he should therefore be made an officer. One day the doctor asked the matter-of-fact sergeant why the left leg was always lifted first in marching? "Because," exclaimed the other in a blaze of loyalty, "because it is his majesty's orders." According to the creed of the day no man had a right to be on the parade-ground who could demur at such a reason. At this time the subject of the present memoir was a member of the Forenoon or Saturday Select Theological Society, and acted as its secretary. He was also a member of the Select Society for General Subjects, which consisted of six gentlemen who afterwards exercised a considerable influence upon the progress of science and literature: these were Dr. John Barclay, Dr. Miller, Mr. James Mill the future historian of India, a gentleman who was afterwards minister of Carlisle, and James and Thomas Thomson. It was by the advice of the latter gentleman, who had commenced as lecturer on chemistry in Edinburgh, that James Mill in the beginning of 1802 was persuaded to try the hazardous career of a life of literature in London, although unpatronized and a stranger, and the new character which the change imparted is worth noticing in a biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen. After he had been a few days in the metropolis he thus expressed his feelings in a letter to Dr. Thomas Thomson: "I am extremely ambitious to remain here, which I feel to be so much the best scene for a man of letters, that you can have no notion of it till you be upon the spot. You get an ardour and a spirit of adventurousness which you never can get an idea of among our over-cautious countrymen at home. Here everybody applauds the most romantic scheme you can form. In Scotland everybody represses you if you but propose to step out of the beaten track." Having thus lauded the adventurous spirit imparted to a Scottish heart by a residence of even a few weeks or days in London, James Mill brings the subject to a practical bearing in the following manner: "On the idea of remaining here, I have even formed schemes for you and me already. If you were here, and we had made to ourselves something of a name, which I think we surely might do, what would hinder us to produce a periodical work of our own, of any description we might approve? I am sure we might make it more interesting than anything which is published at present, and the profits of these things, when they have a quick sale, are immense." Dr. Thomson was not likely to yield to such allurements, and he preferred to remain in Scotland: he furnished, however, a letter which introduced Mr. Mill to Dr. Gifford of the *Quarterly*. The result of Mill's enterprising spirit was, that he started the proposed periodical so early as the beginning of the following year, under the title of the "*Literary Journal*, a Review of Literature, Science, Manners, and Politics," which was published weekly at the price of one shilling; and while Mill was the editor and wrote the political and general articles, the scientific part was managed by Dr. Thomas Thomson, and the philosophy of mind and literature by Mr. James Thomson. The editor's satisfaction with the performances of James was thus expressed in a letter to the great chemist: "I am

happy you have got so good a hand to execute our article 'Literature' as your brother, and hope he will not be sparing in his communications. I wish, however, that he would not confine his review to the philosophy of mind, but embrace the whole of the subjects belonging to that article. I do fear the capability of our labourers here." Mr. J. Thomson's first article, entitled the "Philosophy of the Mind," appeared on the 20th of January, 1803, and is thus analyzed by his biographer: "It is characterized by a clear and transparent style, well worthy of being studied by our metaphysical students of the present day, who too frequently cultivate the mystic phraseology without the depth of true philosophy. In this paper he classifies everything belonging to the human mind into two great parts, 1. The powers of thinking, which are generally attended with belief; and, 2. The desires which prompt to action in order to accomplish some end. The first he states had hitherto received no name, and he proposes to term it intellectual philosophy, while the second comprehends moral philosophy."

After continuing his contributions to the *Literary Journal* until 1805, Mr. James Thomson was presented by the crown to the parish of Eccles. His season of probationership had been a long one, but instead of dreaming away its years in fruitless expectation, or repining discontent, he had filled them up with an active, useful, and honourable life of literary labour; and on becoming a minister he threw himself as earnestly into his sacred duties as if he had never been employed in literature, or won for himself a name in it. His studies were now chiefly confined to the Bible and the languages in which it was originally written; and thus he continued for nearly half a century in the investigation of Scripture in its Hebrew and Greek originals, instead of satisfying himself with the interpretations and glosses of commentators. His practice, we are told, "was to rise early in the morning, and master a certain amount of Old Testament Hebrew, and with regard to the New Testament, some years before his death he had completed a translation of the whole of it." Nor was this labour undergone to satisfy a mere literary curiosity, or allowed to remain an inert mass: it was to benefit the souls of his parishioners that he studied, and the profound and new ideas with which he enlightened them were expressed in such clear and simple language that they were unaware of their originality. In the earlier years of his ministry he had been in the practice merely of making notes of the sermons on which he preached; but, latterly, he wrote them out carefully and *in extenso*; and when he obtained an assistant and successor, he employed himself from his eightieth to his eighty-seventh year in revising and rewriting them, many of which in this their finished state he published at great personal expense, in his three volumes on the Gospel of St. Luke, and his volume on the Acts of the Apostles. It is enough to add, that these productions reflected honour in their day upon the theology of Scotland. In 1842 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the university of St. Andrews, and in the same year he was presented with a testimonial of a splendid silver urn by the landowners and parishioners of Eccles. After a long life devoted to his parochial duties and the interests of religion at large, and endeared to all who knew him as the model of a Christian minister and gentleman, Dr. Thomson, in the eightieth year of his age (1847), went to live in Edinburgh, where he remained till 1854, after which he resided with his eldest son in London, where he died on the 28th of December, 1855, in the eighty-eighth year of his age and fifty-first of his ministry.

In 1805 Dr. Thomson married the eldest daughter of Captain James Skene of Aberdeen, second son of George Skene, Esq., of Skene, and with her he lived happily until she died in 1851, being the last of the name of that ancient family in the direct line, and the hereditary estates devolved into the possession of the Earl of Fife, her uncle's grandson. Dr. Thomson had the satisfaction of living to see his family in useful and distinguished offices. The eldest son, Dr. R. D. Thomson, was professor of chemistry at St. Thomas' Hospital, London, and his nephew, Dr. Thomas Thomson, was superintendent of the East India Company's Botanic Gardens at Calcutta, while his second son, James Thomson, Esq., was appointed chairman of the Government Bank of Madras. The following obituary, which appeared in the Scottish newspapers, gave a just sketch of the venerable doctor:—

“The Rev. Dr. Thomson, minister of the parish of Eccles, whose death, at the venerable age of eighty-seven, we announced on Saturday last, was the author of several works of merit. Besides the articles ‘Scripture,’ ‘Superstition,’ and others which he contributed to the earlier editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he published, within the last few years, three volumes of lectures on St. Luke, and quite recently a volume of lectures on the Acts of the Apostles. . . . Like all Dr. Thomson's writings, they are distinguished by their good sense, simple language, their useful and practical tendency. Dr. Thomson was universally respected and beloved by all who knew him. To a clear and vigorous understanding he added an affectionate heart, and a calmness and placidity of temper not always found in combination with this quality. He was an ardent student, particularly of the Scriptures, with which he had attained to a great acquaintance, and which he regarded with a profound veneration. In the same degree he felt a repugnance to all human dogmas when set up as authorities in religion. Few men, probably, have studied the Sacred Volume with more earnestness, or with greater candour or singleness of aim. Dr. Thomson had great powers of conversation, and was a delightful companion even to the last. He retained much of that politeness which distinguished a bygone generation. He took great delight in witnessing the advancement of knowledge, particularly of biblical knowledge; and he often expressed regret that he should not live to see the vast improvement which it would produce upon the minds and lives of men. But his most striking characteristics, perhaps, were the generous tolerance of his temper and the liberality of his sentiments. Nothing appeared to him more repugnant to Christianity than that bigotry and narrow-minded dogmatism which have been so often claimed as genuine exhalations of its spirit. On the whole, there will be no difference of opinion among those who knew him—that Dr. Thomson was an able, an honest, and a good man. Such clergymen are the best ornaments and the strongest pillars of the churches to which they belong.”

THOMSON, REV. JOHN. The title of the Scottish Claude Lorraine which this reverend candidate for distinction acquired, at once announces the walk in which he excelled, and the progress he attained in it. He was born in Dailly, Ayrshire, on the 1st of September, 1778, and was the fourth and youngest son of the Rev. Thomas Thomson, minister of the parish of Dailly. As he was destined by his father at an early age for the ministry, John's studies in boyhood were directed with a reference to this sacred calling; but already he had unconsciously made a

choice for himself, and such a choice as was little in coincidence with the wonted occupations of a country pastor. Instead of submitting to the drudgery of the school-room and the study, the young boy was to be found a-field, roaming in quest of the beautiful and the picturesque, for which the banks of the Water of Girvan are so justly famed; and to extend these explorations, he frequently rose at two o'clock in a summer morning, and made a journey of miles, that he might watch the effect of sunrise, as it fell upon different portions of the scenery, or played among the foliage with which the cliffs and hill-tops were clothed. What he thus appreciated and admired he was anxious to delineate, and this he did on paste-board, paper, or the walls of the house, while his only materials for painting were the ends of burned sticks or the snuffings of candles. This was by no means the most hopeful of preparations for the ministry, and so he was told by his father, while he was informed at the same time that the pulpit was to be his final destination. John at first stood aghast, and then wept at the intelligence. He was already a painter with all his heart and soul, and how then could he be a minister? He even knelt to the old man, and besought him with tears in his eyes to let him follow out his own favourite bent; but the father in reply only patted the boy's head, bidding him be a good scholar, and go to his Latin lessons. In this way, like many Scottish youths of the period, John Thomson, through mistaken parental zeal, was thrust forward towards that most sacred of offices, for which, at the time at least, he felt no inclination.

As nothing remained for him but submission, the embryo painter yielded to necessity, and in due time was sent to the university of Edinburgh. There, besides the learned languages, he earnestly devoted his attention to the physical sciences, and became a respectable proficient in astronomy, geology, optics, and chemistry. While in Edinburgh he lodged with his brother, Thomas Thomson, afterwards the distinguished antiquarian, who was twelve years his senior, and at that time a candidate for the honours of the bar; and in consequence of this connection John was frequently brought into the company of Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, and other rising luminaries of the literary world, who had commenced their public life as Scottish barristers. It was impossible for the young student to mingle in such society without catching its intellectual inspiration; and he showed its effect by the proficiency he made in the different departments of his university curriculum, as well as the acquisition of general knowledge, and his facility in imparting it. Such was his career during the winter months; but when the return of summer released him from attendance on his classes, he showed his prevailing bent by an escape into the country, where the green earth and the blue sky were the volumes on which he delighted to pore. During the last session of his stay at college, he also attended for a month the lessons in drawing of Alexander Nasmyth, the teacher of so many of our Scottish artists, by whose instructions, as well as his own diligent application, he improved himself in the mechanical departments of pictorial art.

Having finished the usual course of theology, John Thomson, at the age of twenty-one, was licensed as a preacher; and his father having died a few months after, he succeeded him as minister of Dailly in 1800. A short time after his settlement as a country clergyman, he married Miss Ramsay, daughter of the Rev. John Ramsay, minister of Kirkmichael, Ayrshire. He had now full inclination (and he took full leisure also) to pursue his favourite bent, and thus the pencil was as often in his hand as the pen, while the

landscapes which he painted and distributed among his friends diffused his reputation as an artist over the country. But little did the good folks of Dailly rejoice in his growing fame: in their eyes a minister who painted pictures was as heinous a defaulter as the divine who actually played "upon the sinfu' sma' fiddle;" and this, with his buoyant fancy and exuberant spirits, which were sometimes supposed to tread too closely upon the bounds that separate clergymen from ordinary mortals, made the rustics suspect that their pastor was not strictly orthodox. This dislike of his strange pictorial pursuits, which they could not well comprehend, and his mirthful humour, which they could comprehend too well—for Mr. Thomson, at this time, could draw caricatures as well as landscapes—excited the attention of his brethren of the presbytery, one of the eldest of whom (so goes the story) was sent to remonstrate with him on the subject. The culprit listened in silence, and with downcast eyes; and at the end of the admonition was found to have sketched, or rather etched, an amusing likeness of his rebuker with the point of a pin upon his thumb-nail.

The incumbency of Mr. Thomson in Dailly was a short one, as in 1805 he was translated to the parish of Duddingston, a picturesque village within a mile of Edinburgh, and having the manse situated on the edge of its lake. In the neighbourhood of the northern metropolis, now rising into high literary celebrity, surrounded with scenery which can scarcely anywhere be surpassed, and by a society that could well appreciate his artistic excellence, he gave full scope to his hitherto half-imprisoned predilections, while his improvement continued to keep pace with the number of his productions. He was soon noted as a landscape painter of the first order; and such was the multitude of commissions that poured upon him, that sometimes nine carriages could be counted at the manse door, while at one period his revenue from this profitable source did not fall short of £1800 per annum. Who can here fail to regret the over-eager zeal of his father, by which such a painter was compelled to adopt the ministerial office, or be slow to perceive that these were not the kind of applications that should beset a clergyman's dwelling? True, the pulpit of Duddingston was regularly occupied on the Sabbath, and the usual number of sermons preached; but Edinburgh was close at hand, and abounded with probationers whose offices could be secured at a day's notice. In the meantime, as years went onward, Mr. Thomson's love of rich and striking scenery continued unabated, and his long pilgrimages in quest of it as ardent and frequent as ever. Often, indeed, he was to be found travelling with Grecian Williams, long before dawn, towards some selected spot, where they wished to delineate its appearance at the first sunrise; and having reached it, the enthusiastic pair would sketch and retouch, until each had depicted the view according to his own perceptions and tastes, communicating from time to time the progress they were making, and playing the part of friendly critics on each other's productions. On returning to his home from these excursions, it was commonly a change from the beauties of nature to the charms of conversation and social intercourse; for the manse of Duddingston was famed for hospitality, while the artistic reputation of its tenant was so high and so widely spread abroad, that few strangers of distinction in the fine arts arrived in Edinburgh without visiting Mr. Thomson. Independently, too, of his conversational talents and warm-hearted affectionate disposition that endeared him to his guests, and made his society universally courted, Mr. Thomson was

almost as enthusiastic a lover of music as of painting, and played both on the violin and flute with admirable skill. Nor were the more intellectual studies of his earlier days neglected amidst the full enjoyment of society and his increasing popularity as an artist, and several articles on the departments of physical science which he wrote in the *Edinburgh Review* were conspicuous even in that distinguished journal for the vigour of their style and clearness of their arguments.

Such a course of uninterrupted felicity would at last have become cloying; for man, as long as he is man and not angel, must weep and suffer as well as laugh and rejoice, in order to be as happy as his mixed and imperfect nature will permit. This the minister of Duddingston undoubtedly knew, and besides knowing, he was fated to experience it. For in the midst of his success, and when his young family was most dependent upon maternal care, he became a widower. The evil, heavy as it was, was not irremediable, and in fitting time a comforter was sent to him, and sent in such romantic fashion as to enhance the value of the consolation. An amiable and attractive lady, daughter of Mr. Spence the distinguished London dentist, and widow of Mr. Dalrymple of Cleland, happened one day, when visiting Edinburgh, to step into a picture-shop, where she saw a painting of the Fall of Foyers. Struck with the originality and beauty of this production, she eagerly asked the name of the artist, and was astonished to find that it was Mr. Thomson of Duddingston; for although she had seen several of his former paintings, none of them was to be compared to this. She was anxious to be personally acquainted with the author of such a painting—and such an anxiety seldom remains ungratified. She was soon introduced to him by mutual friends, and the first time that Thomson saw her, he said to himself, "That woman must be my wife; never have I beheld for years a woman with whom I could sympathize so deeply." The result may be easily guessed. In a short time she became Mrs. Thomson; and seldom, in the romance of marriage, has a couple so well assorted been brought together, or that so effectually promoted the happiness of each other. Independently of her taste in painting, she was, like himself, an ardent lover of music; and such was her earnest desire to promote the cultivation of the latter art, that she set up a musical class at the manse, which was attended not only by the most tasteful of the young parishioners of Duddingston, but by several pupils from Edinburgh, all of whom she instructed of course gratuitously. Two minds so assimilated could not fail to be happy, unless there had been a dogged determination to be otherwise, which was not in their nature, and accordingly the domestic ingle of Duddingston manse beamed brighter than ever. As if all this, too, had not been enough, an event occurred by which every chivalrous feeling in the heart of Mr. Thomson was gratified to the full. His eldest son was first mate of the *Kent* East Indiaman that took fire and went down at sea—an event that was associated with such circumstances of heroic devotedness that it is not yet altogether forgotten. At this trying crisis, when the captain was stunned with the magnitude of the danger, and unable to issue the necessary orders, young Thomson assumed the command, and used it with such judiciousness, promptitude, and presence of mind, that the whole ship's crew and passengers were extricated from the conflagration, and conveyed to the shore in safety, while he was himself the last to leave the vessel.

The paintings of Mr. Thomson were so numerous,

that it would be difficult to attempt a list of them, more especially as they were exclusively devoted to portions of Scottish scenery over the whole extent of the country. As the manse of Duddingstone commanded a full view of the castle of Craigmillar, and the picturesque landscape that surrounds it, he made this stately ruin and its accompaniments the subject of many a painting from different points of view, and under every variety of light—from the full blaze of an autumnal noonday to the soft, half-shadowed outline and tint of a midnight moon. The striking towers and fortalices along the Scottish coast—famed as the ancient residences of the champions of our national independence, from Dunstaffnage, Dunluce, and Wolfs-Crag, down to the humble peel upon the rocky sea-shore, were also the subjects of his pencil; and when these were exhausted, he devoted himself to the romantic inland scenery, which the genius of Scott had but lately opened, not only to the world, but his own countrymen—the Trosachs, Loch Achray, and Achray Water, as well as the more familiar scenes of Benblaffen, Glenfishie, Loch Lomond, Loch Etive, and others, in which land and water, striking outline, change of light and shade, and rich diversity of hue, are so dear to the painter of nature as well as the general tourist. As Mr. Thomson was not a professional artist, in the proper acceptance of the term, he was not eligible for the honour of membership among the Royal Academicians; but his paintings, nevertheless, were gladly received into their annual exhibitions; while his merits, instead of being regarded with jealousy, were acknowledged as occupying the front rank among the British masters of landscape-painting, and incontestably the best which his own country had as yet produced.

These indefatigable labours were continued till 1840, when symptoms of rapid constitutional decay began to manifest themselves, so that he was laid aside altogether from clerical duty; and when autumn arrived, he occupied a sick-bed, without any prospect of recovery. His death was characteristic of that deep admiration and love of the beauty of nature which had distinguished him through life, and secured him a high name in the annals of his countrymen. On the 26th of October, feeling that his last hour was drawing nigh, he caused his bed to be wheeled towards the window, that he might look upon the sunset of a bright afternoon; and upon this beloved spectacle he continued to gaze until he swooned from exhaustion. This was his last effort, and he died at seven o'clock on the following morning.

THOMSON, THOMAS, M.D., F.R.S., regius professor of chemistry in the university of Glasgow. This distinguished chemist was the seventh child and youngest son of John Thomson and Elizabeth Ewan, and was born at Crieff, on the 12th of April, 1773. He was first educated at the parish school of Crieff, and was sent in 1786, in his thirteenth year, for two years, by the advice of his brother, and of his uncle, the Rev. John Ewan, minister of the parish of Whittingham, in East Lothian, a man of some independent means, to the burgh school of Stirling, at that time presided over by Dr. Doig, the distinguished author of the *Letters on the Savage State*. Here he acquired a thorough classical education, the benefits of which have been so signally manifested in his numerous improvements of chemical nomenclature now generally adopted in the science. In consequence of having written a Latin Horatian poem of considerable merit, his uncle was recommended by Principal M'Cormack of St. Andrews to advise that he should try for a bursary at that university, which was open to public competition. He accordingly went, in

1788, to that school of learning, and having stood an examination, carried the scholarship, which entitled him to board and lodging at the university for three years. In 1791 he came to Edinburgh, and became tutor in the family of Mr. Kerr of Blackshields, one of his pupils being afterwards well known in connection with the Bank of Leith. In session 1794–5 he began the study of medicine, and in 1795 resided in Edinburgh with his elder brother, afterwards the Rev. James Thomson, D.D., and minister of the parish of Eccles, of whom a biographical notice will be found above. In the session of 1795–6 Dr. Thomson attended the lectures of the celebrated Dr. Black, of whom he always spoke in terms of the utmost veneration, and of gratitude for those invaluable instructions which first awoke the latent taste for the science of which he was destined to become so bright an ornament. In this session he wrote the article "Sea" for the *Encyclopædia*. In November, 1796, he succeeded his brother in the editorship of the third edition of the *Encyclopædia*, and remained connected with it till 1800. It was during this period that he drew up the first outline of his "System of Chemistry," which appeared in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia*, under the articles "Chemistry," "Mineralogy," "Vegetable Substances," "Animal Substances," and "Dyeing Substances." These all appeared before the 10th December, 1800, when the preface was published, in which it is stated by Dr. Gleig: of the author "of these beautiful articles, a man of like principles with Dr. Robison, it is needless to say anything, since the public seems to be fully satisfied that they prove their author eminently qualified to teach the science of chemistry." During the winter session of 1800–1 he gave his first chemical course with fifty-two pupils. Hence he appears to have been before the public as a lecturer for the long period of fifty-two years, and, as he used latterly to say, he believed he had lived to be the oldest teacher in Europe.

It was in the article "Mineralogy," written about 1798, that he first introduced the use of symbols into chemical science, universally acknowledged to be one of the most valuable improvements in modern chemistry. In this article he arranges minerals into genera, according to their composition. Thus his first genus is A, or alumina, under which are two species, topaz and corundum, in accordance with the analyses of the day. The second genus is A M C, comprising spinell, which, according to Vauquelin, contained alumina, magnesia, and chrome iron ore. The fourth genus is S, including the varieties of silica or quartz. The eighth genus is S A G, or silica, alumina, and glucina, including the emerald or beryl; and thus he proceeds throughout. In the editions of his *System*, the first of which (a development of the original article in the *Encyclopædia*) was published in 1802, he continued the same arrangement and symbols, and was thus not only the originator of symbolic nomenclature in modern chemistry, but was the first chemist to bring mineralogy systematically within the domain of that science. In the third edition of his *System*, published in 1807, in illustrating the atomic theory of Dalton, and in his article on oxalic acid in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1808, he freely uses symbols. Berzelius, who appeared some years later on the chemical stage, being Dr. Thomson's junior by five years, published a work in 1814, in Swedish, in which he adopted the system of symbols used by Dr. Thomson, with some modifications (the introduction of Latin initials in certain cases), but he strictly followed the rules for this purpose given by Thomson in his *System of Chemistry*, "(öch skall dervid följa





THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY JAMES M. SMITH, LL.D.

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en enledning som Thomson gifvit i sin kemiska handbok). The work in which this passage occurs, entitled *Försök att genom användandet af den electrokemiska teorien, &c., grundlägga för mineralogier*, af J. Jacob Berzelius, Stockholm, 1814, p. 18, was sent by Berzelius to Dr. Thomson, in the same year, with a request, in a letter which is still extant, that he would endeavour to procure a translator for it. Dr. Thomson applied to Dr. Marcet and others without success; but at last prevailed on his learned friend John Black, Esq., who so ably conducted the *Morning Chronicle* for many years, to undertake the task. Dr. Thomson graduated in 1799. He continued to lecture in Edinburgh till 1811, and during that time opened a laboratory for pupils, the first of the kind, it is believed, in Great Britain. Among those who worked in his laboratory was Dr. Henry of Manchester, a chemist for whom he had always the greatest regard, who had visited Edinburgh for the purpose of graduation, and who there made many of his experiments on the analysis of the constituents of coal-gas. During this period likewise Dr. Thomson made his important investigations for government on the malt and distillation questions, which laid the basis of the Scottish legislation on excise, and rendered him in after-life the arbitrator in many important revenue cases. He likewise invented his saccharometer, which is still used by the Scottish excise under the title of Allan's saccharometer. In 1807 he first introduced to the notice of the world, in the third edition of his *System*, Dalton's views of the atomic theory, which had been privately communicated to him in 1804. He did not confine his remarks to mere details, but made many important new deductions, and by his clear, perspicuous, and transparent style, rendered the new theory soon universally known and appreciated. Had Richter possessed such a friend as Thomson, the atomic theory of Dalton would have long been previously fully discovered and attributed to Richter. In his papers on this theory, which occupied much of his thoughts, from the mathematical precision which it promised to impart to the science, we find numerous suggestions cautiously offered, which have often been subsequently examined and confirmed, or developed in another direction. Thus, in August, 1813, he states that, according to the atomic numbers then determined, "an atom of phosphorus is ten times as heavy as an atom of hydrogen. None of the other atoms appear to be multiples of 132 (the atom of hydrogen at that time adopted by chemists), so that, if we pitch upon hydrogen for our unit, the weight of all the atoms will be fractional quantities, except that of phosphorus alone." It was undoubtedly this observation which caused Dr. Prout to make new inquiries, and to announce, in Nov. 1815, the view that the relation of phosphorus as a multiple of hydrogen, as detected by Thomson, may be general, connecting all other atomic weights with that unit—a view now generally adopted, and considered as a nearly demonstrated law.

The existence of such mathematical relations Dr. Thomson was continually in the habit of testing at the conclusion of his own researches, or in examining the experiments of others. Any peculiarity of character in a substance hitherto known, or in a newly-discovered body, he never failed to point out in his *System*, and innumerable instances have occurred, and might be mentioned did our space admit, where lucrative patents have resulted from a simple statement or foot-note, often original on the part of the author. A fact of this kind in the *Animal Chemistry* led Mr. Robert Pattison to his ingenious patent invention of lactarin, a preparation of casein from

milk, for fixing ultramarine on cotton cloth; and Dr. Thomson's systematic plan of describing all the characters of bodies in detail led Henry Rose of Berlin to the discovery of niobium and pelopium, two new metals. From the fragments of four imperfect crystals of certain tantalites, as the mineral dealers who sold them to him termed them, he was enabled to make some analyses, and to take a series of specific gravities, which he published in a paper, "On the Minerals containing Columbium," in his nephew, Dr. R. D. Thomson's *Records of General Science*, vol. iv. p. 407, in 1836. He found that these minerals possessed an analogous constitution, but their specific gravity differs. He termed them torreyite, columbite, tantalite, and ferrotantalite. In making his experiments he expended all the material he possessed, and he had passed the great climacteric. Professor Rose, struck with the facts, examined the minerals upon a greater scale, and after immense labour, showed that not only columbic or tantalic acid was present in these minerals, but likewise two new acids, niobic and pelopic acids. Instances of this kind of contribution made by Dr. Thomson to chemistry might be indefinitely particularized. About 1802 he invented the oxy-hydrogen blowpipe, in which he introduced the oxygen and hydrogen into one vessel; but the whole apparatus having blown up and nearly proved fatal to him, he placed the gases in separate gas-holders. At that time he made many experiments on its powers of fusion, but as Dr. Hare had invented an apparatus at the same time, and published his experiments, Dr. Thomson did no more than exhibit the apparatus in his lectures. In August, 1804, in a paper on lead, he first published his new nomenclature of the oxides and acids, in which Latin and Greek numerals were made to denote the number of atoms of oxygen in an oxide. He thus introduces this important invention, which has been almost universally adopted in the science:—"As colour is a very ambiguous criterion for distinguishing metallic oxides, I have been accustomed for some time to denote the oxide with a minimum of oxygen, by prefixing the Greek ordinal number to the term oxide. Thus, protoxide of lead is lead united to a minimum of oxygen; the oxide with a maximum of oxygen I call peroxide. Thus, brown oxide of lead is the peroxide of lead. I denominate the intermediate degrees of oxidization by prefixing the Greek ordinals 2d, 3d, 4th, &c. Thus, deutoxide is the second oxide of lead, trioxide of cobalt the third oxide of cobalt, and so on." This paper being translated and published in France, the nomenclature was speedily introduced into that country. But the improvements which he afterwards adopted by denoting the exact number of atoms of oxygen present, by the Latin, and those of the base by the Greek numerals, and used in Great Britain, never superseded in that country the original suggestion in the above note.

All these inventions were merely particular parts of a systematic arrangement adopted in his *System of Chemistry*—a work which, if carefully examined with a philosophic eye, will be found to have produced beneficial results to chemical science, similar to those which the systems of Ray, Linnæus, and Jussieu effected for botany. In his second edition, published in 1804 (the first large edition having been sold in less than ten months), he divided the consideration of chemical bodies into—"Book I. *Simple Substances*: 1. Confinable Bodies, including Oxygen, Simple Combustibles, Simple Incombustibles, Metals; 2. Unconfinable Bodies, comprising Heat and Light. Book II. *Compound Bodies*: 1. Primary Compounds; 2. Secondary Compounds, &c." It is

most interesting to observe how his plan was developed with the progress of the science in the different editions. It is sufficient to say that it was generally considered as a masterly arrangement, and used to be quoted by the professor of logic in Edinburgh as an admirable example of the analytic and synthetic methods. Previous to the publication of his *System*, British chemists were contented with translations from the French; and hence it was believed on the Continent that "Britain possessed scarcely a scientific chemist." That all his contemporaries viewed his plan as highly philosophic cannot be affirmed. There are some men who, having no mental powers of arrangement in themselves, discover in a systematic treatise only a compilation possessing the generic characters of matter; while those who can pry below the surface, on the other hand, know that the art of arranging is one of the most difficult tasks of the philosopher; that it requires a comprehensiveness of mind, a clearness of judgment, and a patience of labour, which fall to the lot of a small number of the human race. When we recollect that many of these remarkable views began to be devised by the self-taught chemist in a narrow close in the High Street of Edinburgh, the author being in the receipt of a salary of £50 a year, from which he sent £15 to his aged parents; and when we contrast such a picture with the costly education and refined apparatus of the modern laboratory, it is impossible to avoid the inference, that in Dr. Thomson Britain possessed a genius of no common order.

One immediate result of the publication of his *System* was the appropriation of their due merit to respective discoverers, and especially to British chemists, who had been overlooked in the continental treatises. It was the subject of our memoir who thus first imparted to us the true history of chemistry, and in doing so often gave offence to disappointed individuals; but the honesty of his nature and his unswerving love of truth never allowed him for a moment to sacrifice, even in his own case, the fact to the fallacy.

During the first years of this century he discovered many new compounds and minerals, as chloride of sulphur, allanite, sodalite, &c.; but to give a list of the numerous salts which he first formed and described during his onward career would be difficult, as he scarcely ever treated of them in separate papers, but introduced them into the body of his *System*, without any claim to their discovery. His exact mind was more directed towards accurate knowledge and principles, than to novelties merely for their own sake, although there is probably no chemist who has added so many new bodies to the science. Hence many of his discoveries have been attributed to others, or rediscovered over and over again, as was the case with many of his chromium compounds—viz. chlorochromic acid, the two potash oxalates of chromium, bichromate of silver, potash chromate of magnesia, chromate of chromium, hyposulphurous acid (1817), and hydrosulphurous acid (1818), S_2O_3 , &c., all of which were examined by him many years ago.

In 1810 Dr. Thomson published his *Elements of Chemistry*, in a single volume, his object being to furnish an accurate outline of the actual state of the science. In 1812 he produced his *History of the Royal Society*, a most important work, as showing the influence which that society produced on the progress of science. In August, 1812, he made a tour in Sweden, and published his observations on that country in the following year. It is still a valuable work, and contains a very complete view of the state of science and society in Sweden. In 1813 he

went to London, and started the *Annals of Philosophy*, a periodical which he continued to conduct till 1822, when the numerous calls upon his time in the discharge of the duties of his chair at Glasgow compelled him to resign the editorship in favour of Mr. Richard Phillips, one of his oldest friends, who predeceased him by one year. The journal was, in 1827, purchased by Mr. Richard Taylor, and was merged in the *Philosophical Magazine*. In 1817 he was appointed lecturer on chemistry in the university of Glasgow; and in 1818, at the instance of the Duke of Montrose, chancellor of that institution, the appointment was made a professorship with a small salary under the patronage of the crown. As soon after his appointment as he was enabled to obtain a laboratory, he commenced his researches into the atomic constitution of chemical bodies, and produced an amount of work unparalleled in the whole range of the science, in 1825, by the publication of his *Attempt to Establish the First Principles of Chemistry by Experiment*, in 2 vols. It contained "the result of many thousand experiments, conducted with as much care and precision as it was in his power to employ." In this work he gives the specific gravities of all the important gases, ascertained by careful experiment. The data thus ascertained were often disputed and attacked in strong but unphilosophical terms, as they tended to supersede previous experimental deductions; but the excellent subsequent determinations of specific gravities by Dumas, which were made at the request of Dr. Thomson, after that distinguished chemist had visited him at Glasgow in 1840, fully substantiated the greater accuracy of Dr. Thomson's numbers over those which preceded him, and in most cases furnished an identity of result. The atomic numbers given in his *First Principles* as the result of his labours, were the means of a vast number of experiments made by himself and pupils, the data of which still exist in his series of note-books. They all tended to the result that the atomic weights of bodies are multiples by a whole number of the atomic weight of hydrogen—a canon confirmed to a great extent by the recent experiments of French and German chemists, and which he himself was the first to point out in the case of phosphorus. That the subject of our memoir was frequently in error in his experiments is not attempted to be denied; for, as the great Liebig has said, it is only the sluggard in chemistry who commits no faults; but all his atomic weights of important bodies have been confirmed. After the publication of this work he devoted himself to the examination of the inorganic kingdom of nature, purchasing and collecting every species of mineral obtainable, until his museum, now at St. Thomas' Hospital, London, which he has left behind him, became not only one of the noblest mineral collections in the kingdom, but a substantial monument of his taste and of his devotion to science. The results of his investigation of minerals were published in 1836, in his *Outlines of Mineralogy and Geology*, in 2 vols., and contained an account of about fifty new minerals which he had discovered in a period of little more than ten years.

In 1830–31 Dr. Thomson published his *History of Chemistry*, a master-piece of learning and research. During these feats of philosophic labour the eyes of the community were attracted to Glasgow as the source from which the streams of chemistry flowed, the class of chemistry and the laboratory being flocked to as to fountains of inspiration.

It would be a great omission not to mention that it was Dr. Thomson who introduced a system of giving annual reports on the progress of science in his *Annals of Philosophy*; the first of these was pub-

lished in 1813, and the last in 1819. These reports were characterized by his usual perspicuity and love of *sum cuique* which distinguished his conduct through life, and were composed with a mildness of criticism far more conducive to the dignity of the science than those which, three years after his reports had ceased, were begun by the distinguished Swedish chemist Berzelius. In 1835, when Dr. R. D. Thomson started his journal the *Records of General Science*, his uncle contributed to almost every number, and encouraged him by his sympathy in his attempts to advance science.

Dr. Thomson continued to lecture till the year 1841, discharging all the duties of his chair without assistance; but being then in his 60th year, and feeling his bodily powers becoming more faint, he associated with him at that period his nephew and son-in-law, Dr. R. D. Thomson, who was then resident in London. He continued, however, to deliver the inorganic course only till 1846, when the dangerous illness of his second son, from disease contracted in India, hurried him for the winter to Nice, when his nephew was appointed by the university to discharge the duties of the chair, which he continued to perform till Dr. Thomson's death. Of the hardship of being obliged in his old age thus to toil in harness, and to have no retiring allowance, he never murmured or complained. But there were not wanting suggestions, that one who had raised himself to eminence from comparative obscurity, and who had benefited his country in no common measure, might have been relieved in some degree by the guardians of the state, without popular disaffection, from fatigues which even a green old age cannot long sustain. Dr. Thomson continued to attend the examinations for degrees for some years after retiring from the duties of the chair; but in consequence of the increasing defect in his hearing, he ultimately gave up this duty, and confined his public labours to attendance at the fortnightly meetings of the winter session of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, of which he was president from the year 1834. His last appearance there was on the 6th November, at the first meeting of the session 1850-51, when he read a biographical account of his old and affectionate friend Dr. Wollaston, to whom he was ever most strongly attached. During the early part of 1852 his frame became visibly weaker, and, latterly, having removed to the country, where it was hoped the freshness of the summer season might brace his languishing powers, his appetite failed; but no pain appeared to mar the tranquil exit of the philosophic spirit. To inquiries after his health—"I am quite well, but weak," the good old man replied, within a few hours of his last summons. On the morning of the 2d of July he breathed his last in the bosom of his affectionate family, on the lovely shores of the Holy Loch. Dr. Thomson married, in 1816, Miss Agnes Colquhoun, daughter of Mr. Colquhoun, distiller, near Stirling, with whom he enjoyed most complete and uninterrupted happiness. He was left a widower in 1834. He left a son, Dr. Thomas Thomson, of the Bengal army, the author of *Travels in Tibet*, the result of several years' researches into the botany and physical structure of the Himalaya Mountains, and afterwards superintendent of the botanic gardens at Calcutta; and a daughter, married to her cousin, Dr. R. D. Thomson, professor of chemistry at St. Thomas' Hospital, London. On strangers Dr. Thomson occasionally made an unfavourable impression; but by all who knew him intimately he was universally recognized as the most friendly and benevolent of men. Dr. Thomson was originally destined for the Church of Scotland, and continued to the last a faithful adherent. He was

wont to attribute his sound and intellectual views of the Christian faith to the care of his mother—a woman of great beauty and sense; and it was perhaps from his affection for her that his favourite axiom originated—that the talents are derived from the maternal parent. Who shall prescribe exact limits to the benefits conferred on her country and her race by this humble but pious Christian woman—who taught in early life religion to her elder son, the author of the article "Scripture" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which, in the third and many subsequent editions of that work, has been read and distributed over the globe for nearly half-a-century, to a greater extent than perhaps any other religious treatise—and who gave the earliest impressions of his relations to his Maker to the great chemical philosopher?

THOMSON, THOMAS. In few countries has the study of national antiquities been prosecuted so zealously or so successfully as in Scotland. It would be too much to assign this peculiarity either to the romantic character or the importance of the early achievements of Scotland, for these were certainly of small account in the general history of Europe. The cause is rather to be found in the grievous calamities that befell our national archives in the times of Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell. By these, our written records, and even our national monuments, were so destroyed or obliterated, that nothing but the most devoted antiquarianism could have restored to us the semblance of a history. Hence not only the necessity of diligent Scottish research among the relics of bygone ages, but the keenness with which it has been prosecuted, and the success that has attended it. Through these labours Scotland now possesses a history that, in point both of accuracy and fulness, may compete with that of most countries of Europe. And among the foremost of those antiquaries who, for a century, have toiled in such a patriotic task, perhaps there is none entitled to take precedence of him whose name stands at the head of this notice.

Thomas Thomson was descended of a family that might well be characterized as a portion of the tribe of Levi; for not only his father, but also his grandfather and great-grandfather, had been successively ministers of the Kirk of Scotland. To this also it may be added, that his younger brother John was minister of Duddingston from 1805 to 1840, although he is better known among the lovers of the fine arts as the Claude Lorraine of Scotland. Thomas, the future antiquary, was born in the manse of Dailly, Ayrshire, of which parish his father was minister, on the 10th of November 1768. As it was nothing more than natural that his views, from an early period, should be directed towards the church, in which his ancestors had held the ministerial office since the close of the seventeenth century, he was sent in 1782 to prosecute the necessary studies in the university of Glasgow. He passed through what are called the "gown classes" with considerable distinction, took the degree of A.M. in 1789, and became, during the two following sessions a student in theology. But at this time the lectures in the divinity hall, as well as the class-room of church history in the college of Glasgow, were of such a massive, not to say a heavy character, that none but a mind of congenial calibre could endure them to the end. Accordingly, in spite of every prospect of church advancement, which was now a sort of heir-loom in the family, Mr. Thomson's mercurial spirit broke impatiently from the restraint, and sought shelter in other pursuits. He resolved to study law, and devote himself

to the bar; and for this purpose he exchanged the hall of theology for the law classes of Professor Millar, whose lectures were of a very different description from those he had hitherto attended. After this he completed his course of legal study in the university of Edinburgh, and at the close of 1793 was admitted a member of the faculty of advocates.

It is not our purpose to follow out the course of Mr. Thomson at the bar, where, to gain a high name at this period, it was necessary to be wholly as well as completely a lawyer and orator. His own bias in a different direction was so distinctly indicated, as quickly to secure for him a high reputation in Scottish antiquarianism, and on this account he was selected in 1800 to superintend a new edition of the works of Lord Hailes, which were to be collected and edited for publication, accompanied with a biographical memoir. This intention was not carried out, and Mr. Thomson's aid was only available for an edition of his lordship's *Annals and Historical Tracts*, which were afterwards published in 1819. An office, however, of permanent character, as well as of the highest importance, was already being prepared for his occupation. The neglect that had hitherto been shown towards our national records began, although at a late hour, to be acknowledged, and after due consideration of the subject in the House of Commons, two royal commissions were issued, the one in 1800, and the other in 1806, for the preservation and due arrangement of our public archives. It was found, however, that "the superintendence of the matters arising within this office should be confided to a deputy of acknowledged skill and ability, being a resident advocate of the Scottish bar, of undoubted learning, tried merit, and considerable standing;" and to this effect Lord Frederick Campbell, the lord-clerk register, having memorialized his majesty (George III.), a royal warrant was issued in 1806, authorizing the appointment of the office. A fit archivarius to fill it was not still to seek; and, to the satisfaction of all who felt an interest in this important department, Mr. Thomas Thomson was forthwith nominated deputy clerk-register. Among those who rejoiced in the appointment, no one could be more ardent than Sir Walter Scott. "Have you seen," he writes in a letter to George Ellis, "have you seen my friend Tom Thomson, who is just now in London? He has, I believe, the advantage of knowing you, and I hope you will meet, as he understands more of old books, old laws, and old history, than any man in Scotland. He has lately received an appointment under the lord-register of Scotland, which puts all our records under his immediate inspection and control; and I expect many valuable discoveries to be the consequence of his investigation, if he escapes being smothered in the cloud of dust which his researches will certainly raise about his ears." Speaking at a later period in conversation upon the subject of antiquarian studies in general, Scott observed—"It is common to laugh at such researches, but they pay the good brains that meddle with them; and had Thomson been as diligent in setting down his discoveries as he has been in making them, he might, long before this time of day, have placed himself on a level with Ducange or Camden."

The rest of his long literary life, which extended over nearly half-a-century, is best detailed by a list of the literary works which he published. And to begin with those which he prepared in his capacity of deputy clerk-register, and which were published under authority of the Commissioners in the Public Records of the Kingdom, they were the following:—*"Inquisitionum ad Capellum Domini Regis Retor-*

naturum, quæ in Publicis Archivis Scotiæ adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio." 1811–1816. 3 vols. folio. —*"Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum in Archivis Publicis asservatum."* MCCCXVI.–MCCCXXIV." 1814. Folio.—*"The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland."* Vol. ii. to vol. xi. MCCCXXIV.–MDCCVII." 1814 to 1824. 10 vols. folio. Of this series, the first volume, owing to many difficulties, chiefly arising from the remote and obscure period to which its "Acts" refer, remained unfinished so late as 1841, when Mr. Thomson's connection with the register-office ceased. It was completed and published, however, in 1844, under the superintendence of Mr. Innes.—*"The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints."* MCCCCLXVI.–MCCCXCIV." 1839. Folio.—*"The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes."* MCCCCLXXVIII.–MCCCXCIV." 1839. Folio. In addition to these Mr. Thomson prepared the following abbreviates, of which only a limited number were published for the use of the register-office:—"A Continuation of the Retours of Services to the Chancery-office, from the Union, A.D. 1707, to the present time."—"An Abbreviate or Digest of the Registers of Sasines, General and Particular, arranged in Counties, with Relative Indexes, from the 1st of January, 1781, to the present time."—"An Abbreviate of Adjudications from the same period to 1830."—"An Abbreviate of Inhibitions, General and Particular, arranged in Counties, from the same period to 1830." Of an equally professional, and still more personal description, were the following:—"The First Five Annual Reports of the Deputy Clerk-register of Scotland," from 1808 to 1811. One vol. folio.—*"Annual Reports, from the Sixth to the Fourteenth (from 1811 to 1822)."* One vol. folio.

We now pass from the labours of the deputy clerk-register, to those of the member of the Bannatyne Club. This antiquarian institution, which was originated in 1823, unanimously elected Mr. Thomson to the honorary office of vice-president; and afterwards, in 1832, in consequence of the death of Sir Walter Scott, the distinguished president of the club, Mr. Thomson, with the same unanimity, was appointed to succeed him. His services in behalf of this important association were thus characterized by Lord Cockburn, its vice-president, in the funeral eulogium which he pronounced before the members, after the decease of Mr. Thomson:—"As one of our original founders, and deeply conversant with our objects and aims, he was, while absent from Edinburgh, unanimously chosen vice-president. After co-operating assiduously with Sir Walter Scott, our first president, in all the business of the institution, he became our second president on the death of that illustrious person; and throughout the whole of the succeeding twenty years was our master and our guide. With several powerful associates or competitors, in detached fields or subordinate walks, it was by his knowledge and sagacity that our general course was directed. The value of his superintendence is attested by its results. The publications of the Bannatyne Club form the greatest, the most difficult, the most important, and the most splendid disclosures that have ever been made of the latent historical treasures of our country. The merit of these works is certainly not due to him entirely; if it had at all been ascribed to him in his presence his candour would have at once disclaimed it, and given the proper part to its true owners. But those by whom the contributions, either of individuals or of the club, have been prepared, and who are best acquainted with the difficulties attending the execution of such undertakings, will acknowledge the aid which

they uniformly derived from the president's judgment and zeal. And never did any one apply to him for advice without feeling his accessibility, and his cordial disposition to assist. The hasty, and indeed sometimes even the patient, murmured occasionally at his slowness; and he had certainly no taste for vulgar rapidity; but this was the result of caution and fastidiousness—both good qualities; and though it sometimes wearied expectation, was generally rewarded by improved excellence in the end."

The literary exertions thus so highly and so justly commended, which Mr. Thomson performed in behalf of the Bannatyne Club, and which were published under its auspices, are comprised in the following list:—"Alex. Myln, Vite Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum." 4to, 1823.—"Discours particulier d'Escoffe, escrit en 1559." 4to, 1824.—"The Historie and Life of King James the Sext." 4to, 1825.—"Memoirs of his own Life, by Sir James Melville, of Halhill." 4to, 1827. Speaking of this work while in progress, Sir Walter Scott thus alludes to it in his diary—"Thomson is superintending a capital edition of Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*. It is brave to see how he wags his Scots tongue, and what a difference there is in the form and firmness of the language, compared to the mincing English edition in which he has hitherto been alone known."—"Memoirs of his own Life and Times, by Sir James Turner." 4to, 1829.—"The History of Scotland, by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross." 4to, 1830.—"Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies, in Alliterative Verse." 4to, 1833.—"Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences, from the Pollok MS." 4to, 1833.—"The Ragman Rolls, 1291-1296." 4to, 1834.—"The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, 1560-1618." 3 vols. 4to, 1839, 1840, 1845.—"The Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, &c., 1326-1406." In 2 vols. 4to, 1817.—A third volume of do. 4to, 1845.—"A Diary of the Public Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall." 4to, 1843.—"Munimenta Vetustiora Comitatus de Mortoun, and Original Letters and Papers in the Archives of the Earls of Morton." 4to, 1852. In addition to the foregoing, Mr. Thomson edited the following works, which were chiefly printed for private circulation:—"A Compilation of the Forms of Process in the Court of Session during the Earlier Periods after its Establishment, with the Variations which they have since undergone." &c. 8vo, 1809.—"A Collection of Inventories, and other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse; and of the Artillery and Munition in some of the Royal Castles, 1488-1606." 4to, 1815.—"The Chamberlain Rolls, 1306-1406." 4to, 1817.—"Inventory of Worke done for the State by [Evan Tyler] his Majesties Printer in Scotland, December, 1642—October, 1647." 4to, 1815.—"Ane Addiicoun of Scottis Cronikles and Deidis." Small 4to, 1819.—"Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from the Restoration of King Charles II., A.D. 1660, by Sir George Mackenzie, of Rosehaugh, Knight." 4to, 1821.—"Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Right Honourable George Baillie of Jerviswood, and of Lady Grissell, by their daughter, Lady Murray."—"Menu de la Maison de la Roynie fait par Mons. de Pinguillon. M.D.LXII." 4to, 1824.

This amount of antiquarian labour indicates an extent of reading, a patience of research, and a heroic pertinacity of purpose which it would be difficult fully to estimate. And this, too, be it remembered, was in a department of literature in which little fame is to be won, and the achievements of which are so often misprized and ridiculed. "No one," says Lord Cockburn, in his *Life of Lord Jeffrey*—when speak-

ing of Thomas Thomson—"no one has done nearly so much to recover, to arrange, to explain, and to preserve our historical muniments. He found them almost a chaos, and after bringing them into order, has left them on a system, of which the value will be felt the more every day that they accumulate. His real merit, great as it may seem now, will seem still greater 500 years hence." Adverting to Mr. Thomson's capacity for legal study, and the disinterestedness with which it was kept in abeyance, for the sake of that department in which he was so well qualified to excel, Lord Cockburn adds—"Had he not allowed his taste for antiquarian research to allure him from the common drudgery of his profession, he would have stood high in practice, as he always did in character, at the bar; and would now have been adorning the bench by his considerate wisdom and peculiar learning." In turning to Mr. Thomson's course as a barrister, we find his lordship's commendations fully borne out. His knowledge of ancient Scottish history and jurisprudence was so well known, even at the outset, that so early as 1805-7 he was employed in the famous Craighgillan case, in which a fair estate of about £12,000 per annum depended upon the old marriage laws of Scotland, and the kind of union that sufficed to establish a legal claim to legitimacy and inheritance. Another suit in which he was retained in 1816, was the case of *Cranstoun versus Gibson*, in which the principle of our northern elections had to be traced to its fountain-head, inasmuch as the franchise of Scotland, as connected with the valuation of old church-lands, was involved in the result. While his brethren of the long robe were utterly in the dark upon such questions of medieval and monastic lore, Mr. Thomson, as may easily be supposed, felt himself upon his own proper ground; he accordingly produced, in one of his memorials, such a lucid account of the origin of the taxation of land in Scotland, that Lord Glenlee, the presiding judge, could not help exclaiming, "It is just delightful! It is like reading a lost decade of Livy!" Mr. Thomson, indeed, did not secure a judge's gown, for that, as we have seen, was never at any time the mark of his ambition; but an office not greatly inferior in importance and emolument, was freely conceded to him in 1828, by his being appointed one of the principal clerks of session—an office which Sir Walter Scott himself held, and beyond which he sought no higher.

Amidst the various qualifications which Mr. Thomson possessed, we would greatly err if we confined the literary part of his character to his undoubted superiority in antiquities and black-letter. On the contrary, his general knowledge, as well as his talents and taste, were so fully recognized, that at the creation of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802, he was one of that illustrious coterie who were wont to meet in solemn secrecy for the purpose of commencing it, and by whose joint labours that critical tribunal was silently built up, before whose dread awards the whole literary world was so soon compelled to bow and tremble. For this journal he also wrote several articles, and, during the occasional absences of Mr. Jeffrey, took charge of its editorship.

Mr. Thomson married Anne, daughter of Thomas Reed, Esq., formerly army agent in Dublin. He died at his residence at Shrubhill, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the 2d of October, 1852, and was interred in the Dean Cemetery. His character was thus appropriately summed up by Lord Murray at the ensuing anniversary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland:—"In the death of my old and valued friend Mr. Thomas Thomson, the Society has to deplore the loss of one whose contributions

to our antiquarian literature, and to the facilities of the historical student of the records of Scotland, have conferred a boon upon the country, such as it would be difficult to overestimate in value. He was a man of great and varied learning and a highly refined mind. His enthusiasm was undamped by the intricacy and forbidding aspects of one of the most perplexing and protracted labours which ever engrossed the life-labour of the legal antiquary; and yet, while devoting his fine mind to such labours in his study, he united to all the acquirements requisite for such pursuits, manners the most pleasing, and a warmth and geniality of feeling which have embalmed him in the memories of a numerous circle of friends and admirers."

THOMSON, DR. WILLIAM, an ingenious, versatile, and multifarious writer, was born in 1746 in the parish of Forteviot, in Perthshire. His father, though in humble, was in decent circumstances, earning a livelihood by uniting the businesses of carpenter, builder, and farmer. Young Thomson was instructed in the first rudiments of education by his mother, and was then sent to the parochial school. He afterwards attended the grammar-school of Perth, and on leaving it proceeded to St. Andrews, where his abilities attracted the notice and procured him the patronage of the Earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university. This munificent nobleman, after satisfying himself by personal examination that young Thomson's high reputation as a classical scholar was not exaggerated, admitted him into his family in the capacity of librarian, and shortly after directed his views to the church, with the intention of presenting him to one of the livings in his gift.

Mr. Thomson prosecuted his theological studies, first at St. Andrews, and then at Edinburgh, and having obtained a license to preach, was appointed assistant to the minister of Monivaird. Unfortunately neither his tastes nor habits accorded with the clerical calling. His temper was irascible, and he delighted more in field-sports and jovial companionship than in the discharge of his professional duties. The complaints of the parishioners induced him to resign his office, and he resolved to try his fortune in London as a man of letters. In this he was at first far from successful. At length, through the influence of his distinguished friends Drs. Robertson and Blair, he was chosen to continue the *History of Philip III. of Spain*, a work begun by Dr. Robert Watson, principal of the United Colleges of St. Andrews, but which that gentleman left unfinished at his death, which happened in 1780. This work Dr. Thomson completed in a manner highly creditable to his talents, and so much to the satisfaction of the public, that he soon found himself surrounded with friends, and his hands filled with employment. The former procured him about this period, wholly unsolicited on his part, the degree of LL.D. from the university of Glasgow. Dr. Thomson now became a regular London author, being ready to write on any subject, and for any one who should employ his versatile talents. Business increased apace upon him, and from this period till near the close of his life, extending to upwards of five and thirty years, he continued in close connection with the press, and with the exception of poetry, went, in that time, creditably through every department of English literature. Nothing came amiss to him; history, biography, voyages, travels and memoirs, novels and romances, pamphlets and periodicals. In all of these he wrote largely, and wrote well. In his literary labours he was indefatigable. Night and day he wrought with unwearied perseverance, and by dint of this industry, associated with a remark-

able facility in composition, he accomplished in the course of his life a greater amount of literary work, and of a greater variety of character, than perhaps any English writer who preceded him. Amongst the most important of his avowed works are—*The Man in the Moon*, a novel; *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, a compilation from other works, published in 1782; a translation of *A History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1668 to the Accession of George I. in 1714*, from the Latin of Cunningham, 2 vols. 4to, 1787; *Memoirs of War in Asia*, 1788; *Mammoth, or Human Nature Displayed on a Grand Scale*, a novel, 1789; *Travels in the Western Hebrides*, from 1782 to 1790, from notes by the Rev. John Lane Buchanan, A.M., missionary minister to the Isles from the Church of Scotland, 1793. Dr. Thomson also largely assisted in a work which appeared about this period, entitled *Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Russia*, by A. Smith, Esq.

Numerous as this list is, it comprises but a very small portion of our author's literary achievements, and gives but a faint idea of the extent and variety of his labours. He contributed largely, besides, to various newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals of the day. He also frequently acted as a reporter, and is said to have greatly excelled in this department of literary labour. For many years he published a weekly abridgment of politics in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, but lost this employment in 1798, in consequence of some political transgressions. In the latter years of his life he was engaged in bringing up the arrears of *Dodsley's Annual Register*, of which he compiled the historical part from 1790 to 1800 inclusive. Amongst the last of his literary performances (and it is a remarkable proof of the variety of his attainments) was a work entitled *Memoirs relative to Military Tactics*, dedicated to his royal highness the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the forces. This work, which was begun in 1805 and finished in the ensuing year, was reckoned no inconsiderable addition to that department of literature to which it belongs, and is said to have been looked upon with favour by those competent to judge of its merits. Towards the close of his life Dr. Thomson wholly resigned his literary labours, and retired to Kensington, where he died in decent but not by any means affluent circumstances, on the 16th of March, 1817, in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him a reputation very far from being proportioned either to the extent of his labours, or to the amount of his abilities and acquirements.

TOD, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES. Of the early life of this distinguished historian of the East we have been able to glean only a few particulars. Such, however, is frequently the case with his countrymen. Their talents and enterprise lead them to eminence, and place them full in the view of the world; but when the general curiosity is expressed in, Where was he born?—who were his parents?—how was he trained and educated for the place he so worthily occupies?—the biographer is compelled to confess his ignorance, or feel his way at haphazard and by conjecture.

With these remarks we judge it necessary to premise a notice of Lieutenant-colonel Tod, of the Honourable East India Company's service, and their political agent in the Western Rajpoot states. He was born in Scotland about the year 1782; but in what district, or of what parentage, we are unable to ascertain. In March, 1800, he went to India, being then only in his eighteenth year, and obtained a commission in the second Bengal European regiment. Although he commenced his career thus early,

he appears to have arrived in India an unbefriended adventurer; for instead of waiting for promotion like his brother officers who had patronage to back their merits, he volunteered for the Molucca Isles, was transferred to the marine service on board the *Mornington*, and afterwards, to use his own expression, "ran the gauntlet from Calcutta to Hurdwar." In the course of this run, however, he not only escaped the dangers that crossed it, but reached the starting-place of a new and better career. At the close of 1805, when he was nothing more than a subaltern in the subsidiary force at Gwalior, an embassy was to be sent at the close of the Mahratta war to Sindhia, at that time encamped at Mewar, in Rajpootana. Tod's friend, Mr. Græme Mercer, was sent as ambassador on this occasion, while Tod himself was to accompany him as assistant. The country of Rajast'han, of which it formed a part, was thenceforth to be the "home of his adoption," as he affectionately called it, and the place to which the best part of his life was to be enthusiastically and usefully devoted.

On settling down amidst the official duties with which he was intrusted, Tod, now scarcely twenty-four years old, resolved to be something more than a mere political resident. Great capacities, hitherto undeveloped, were struggling within him, which the new land of his abode was calculated to call forth; and under this inspiration he successively became geographer, historian, and archaeologist. As was natural, the geography of Rajast'han was the first subject of his inquiry, into which he threw himself with ardour almost as soon as he arrived; and for this there was urgent need—for large and important though the country was, it was still a mere *terra incognita* to his employers, the conquerors of the East. Once a vast cluster of provinces that composed an empire extending, in all probability, from the Jumna and Ganges to the base of the Himalaya, comprehending nearly eight degrees of latitude and nine of longitude, it still was a large territory, inhabited by a variety of interesting races, but who, from the misgovernment of their own chiefs, and the absence of European instruction, were fast sinking into hopeless barbarism. He therefore began the survey of the country, which hitherto in the maps of India had been almost a total blank, while the course of rivers and the position of capitals were in most cases utterly reversed. All this mass of ignorance and error was superseded by his ample and accurate map of Rajast'han, which he completed and presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1815. To the country itself thus delineated he gave the name of Central India, and that name it has ever since retained. The value of the map was fully tested as a guide in the operations of the government only two years afterwards, as its information was adopted in the plan of operations by Lord Hastings in 1817.

It was not enough for Tod, however, that he should be the geographer of his adopted country: he resolved also to be its historian. It was a bold attempt. Hitherto it had generally been thought in Europe that Indian history was but a myth—a collection of opium dreams, more unreal than even the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*—and therefore unworthy of a moment's attention. The names, indeed, of Alexander of Macedon and Timour, of Mahmoud of Gazni, Baber, and Acbar, were familiar as invaders and conquerors of India; but the peoples and heroes whom they slew or subjugated in the lands which they formed into new empires, were as unknown as if they had been the inhabitants of a different planet; and yet these people must have had a history of some kind or other, and perchance a history worth reading, if it were only written. This, he resolved, should

be done; but where were the materials? Rajast'han had abounded in poets and fabulists, and these, too, of the true eastern stamp; but it had not a Herodotus or a Xenophon, nor yet even a Bede or Fordun. These were all but insuperable difficulties, let the amount of research and talent be what it might. All this, however, he overcame. The labour which he endured in such a task, while it has a startling sound to European ears, gives a high idea of his indomitable zeal and perseverance. He began with the sacred genealogies contained in the Puranas, examined the Mahabharat, studied the historical poems of Chund, Jesselmer, Marwar, and Mewar, and the bardic lays containing the history of the Kheetchies, and that of the Hara princes of Kotah and Boondi. He also procured and carefully studied a large portion of the compilations of Jeysing of Amber or Jey-poor, the learned rajah of modern times, illustrating the history of his race. For ten years he was occupied with this mountain of recondit matter, being assisted in his labours by an erudite scholar of that eastern sect called the Jains, who made copious extracts from the above-mentioned mass, and translated them into those more familiar dialects of the East with which Tod was acquainted. He also mingled in frequent conversation with the most intelligent of the people; and having made himself master of their language, he extracted from them the knowledge of their historical traditions, whether in tales, allegories, or poems, and questioned them about their religious opinions and their daily habits and usages. His ardent enthusiasm, and the Asiatic character that was rapidly ingrafting itself upon his Scottish temperament, admirably fitted him for such a task; and seated amidst the ruins of ancient cities, with a group of these story-tellers around him, he listened for hours to their stirring tales of the wild chivalry of the East, and the patriotic deeds of their ancestors, until he felt as if he was a Rajpoot, and that the bleak northern country in which his boyhood had been spent was nothing more than a dream of the night. But still his hereditary caution—*canniness* if you will—did not desert him under such tempting circumstances; and therefore, independently of these sources of information, he studied every authentic monument, inscription, and architectural relic, by which he tested the innumerable legends that solicited his notice; and the result was his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, of which the first volume was published in London in 1829. This splendid work at once demonstrated that India has actually a native history, while it became the text-book and authority of our most distinguished oriental scholars. It also gave an irresistible impulse to that study of Indo-Grecian antiquities which has since been so extensively prosecuted, and by which so much new light has been thrown upon ancient history, by revealing the connection between the European and Asiatic races.

And worthy, indeed, were the past achievements of the Rajpoots of such a commemoration. Proud of our northern chivalry of ancient days, and the national liberties which it established, we are too apt to lose sight of other nations that have struggled as bravely, though not so successfully, as ourselves. But Rajast'han, through the labours of Colonel Tod, has now a chronicle to unfold to the world, in which a patriotism as devoted, and sacrifices as great, and valiant deeds as illustrious are to be found as adorn the pages of Greece and Rome, or even our own Britain. "What nation on earth," he exclaims triumphantly, "could have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression, but one of such singular character as the

Rajpoot? . . . Rajast'han exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind, of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity could inflict, or human nature sustain, from a foe whose religion commands annihilation; and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure, and making calamity a whetstone to courage. . . . Not an iota of their religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of land." That so noble and gallant a people should have been overcome, and that in the midst of such achievements the country should still have continued to diminish, so that it became the very Poland of the East, can be easily explained, as in the case of Poland, by the defective nature of its government. Wherever the patriarchal system of rule predominates, the bravery, the devotedness, and patriotism of its people have been unavailing. They have furnished, indeed, a glorious and spirit-stirring history; but decay and downfall have been the inevitable close. Such was the fate of Rajast'han, a land of many tribes and many princes. The Parthians by whom they were overrun, and the Tartars by whom they were finally subdued, were united nations; and that single advantage made them victorious over a people braver perhaps than themselves, but divided by the feudality which prevented a united and universal resistance, and insured a piecemeal destruction.

Such was the nature of Tod's labours till 1817, when he was appointed political agent of government over that extensive country comprising the five principal states of Rajast'han, viz. Mewar, Marwar, Jessulmer, Kotah, and Boondi. It was a high office for one holding his subordinate military rank, although scarcely too high for his service and merits, and the confidence which the Rajpoots reposed in him. But the appointment seems to have given umbrage to those who perhaps thought themselves better entitled to promotion, irrespective of their fitness for such a peculiar office. The sympathy also which he felt for the people, and the influence which he possessed among the native princes, caused him for a short time to be regarded at head-quarters with suspicion and jealousy. But these unseemly feelings, although they annoyed him at first, he soon refuted by his conduct; while the excellence of his administration endeared him more and more every day to the people. This Bishop Heber found afterwards in his episcopal tour, when he passed through the province of Mewar. On this occasion the inquiries of the people as to the welfare of their "Tod Sahib" were incessant, and whether they should ever see him again. It is not often that the deputy who rules in the name of foreign masters is thus endeared to a subjugated but still high-spirited people. The nature of his administration, his attempts for the restoration of Rajpootana, and the estimation in which his labours were held, can be best understood from the following letter to a friend:—"Regarding Bhilwana, the work of my hands, in February, 1818, there was not a dog in it; in 1822 I left 3000 houses, of which 1200 were bankers and merchants; an entire street, arcaded, was built under my directions, and with my means. The merchants from Calcutta, Jessulmer, Delhi, Surat—from every mart in India—had their correspondents; and, in fact, it was becoming the chief mart of Rajast'han. The affection of these people a thousand times repaid my cares. The females met me at a distance with vessels of water on their heads, singing the *Sohaloh*, and the whole of the merchants and bankers advanced in a body to conduct me through it. The streets were crowded; brocades of gold silks were suspended from the shops—it made me proud, not vain. It was with difficulty I checked the determination to

call it *Todgunge*; but whatever I did was in the Rana's name. My conscience tells me I deserved their love. How health and comfort were spurned in their behalf! I have lain on my pallet with high fever, my spleen so enlarged as to be felt in every part of my ribs; fifty leeches at work, left to a servant to superintend, whilst I had the whole of the territorial officers of the district of Mondelgurh, consisting of 350 towns and villages, at the other side, taking the whole of their accounts, and separating the fisc and the lands of the chiefs, even to a beegah—all the while half-dead with inanition. But I had the principle of life strong within me. It appears now a dream. But a week before I was at the point of death; but it was vain to tell me to desist from work. A short time after I was knocked off my elephant in going to restore to the chief of the *Megawats* twenty-seven villages, alienated for forty-five years, which I recovered from the fangs of the *Mahrattas*. The animal ran off, crossing the wooden bridge of his moat, and the arch being too low carried me fairly off. That I was not crushed was a miracle. *That night the triumphal arch of the Megawats was levelled to the ground!* These are the men without gratitude! It was worth a broken limb, yet I escaped with bruises. But my head burns as did my heart for my Rajpoots."

In this short account we have the secret of that wondrous spell by which we retain the empire of the East. Compare Colonel Tod with a Roman prætor or pro-consul! It is only when Britain will impose rulers upon her Indian dependencies who will pillage rather than protect and benefit the people, that her rule over India will pass away into other hands, and leave nothing behind it but the glory and the shame of a historical remembrance.

The rest of Colonel Tod's proceedings among the Rajpoots may be briefly told. In 1819 he completed the circuit of Marwar, and visited its capital, Joudpoor, by the route of Komulmer, and returned to Oodipoor by the way of Mairta and Ajmer. In 1820 he visited Kotah and Boondi, and in the following year he revisited the latter province, in consequence of the death of his friend the Rao Rajah Ram Sing, who bequeathed to the colonel the guardianship of his son, the prince of the Haras. It was now time that his personal connection with India should cease, as after a residence of twenty-two years of incessant occupation in that climate, his broken constitution could withstand it no longer. He was accordingly released from his duties as British political agent of Rajast'han, which he had discharged during five years, and allowed to return to England. But instead of instantly availing himself of the opportunity, by hastening to embark when he left the valley of Oodipoor in June, 1822, he crossed the Aravalli to the sacred mountain of Aboo, and explored the remains of that district, so venerated in the religious traditions of Hindoostan. His interest in Rajpootana and love of travel being still unabated, he continued his journey of research, in which he discovered the ruins of an ancient city in the borders of Marwar, explored the ancient capital of the Balhara kings, and crossed the peninsula of Saurashtra, visiting in his way the towns, temples, and shrines that illustrated the ancient history of the country. This journey was so replete with interest that he drew up a full account of it after his return to England. He finally embarked at Bombay in the early part of 1823, and arrived in England the same year.

On returning home Colonel Tod by no means abandoned himself to a life of rest or recreation. His Indian studies and discoveries, carried over so long a period, and involving such important subjects,

were to be arranged and prepared for the press, and to this duty he turned his attention with all his wonted ardour. And how well he discharged his task the *Annals of Rajast'han* will sufficiently attest, independently of his other writings. It opened up new paths in the study of the history, philosophy, and religion of India, which subsequent scholars have entered with the happiest results. But these efforts, upon a constitution already all but exhausted, accelerated the process of decay, and a complaint in the chest obliged him to take up his residence in Italy, where he chiefly abode during the last twelve months of his life. Still his studies were continued, and during the winter while he stayed in Rome he employed himself daily in a work entitled *Travels in Western India*, containing his observations during a journey to the peninsula of Guzerat, which he had made before his departure for Britain. From Italy he returned to England in the beginning of September, 1835, and on the 14th of November he came from his mother's residence in Hampshire to London, ready to publish his work on Western India, and retire for the rest of his life to a property which he had lately purchased. But on the 16th, the anniversary of his marriage, while transacting business at his banker's, he was suddenly struck with apoplexy, under which he continued speechless and insensible for twenty-seven hours, when he expired on the afternoon of the 17th, 1835.

TRAILL, REV. ROBERT. The family of the Traills is of considerable antiquity, and was settled in Fifeshire, where they possessed the estate of Blebo. The first of the name who appears in Scottish history was Walter Traill, son of the laird of Blebo, who was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews by king Robert III., about the year 1385. The father of Robert Traill, who was minister of the Grayfriars' Church, Edinburgh, was one of those bold witnesses for the Covenant who lived during the stormy period of the Commonwealth, and the still more trying season of the Restoration, in which, at the age of sixty, he was banished from Scotland for life upon the charge of holding a conventicle, because he had read and expounded Scripture to a few friends who were assembled in his house. In consequence of this sentence he retired to Holland, the usual place of refuge for the exiled Presbyterians of Scotland, and there spent the rest of his life.

It was in the midst of these troubles that the subject of the present memoir was ushered into the world. He was born at Elie, in Fifeshire, of which parish his father at first was minister, in May, 1642. Being destined for the ministry at a period when the office in Scotland possessed few secular attractions, and was best fitted to test the disinterestedness of its candidates, he prosecuted the usual course of study in the university of Edinburgh, and secured by his proficiency the approbation of the professors. While a divinity student, and as yet only nineteen years old, he evinced his sincerity and courage by attending James Guthrie of Stirling to the scaffold, when that faithful martyr was executed for his adherence to the persecuted Kirk of Scotland. It was easy to foresee from such a commencement that the course of the young man would be neither a profitable nor a safe one. On the banishment of his father two years afterwards, the circumstances of the family were so straitened that Robert Traill, who shared in all their trials, was often without a home. Matters in 1666 became even worse, in consequence of some copies of the *Apologetic Relation*—a work obnoxious to the prelates and privy-council—having been found in their house; for in consequence of this

discovery his mother, brother, and himself were obliged to hide themselves from pursuit. While he was thus a fugitive, the unfortunate rout at Pentland occurred; and—as in the trials that followed all the homeless and persecuted in Scotland were assumed as being more or less implicated in the insurrection—Robert Traill, whether truly or falsely, was said to have been in the ranks of the insurgents, in consequence of which charge he was liable every hour to be apprehended and executed as a traitor. In this difficulty he fled to Holland in 1667, and joined his father, who had been settled there four years. Here he resumed his studies in theology, and assisted Nethenus, professor of divinity at Utrecht, in publishing Rutherford's *Examination of Arminianism*.

The stay of Robert Traill in Holland must have been a short one, probably only till the close of 1668; for in April, 1669, he was preaching in London upon a Thursday previous to the administration of the Lord's supper. It is probable that having completed his theological studies in Holland, he had come to England in the earlier part of the year, and received ordination from the London presbytery. Here he preached for some time without any settled charge, and was afterwards permanently appointed to the Presbyterian church at Cranbrook, a small town in Kent. In this retirement he could exercise his calling in safety, as the Presbyterianism of England was not regarded as either so formidable or so important as to provoke the interposition of state persecution. But the case was very different in his native Scotland, which he visited in 1677. During his sojourn in Edinburgh he privately preached there, notwithstanding the severe laws against conventicles; and as the privy-council had their spies everywhere, he was soon arraigned for this highest of offences before their bar. His trial was a brief one. He was first accused as a holder of house-conventicles, and this he acknowledged to be true. He was then asked if he had also preached at field-conventicles, but as this was the trying question upon what was a capital offence, he gave no answer; and when required to clear himself by oath of having preached at or attended such meetings, he refused to comply. For lack of witnesses or proof they would oblige him to be his own accuser, and were prepared to punish him whether he confessed or remained silent! But such was the law of Scotland in those days against the persecuted children of the Covenant. On further questioning all that he acknowledged was that he had been ordained a minister in London, and that he had conversed with Mr. John Welch, one whom they had proscribed, upon the English border. For these offences he was sentenced to imprisonment in the Bass—a punishment only short of the gallows; and here he remained three months, at the end of which period he was released by order of government. It is not impossible that he had some influential friends in the English metropolis, otherwise he might have remained in the Bass for years, had his life endured it so long. On being released from his damp and dismal dungeon, that was scooped in the bowels of the sea-girt rock, Traill returned to Cranbrook, and resumed his ministerial duties over his little flock, until he was called to a wider sphere in London. There he lived and laboured as a Presbyterian minister until he died in May, 1716, at the ripe age of seventy-four, having witnessed before he closed his eyes the deposition of the Stuarts, the firm establishment of Presbyterianism in his native country, the union of the two kingdoms, and the prospect of peaceful days and more liberal principles of rule under the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty.

Such are the few particulars that can be ascertained of the life of Robert Trall; and from these it is evident that he was a man of peace, and that the persecutions he so manfully endured were not sought by him, but thrust upon him. It is easy, also, to perceive from his published works, that he was a thoughtful student, as well as one of large and vigorous intellect; and that his taste as a writer was greatly in advance of his contemporary countrymen. His writings are essentially English—clear, nervous, and Saxon—while the catholicity of their sentiments made them a favourite with every class of religious men both in England and Scotland. Although so well adapted, also, to obtain influence and distinction in authorship, he did not commit his first work to the press until he had attained the ripe age of forty, and even then, such was his modesty, that it was extorted from him by the importunity of his admirers; while his second publication did not follow till ten years after. The following is a list of his writings: Sermon on *How Ministers may best win Souls*.—Letter on *Antinomianism*.—Thirteen discourses on the *Throne of Grace*, from Heb. iv. 16. —Sixteen sermons on the *Prayer of our Saviour*, in John xvii. 24. These works obtained such high popularity, and were found so useful, that after his death the following were also published from his manuscripts: Twenty-one sermons on *Steadfast Adherence to the Profession of our Faith*, from Heb. x. 23.—Eleven sermons from 1 Peter i. 1-4.—Six sermons on Galatians ii. 21.—Ten sermons on various subjects. These were transcribed from family MSS., and issued by the Cheap Publication Society of the Free Church of Scotland in 1845.

TROTTER, THOMAS, M.D., who held at one time the important office of physician to the Channel fleet, was born in Roxburghshire, educated at the university of Edinburgh, and while still young was appointed surgeon in the royal navy in 1782. Finding occupation in his own particular department too scanty, or rival aspirants too numerous, he turned his attention to the African trade, and was, as he has informed us, the first of his professional corps who was obliged to betake himself to that humble and somewhat perilous vocation. Returning from Africa in 1785, he settled as a medical practitioner at a small town in Northumberland, and obtained the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1788. Better days now began to dawn upon him; for in the following year he was appointed, through the patronage of Admiral Roddam, surgeon to that commander's flag-ship; in 1793 he was made physician to the Royal Hospital at Portsmouth, and in 1794 physician to the fleet.

This was high as well as rapid promotion for one who had been fain to commence his pursuit of fortune in a merchant-ship, and under the baneful sun of Africa; but the first step in his ascent once secured, Dr. Trotter soon showed his fitness for the eminence to which he was raised, for in 1790, only a year after his first appointment, he published a *Review of the Medical Department of the British Navy*. Such also was his care for the health of the naval service, the important improvements he introduced into its regulations, and his attention to the due promotion of merit among the navy surgeons, that all classes combined in acknowledging his worth. After having occupied the important charge of physician to the fleet for several years, he retired upon a pension of £200 per annum, and settled at Newcastle, where he practised with reputation till his death, which occurred in that town on the 5th September, 1832.

As an author Dr. Trotter was known to the medical world at large by the excellent works he pub-

lished, as well as the reforms he effected in the British navy. A list of these productions we here give in their order:—1. *Treatise on the Scurvy*.—2. *Thesis "De Ebrietate."* 1788. 3.—*Review of the Medical Department of the British Navy*. 1790. A work to which we have already adverted. 4.—*Medical and Chemical Essays*. 1796.—5. "*Medica Nautica, or an Essay on the Diseases of Seamen.*" 3 vols. 8vo, 1799.—6. *Essay on Drunkenness*. 1804. This was a translation with additions of his *Thesis* which he had written in 1788, and which had been highly commended by Dr. Cullen.—7. *An Address to the Proprietors and Managers of Coal-mines, on the Means of Destroying Damp*. 1806.—8. "*A View of the Nervous Temperament; being a Practical Treatise on Nervous, Bilious, Stomach, and Liver Complaints.*" 8vo, 1812.

Dr. Trotter was a poet as well as physician, and his productions in this department, forgotten though they now are, excited during their own day such an amount of respectful attention as mere common rhymes could scarcely have obtained. First in the list of these was his *Suspisia Oceani*, being a monody on the death of Earl Howe; the next, published in 1813, was a tragedy, entitled "*The Noble Foundling, or the Hermit of the Tweed.*" He also published a volume of his miscellaneous poetry, and was a frequent contributor at his leisure hours, not only to the *Medical Journal*, but also to the *European Magazine*, and other literary periodicals.

TURNBULL, WILLIAM, Bishop of Glasgow and Lord Privy-seal of Scotland, descended from the Turnbulls of Minto, in Roxburghshire, was born in the early part of the fifteenth century. Having been educated for the church, he entered into orders, and was appointed prebend of Balenrick (connected with which dignity was the lordship of Prevan) in the year 1440. In the year 1445 he was preferred to be secretary and keeper of the privy-seal; at which time, as appears by the act of council, he was called William Turnbull, Lord of Prevan. He was shortly after this inaugurated Doctor of Laws, and made archdeacon of St. Andrews, within the bounds of Lothian. By some writers he is said to have been about this time Bishop of Dunkeld; but this, we think, is doubtful. In the year 1447 he was promoted to the see of Glasgow, upon the death of Bishop Bruce, and was consecrated in the year 1448.

No sooner was Bishop Turnbull settled in the see than he set about erecting or founding a college in the city. For this purpose a bull, at the request of King James II., was procured from Pope Nicholas V., constituting a university, to continue in all time to come, in the city of Glasgow, "it being a notable place, with gude air, and plenty of provisions for human life." The pope, by his apostolical authority, ordained that the doctors, masters, readers, and students of the university of Glasgow should enjoy all the privileges, liberties, honours, exemptions, and immunities which he had granted to the city of Bononia. He likewise appointed William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors in that see, chancellors of the university, and to have the same authority over the doctors, masters, readers, and scholars as the chancellors of the university of Bononia. This bull is dated at Rome, January 7, 1450. By the care of the bishop and his chapter, a body of statutes was prepared, and a university established the following year, 1451.

The university consisted, besides the chancellor, of a rector, and masters of the four faculties, who had taken their degrees in other colleges; and students who, after a course of study, might be promoted to

academical degrees. That the classes in the university might commence with some degree of celebrity, a bull had been procured from the pope, and was now published, granting a universal indulgence to all faithful Christians who should visit the cathedral of Glasgow in the year 1451. The first rector was David Cadzow, who was re-elected in 1452. During the first two years upwards of a hundred members were incorporated, most of them secular or regular clergy, canons, rectors, vicars, abbots, priors, and monks. The clergy attended the university the more willingly, that the bishop had procured royal charters and acts of parliament, exempting them from all taxes and public burdens, and from their residence in their own cures. The whole incorporated members, students, as well as doctors and masters, were divided into four parts, called the *Quatuor Nationes*, according to the place of their nativity. The whole realm of Scotland and the Isles was divided into four districts, under the names of Clydesdale, Teviotdale, Albany, and Rothesay; a meeting of the whole was annually called the day after St. Crispin's day; and, being divided into four nations, each nation by itself chose a procurator and intrant, and the intrants, meeting by themselves, made choice of a rector and a deputation of each nation, who were assistants and assessors to the rector. The rector and his deputation had various and important functions. They were judges in all criminal causes wherein any member of the university was a party. Every member who either sued or answered before any other court, was guilty of perjury, and incurred the penalty of expulsion. The ecclesiastics in the university, of course, to whatever diocese they belonged, could no longer be called before their rural deans. All members were incorporated by the rector and deputation, after taking an oath to obey the rector and his successors, to observe the statutes, preserve the privileges of the university, and keep its secrets, revealing nothing to its prejudice, whatever station in society they might afterwards attain. The rector and deputies were also the council of the college. It was their business to deliberate upon, and digest all matters to be brought before the congregation of the doctors and masters, whose determinations in such cases were accounted, in respect of authority, next to the statutes. Two other office-bearers were chosen annually, on the day after St. Crispin's, namely, a *bursarius*, who kept the university purse, and accounted for all his intromissions; and a *promoter*, whose business it was to see to the observation of the statutes, and to bring delinquents before the rector's court, which had power to enforce the statutes, or to dispense with them, in certain cases. The second division of the university was into its different faculties, four of which, in the pope's bull, are specified by name: Theology, Canon Law, Civil Law, and the Arts. All others are comprehended in a general clause, *quacunque licita facultate*. In these times the professions of theology, canon and civil laws, were denominated the three learned professions, as being the only ones in which learning was thought necessary. They alone fitted men for honourable or profitable employments, for being admitted to dignities in the church or the state; and to train men to eminence in these professions was the original intention of universities. The arts, however, under which were comprehended logic, physics, and morals, being considered as necessary to these professions, formed an indispensable part of study in every university. The universities were all incorporated by the popes, who appear to have borrowed their plan from that of incorporated towns and burghs, the university corresponding to the whole incorpora-

tion of the burgh, and the different faculties to the different companies of trades or crafts into which the burgh is divided. The companies in the incorporated towns were anciently called *collegia*, or colleges; and the whole incorporation, comprehending all the companies, was called the *universitas* of that town. These names, by analogy, were at first applied to corporations of the learned professions, and at length appropriated solely to them. The government of every faculty was similar to that of the university. Each had its own statutes, determining the time of study, and the exercises and examinations necessary for attaining degrees in that faculty. Each chose annually its own dean, its own *bursarius*, and sometimes four deputations, as a council to the dean. Of the three higher faculties in this university nothing is known, there being no record of their statutes or transactions extant. A third division in the college was made, according to the academical degree of every member. The highest degree in theology, canon and civil law, was that of doctor in the arts. In all the faculties there were two degrees by which a man rose to the highest. These were bachelor and licentiate. The degree of licentiate, as well as that of doctor or master, was conferred by the chancellor or vice-chancellor. The requisites to all the degrees were a certain time of study, having heard certain books prelected upon, and performed certain exercises and gone through certain examinations. The age of fifteen was necessary for being made a bachelor of arts, and twenty to become a master. It was forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to give any man the title of master, by word or writing, who had not attained that degree; and the penalty was still heavier if any man took it to himself, without having obtained it in the regular manner. Nor can we feel surprised at degrees being thus carefully guarded, seeing they were held to be of divine institution, and were always conferred by the chancellor, or vice-chancellor, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Some years after the university was founded, a number of the students being young men to whom tuition as well as teaching was necessary, provision was made that they should live and eat in one house, which was called *Pedagogium*, or the college of arts. Here they were taught and governed by certain masters, called *regentes artibus*. This college was at first on the south side of the Rottenrow, near the cathedral; but afterwards a tenement was bequeathed for it by Lord Hamilton, the site of the college in High Street. There were at first in the university, three regents in the arts, viz. Alexander Geddes, a Cistercian monk; Duncan Burch, and William Arthurlie. Afterwards there were sometimes two, and sometimes only one. This seems to have been the most laborious and least coveted office in the university. Besides teaching and presiding in disputations every lawful day, the regents lived within the college, ate at a common table with the students of arts, visited the rooms of the students before nine at night, when the gates were shut, and at five in the morning, and assisted in all examinations for degrees in the faculties of arts. For many years the office had no salary, and the fees paid by the students were very small. All that held the office, two only excepted, kept it but for a short time; and often one who was not a member of the faculty was called to the office; which renders it probable that there was no competition in those days, either for the office itself, or for the patronage of it; but, on the contrary, some difficulty was experienced in finding persons qualified to fill it, or who were willing to take it. James II., the year after its foundation, granted a royal charter in favour of the university, by which

the rectors, the deans of the faculties, the procurators of the four nations, the masters, regents, and scholars, with the beadles, writers, stationers, and parchment makers, were exempted from all taxes, watchings and wardings, weapon-schawings, &c.; but it had no property, either of lands, houses, or rents. The *congregatio universitatis* was always held at the cathedral.

The doctors and masters met sometimes at the convent of the Dominicans, or *Predicatores*, as they were called, where all the lectures we find mentioned in theology, canon and civil law, were read. There was a university purse, into which perquisites paid on being incorporated at examinations and promotions to degrees were put. From this purse, after it had accumulated for some years, cups of ceremony were furnished; but to defray the expense of a silver rod or mace, to be borne before the rector on solemn occasions, it was necessary to tax all the incorporated members, on which occasion David Cadzow, the first rector, gave twenty nobles. The first property the college acquired was two or three chaplainies bequeathed by some of its first members. The duty of the chaplain was to perform certain masses at a specified altar for the souls of the founder and his friends, for which he was paid a small annuity. These chaplainies were commonly given to some of the regents of the college of arts, probably because they were the parent of the sacerdotal order in the university. This patronage and this purse, so far as appears, were all the property the university ever possessed; nor does it appear that the faculties of theology, canon and civil law, ever had any property. The individuals had each livings through all parts of the nation, abbacies, priories, prebendaries, rectories, and vicarages, but the community had nothing. Its privileges were the sole inducement to bring rich ecclesiastics into a society in which they lived at ease free of all taxes, and subject to no authority but that of their own rector. The college of arts, however, which the public even then had the good sense to see was the most useful part of the whole, and particularly entitled to public favour, as being intrusted with the education of youth, soon came to have some property.

In the year 1469, only eight years after its foundation, James Lord Hamilton bequeathed to Mr. Duncan Burch, principal regent of the college of arts, and his successors, regents, for the use of the said college, a tenement, with the pertinents lying on the north side of the church and convent of the Dominicans, together with four acres of land in the Dovehill, with a request that the regents and students every day after dinner and after supper should stand up and pray for the souls of him, Lord James Hamilton, of Euphemia, his spouse, Countess of Douglas, of his ancestors and successors, and of all from whom he had received any benefit for which he had not made a proper return. These four acres of land became part of the college garden, and from this date the faculty of arts from time to time were enabled to devote somewhat to the repairing, and even to make additions to the buildings of the college, furnishing rooms for the regents and students, with things necessary for the kitchen and a common table. Nearly thirty years after this Mr. Thomas Arthurdie bequeathed to the university another tenement adjoining to the college. By this time the students consisted generally of the youth of the nation, whose education was of the utmost importance to the public. They were distinguished according to their rank into sons of noblemen, of gentlemen, and those of meaner rank, and, with a degree of consideration which in modern times has been lost sight of, for the expenses of their education were taxed

accordingly. Such is the early history of the university of Glasgow, founded by Bishop Turnbull, probably in imitation of that established by Bishop Wardlaw at St. Andrews. Neither of those bishops, it may be remarked, bestowed any of their funds upon the colleges they were the means of establishing, and in this respect came far short of Bishop Elphinston of Aberdeen, who not only procured the foundation of a college in that city, but contributed largely to its endowment. Bishop Turnbull also obtained from James II. a charter erecting the town and patrimonies of the bishopric of Glasgow into a regality; and after he had done many acts highly beneficial to the age in which he lived, and worthy to be remembered by posterity, died at Rome, on the 3d day of September, 1454. His death was universally regretted; and his name must always bear a conspicuous place among the more worthy and useful clergy of the elder establishment in Scotland.

TYTLER, ALEXANDER FRASER, usually styled Lord Woodhouselee, was born in Edinburgh, on the 15th of October, 1747. He was the eldest son of William Tytler, Esq., of Woodhouselee, by his wife, Anne Craig. The earlier rudiments of education he received from his father at home; but in the eighth year of his age he was sent to the high-school, then under the direction of Mr. Mathison. At this seminary young Tytler remained for five years, distinguishing himself at once by the lively frankness of his manners, and by the industry and ability with which he applied himself to and pursued his studies. The latter procured him the highest honours of the academy; and finally, in the last year of his course, obtained for him the dignity of dux of the rector's class.

On the completion of his curriculum at the high-school, his father sent him, in his sixteenth year, to an academy at Kensington for the still further improvement of his classical attainments, and there he soon distinguished himself by his application and proficiency, particularly in Latin poetry, to which he now became greatly attached, and in which he arrived at great excellence. To his other pursuits, while at Kensington, Mr. Tytler added drawing, which soon became a favourite amusement with him, and continued so throughout the whole of his after life. He also began, by himself, to study Italian, and by earnest and increasing assiduity quickly acquired a sufficiently competent knowledge of that language to enable him to read it fluently, and to enjoy the beauties of the authors who wrote in it. The diversity of Mr. Tytler's pursuits extended yet further. He acquired, while at Kensington, a taste for natural history, in the study of which he was greatly assisted by Dr. Russel, an intimate friend of his father, who then lived in his neighbourhood.

In 1765 Mr. Tytler returned to Edinburgh, after an absence of two years, and his studies naturally assumed a more direct relation to the profession for which he was destined—the law. With this object he entered the university, where he began the study of civil law under Dr. Dick; and afterwards that of municipal law under Mr. Wallace. He also studied logic under Dr. Stevenson; rhetoric and belles-lettres under Dr. Blair; and moral science under Dr. Ferguson. Mr. Tytler, however, did not, by any means, devote his attention exclusively to these preparatory professional studies. He reserved a portion for those that belong to general knowledge. From these he selected natural philosophy and chemistry, and attended a course of each. While he was fortunate in having such eminent teachers, he was no less

fortunate, at this period of his life, in his acquaintance. Amongst these he had the happiness to reckon Henry Mackenzie, Lord Abercromby, Lord Craig, Mr. Playfair, Dr. Gregory, and Dugald Stewart.

In 1770 Mr. Tytler was called to the bar; and in the spring of the succeeding year he paid a visit to Paris, in company with Mr. Kerr, of Blackshields. Shortly after this, Lord Kames, who had seen from time to time some of his little literary efforts, recommended to him to write a supplementary volume to his *Dictionary of Decisions*. Inspired with confidence, and flattered by the opinion of his abilities on the part of Lord Kames, Mr. Tytler immediately commenced the laborious undertaking, and in five years of almost unremitting toil completed it. The work, which was executed in such a manner as to call forth not only the unqualified approbation of the eminent person who had first proposed it, but of all who were competent to judge of its merits, was published in folio, in 1778. Two years after this, in 1780, Mr. Tytler was appointed conjunct professor of universal history in the college of Edinburgh with Mr. Pringle; and in 1786 he became sole professor. From this period till the year 1800 he devoted himself exclusively to the duties of his office, in which his services were singularly efficient. His course of lectures was so remarkably comprehensive, that, although they were chiefly intended, in accordance with the object for which the class was instituted, for the benefit of those who were intended for the law, he yet numbered amongst his students many who were not destined for that profession. The favourable impression made by these performances, and the popularity which they acquired for Mr. Tytler, induced him, in 1782, to publish what he modestly entitled *Outlines* of his course of lectures. These were so well received, that their ingenious author felt himself called upon some time afterwards to republish them in a more extended form. This he accordingly did, in two volumes, under the title of *Elements of General History*. The *Elements* were received with an increase of public favour, proportioned to the additional value which had been imparted to the work by its extension. It became a text-book in some of the universities of Britain; and was held in equal estimation, and similarly employed, in the universities of America. The work has since passed through many editions. The reputation of a man of letters, and of extensive and varied acquirements, which Mr. Tytler now deservedly enjoyed, subjected him to numerous demands for literary assistance and advice. Amongst these was a request from Dr. Gregory, then (1788) engaged in publishing the works of his father, Dr. John Gregory, to prefix to these works an account of the life and writings of the latter. With this request Mr. Tytler readily complied; and he eventually discharged the trust thus confided to him with great fidelity and discrimination, and with the tenderest and most affectionate regard for the memory which he was perpetuating.

Mr. Tytler wrote pretty largely also for the well-known periodicals the *Mirror* and the *Lounger*. To the former of these he contributed Nos. 17, 37, 59, and 79; and to the latter Nos. 7, 9, 24, 44, 67, 70, and 79. The first of these were written with the avowed intention of giving a higher and sprightlier character to the work to which they were furnished; qualities in which he thought it deficient, although he greatly admired the talent and genius displayed in its graver papers; but he justly conceived, that a judicious admixture of a little humour, occasionally, would not be against its popularity. The circumstances in which his contributions to the *Lounger* were composed, afford a very remarkable

instance of activity of mind and habits, of facility of expression, and felicity of imagination. They were almost all written at inns, where he happened to be detained for any length of time, in his occasional journeys from one place to another.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in 1783, Mr. Tytler became one of its constituent members; and was soon afterwards unanimously elected one of the secretaries of the literary class, in which capacity he drew up an account of the "Origin and History of the Society," which was prefixed to the first volume of its *Transactions*. In 1788 he contributed to the *Transactions* a biographical sketch of Robert Dundas of Arniston, lord-president of the Court of Session; and in the year following read a paper to the society on the vitrified forts in the Highlands of Scotland. The principal scope of this paper, which discovers great antiquarian knowledge and research, is to show that, in all probability, this remarkable characteristic of the ancient Highland forts—their vitrification—was imparted to them, not during their erection, as was generally supposed, but at their destruction, which its author reasonably presumes would be in most, if not all cases, effected by fire. With the exception of some trifling differences of opinion in one or two points of minor importance, Mr. Tytler's essay met with the warm and unanimous approbation of the most eminent antiquarians of the day.

The next publication of this versatile and ingenious writer, was an *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, published anonymously in 1790. By one of those singular coincidences which are not of unfrequent occurrence in the literary world, it happened that Dr. Campbell, principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, had, but a short while before, published a work entitled *Translations of the Gospel*; to which was prefixed a "Preliminary Dissertation on the Principles of Taste." Between many of the sentiments expressed in this dissertation, and those promulgated in Mr. Tytler's *Essay*, there was a resemblance so strong and close, that Dr. Campbell, on perusing the latter, immediately conceived that the anonymous author had pillaged his dissertation; and instantly wrote to Mr. Creech of Edinburgh, his publisher, intimating his suspicions. Mr. Tytler, however, now came forward, acknowledged himself to be the author of the suspected *Essay*, and, in a correspondence which he opened with Dr. Campbell, not only convinced him that the similarity of sentiment which appeared in their respective publications, was the result of mere accident, but succeeded in obtaining the esteem and warmest friendship of his learned correspondent. Mr. Tytler's *Essay* attained a rapid and extraordinary celebrity. Complimentary letters flowed in upon its author from many of the most eminent men in England; and the book itself speedily came to be considered a standard work in English criticism. He had now attained nearly the highest pinnacle of literary repute. His name was widely known, and was in every case associated with esteem for his worth and admiration of his talents. It is no matter for wonder then, that such a man should have attracted the notice of those in power, nor that they should have thought it would reflect credit on themselves to promote his interests.

In 1790 Mr. Tytler, through the influence of Lord Melville, was appointed to the high dignity of judge-advocate of Scotland. The duties of this important office had always been, previously to Mr. Tytler's nomination, discharged by deputy; but neither the activity of his body and mind, nor his strong sense of duty, would permit him to have recourse to such a subterfuge. He resolved to discharge the duties in

person, and continued to do so, attending himself on every trial, so long as he held the appointment. He also drew up, while acting as judge-advocate, a treatise on *Martial Law*, which has been found of great utility. Of the zeal with which Mr. Tytler discharged the duties of his office, and of the anxiety and impartiality with which he watched over and directed the course of justice, a remarkable instance is afforded in the case of a court-martial which was held at Ayr. Mr. Tytler thought the sentence of that court unjust; and under this impression, which was well founded, immediately represented the matter to Sir Charles Morgan, judge-advocate general of England, and prayed for a reversion of the sentence. Sir Charles cordially concurred in opinion with Mr. Tytler regarding the decision of the court-martial, and immediately procured the desired reversion. In the fulness of his feelings, the feelings of a generous and upright mind, Mr. Tytler recorded his satisfaction with the event on the back of the letter which announced it.

In the year 1792 Mr. Tytler lost his father, and by his death succeeded to the estate of Woodhouselee, and shortly after Mrs. Tytler succeeded in a similar manner to the estate of Balmain in Invernesshire. Being now in possession of affluence, and every other blessing on which human felicity depends, he began to realize certain projects for the improvement and embellishment of his estate, which he had long fondly entertained. From this period he resided constantly at Woodhouselee, the mansion-house of which he enlarged in order that he might enlarge the bounds of his hospitality. The felicity, however, which he now enjoyed, and for which perhaps no man was ever more sincerely or piously grateful, was destined soon to meet with a serious interruption. In three years after his accession to his paternal estate, viz. in 1795, Mr. Tytler was seized with a dangerous and long-protracted fever, accompanied by delirium. The skill and assiduity of his friend Dr. Gregory averted any fatal consequences from the fever, but during the paroxysms of the disease he had burst a blood-vessel—an accident which rendered his entire recovery at first doubtful, and afterwards exceedingly tardy. During the hours of convalescence which succeeded his illness on this occasion, Mr. Tytler employed himself in improving, and adapting to the advanced state of knowledge, Derham's *Physico-Theology*—a work which he had always held in high estimation. To this new edition of Derham's work, which he published in 1799, he prefixed a "Dissertation on Final Causes." In the same year Mr. Tytler wrote a pamphlet, entitled "*Ireland profiting by Example; or the Question considered, Whether Scotland has gained or lost by the Union.*" He was induced to this undertaking by the circumstance of the question having been then furiously agitated, whether any benefit had arisen, or was likely to arise, from the union with Ireland. Of Mr. Tytler's pamphlet the interest was so great that no less than 3000 copies were sold on the day of publication.

The well-earned reputation of Mr. Tytler still kept him in the public eye, and in the way of preferment. In 1801, a vacancy having occurred in the bench of the Court of Session by the death of Lord Stonefield, the subject of this memoir was appointed, through the influence of Lord Melville, to succeed him, and took his seat, on the 2d of February, 1802, as Lord Woodhouselee. His lordship now devoted himself to the duties of his office with the same zeal and assiduity which had distinguished his proceedings as judge-advocate. While the courts were sitting he resided in town, and appropriated

every hour to the business allotted to him; but during the summer recess he retired to his country-seat, and there devoted himself with similar assiduity to literary pursuits. At this period his lordship contemplated several literary works; but gratitude, and a warm and affectionate regard for the memory of his early patron, induced him to abandon them all, in order to write the life of Lord Kames. This work, which occupied him interveniently for four years, was published in 2 volumes quarto, in 1807, with the title of *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Henry Home, Lord Kames*. Besides a luminous account of its proper subject, and of all his writings, it contains a vast fund of literary anecdote, and many notices of eminent persons, of whom there was hardly any other commemoration.

On the elevation of Lord Justice-clerk Hope to the president's chair in 1811, Lord Woodhouselee was appointed to the judiciary bench, and with this appointment terminated his professional advancement. His lordship still continued to devote his leisure hours to literary pursuits, but these were now exclusively confined to the revision of his *Lectures upon History*. In this task, however, he laboured with unwearied assiduity, adding to them the fresh matter with which subsequent study and experience had supplied him, and improving them where an increased refinement in taste showed him they were defective.

In 1812 Lord Woodhouselee succeeded to some property bequeathed him by his friend and relation Sir James Craig, governor of Canada. On this occasion a journey to London was necessary, and his lordship accordingly proceeded thither. Amongst the other duties which devolved upon him there, as nearest relative of the deceased knight, was that of returning to the sovereign the insignia of the order of the Bath with which Sir James had been invested. In the discharge of this duty his lordship had an interview with the prince-regent, who received him with marked cordiality, and from the conversation which afterwards followed, became so favourably impressed regarding him, that he caused an intimation to be conveyed to him soon after that the dignity of baronet would be conferred upon him if he chose it. This honour, however, his lordship modestly declined.

On his return from London his lordship, who was now in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was attacked with his old complaint, and so seriously, that he was advised and prevailed upon to remove from Woodhouselee to Edinburgh, for the benefit of the medical skill which the city afforded. No human aid, however, could now avail him. His complaint daily gained ground in despite of every effort to arrest its progress. Feeling that he had not long to live, although perhaps not aware that the period was to be so brief, he desired his coachman to drive him out on the road in the direction of Woodhouselee, that he might obtain a last sight of his beloved retreat. On coming within view of the well-known grounds his eyes beamed with a momentary feeling of delight. He returned home, ascended the stairs which led to his study with unwonted vigour, gained the apartment, sank on the floor, and expired without a groan.

Lord Woodhouselee died on the 5th January, 1813, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, leaving a name which will not soon be forgotten, and a reputation for taste, talent, and personal worth which will not often be surpassed.

TYTLER, JAMES, a laborious miscellaneous writer, was the son of the minister of Fearn, in the

county of Forfar, where he was born about the middle of the last century. After receiving a good education, he was apprenticed to a Mr. Ogilvie, a surgeon in Forfar, for whom he probably prepared the drugs which almost invariably form a part of the business of such provincial practitioners. He afterwards commenced a regular medical education at the university of Edinburgh, for which the necessary finances were partly supplied by two voyages which he made in the capacity of surgeon on board a Greenland whaler. From his earliest years, and during the whole course of his professional studies, he read with avidity every book that fell in his way; and having a retentive memory, he thus acquired an immense fund of knowledge, more particularly, it is said, in the department of history. If reared in easy circumstances, and with a proper supervision over his moral nature, it is probable that Tytler would have turned his singular aptitude for learning, and his prompt and lively turn of mind, to some account, either in the higher walks of literature, or in some professional pursuit. He appears, however, to have never known anything but the most abject poverty, and to have never been inspired with a taste for anything superior: talent and information were in him unaccompanied by any development of the higher sentiments: and he contentedly settled at an early period of life into a humble matrimonial alliance, which obliged him to dissipate upon paltry objects the abilities that ought to have been concentrated upon some considerable effort. Whether from the pressing nature of the responsibilities thus entailed upon him, or from a natural want of the power of application, Tytler was never able to fix himself steadily in any kind of employment. He first attempted to obtain practice as a surgeon in Edinburgh; but finding the profits of that business inadequate to the support of his family, and being destitute of that capital which might have enabled him to overcome the first difficulties, he was soon induced to remove to Leith, in order to open a shop for the sale of chemical preparations. For this department he was certainly qualified, so far as a skill in chemistry, extraordinary in that age, could be supposed to qualify him. But either from the want of a proper market for his commodities, or because, as formerly, he could not afford to wait till time should establish one, he failed in this line also. In the meantime, some literary efforts of Tytler had introduced him to the notice of the booksellers of Edinburgh, and he was employed by Messrs. Bell and Macfarquhar as a contributor to the second edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1776. As noticed in the life of Mr. WILLIAM SMELLIE, the first edition of the *Encyclopædia* was chiefly compiled by that gentleman, and was comprised in three volumes quarto. Mr. Smellie having declined both a commercial and literary share in the second impression, on account of its including a biographical department, the proprietors appear to have engaged the pen of Mr. Tytler as the next most eligible person that was at their command as a compiler; and accordingly, a large proportion of that additional matter by which the work was expanded from three to ten volumes was the production of the subject of this memoir. The payment for this labour is said to have been very small, inasmuch that the poor author could not support his family in a style superior to that of a common labourer. At one time during the progress of the work he lived in the village of Duddingston, in the house of a washerwoman, whose tub, inverted, formed the only desk he could command; and the editor of this *Dictionary* has heard one of his children relate that she was frequently despatched to town

with a small parcel of copy, upon the payment of which depended the next meal of the family. It is curious to reflect that the proceeds of the work which included so much of this poor man's labours were, in the next ensuing edition, no less than £42,000. It is proper, however, to mention that the poverty of Tytler was chiefly attributable to his own imprudence and intemperate habits. A highly characteristic anecdote, related by an anonymous biographer,¹ will make this sufficiently clear. "As a proof," says this writer, "of the extraordinary stock of general knowledge which Mr. Tytler possessed, and with what ease he could write on any subject almost extempore, a gentleman in the city of Edinburgh once told me that he had occasion to apply to this extraordinary man for as much matter as would form a junction between a certain history and its continuation to a later period. He found him lodged in one of those elevated apartments called *garrets*, and was informed by the old woman with whom he resided that he could not see him, as he had gone to bed rather the worse of liquor. Determined, however, not to depart without his errand, he was shown into Mr. Tytler's apartment by the light of a lamp, where he found him in the situation described by the landlady. The gentleman having acquainted him with the nature of the business which brought him at so late an hour, Mr. Tytler called for pen and ink, and in a short time produced about a page and a half of letterpress, which answered the end as completely as if it had been the result of the most mature deliberation, previous notice, and a mind undisturbed by any liquid capable of deranging its ideas." "It is said," proceeds his biographer after relating the above anecdote, "that Mr. Tytler was perfectly regardless about poverty, so far as to feel no desire to conceal it from the world. A certain gentleman who had occasion to wait upon him on some particular business found him eating a cold potato, which he continued to devour with as much composure as if it had been the most sumptuous repast upon earth." It is mentioned elsewhere by the same writer that poor Tytler never thought of any but present necessities, and was as happy in the possession of a few shillings as a miser could be with all the treasures of India.

Besides his labours in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to the third edition of which he is said to have also contributed (particularly the article "Electricity," which was allowed to be excellent), he was employed in the compilation of many miscellaneous books of a useful character, and also in abridgments. At one time, while confined within the precincts of the Sanctuary of Holyrood, he had a press of his own, from which he threw off various productions, generally without the intermediate use of manuscript. In a small mean room, amidst the squalling and squalor of a number of children, this singular genius stood at a printer's case composing pages of types, either altogether from his own ideas, or perhaps with a volume before him, the language of which he was condensing by a mental process little less difficult. He is said to have, in this manner, fairly commenced an abridgment of that colossal work the *Universal History*: it was only carried, however, through a single volume. To increase the surprise which all must feel regarding these circumstances, it may be mentioned that his press was one of his own manufacture, described by his biographer as being "wrought in the direction of a smith's bellows," and probably therefore not unlike that subsequently brought into use by the ingenious John Ruthven. This machine,

¹ See *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of James Tytler*. Edinburgh, printed by and for Denovan, Lawnmarket, 1805.

however, is allowed to have been "but an indifferent one;" and thus it was with almost everything in which Tytler was concerned. Everything was wonderful, considering the circumstances under which it was produced; but yet nothing was in itself very good.

Tytler was at one period concerned in a manufactory of magnesia, which, however, was useless as long as he was connected with it, though it is said to have realized much money afterwards to his partner and successors. On the commencement of the balloon mania, after the experiments of Montgolfier, Tytler would try his hand also at an aeronautic voyage. Accordingly, having constructed a huge dingy bag, and filled it with the best hydrogen he could procure, he collected the inhabitants of Edinburgh to the spot and prepared to make his ascent. The experiment took place in a garden within the Sanctuary; and the wonder is that he did not fear being carried beyond it, as in that event he would have been liable to the gripe of his creditors. There was no real danger, however; the balloon only moved so high and so far as to carry him over the garden wall and deposit him softly on an adjoining dunghill. The crowd departed, laughing at the disappointed aeronaut, who ever after went by the name, appropriate on more accounts than one, of "Balloon Tytler."

During his residence in the Sanctuary Tytler commenced a small periodical entitled the *Weekly Review*, which was soon discontinued. Afterwards, in 1780, a similar work was undertaken by a printer named Mennons, and Tytler was employed in the capacity of chief contributor. This was a cheap miscellany, in octavo; and the present writer, who once possessed a volume of it, is inclined, on recollection, to say that it displayed considerable talent. Tytler also tried poetry, and was the author of at least one popular song—"I canna come ilka Day to Woo;" if not also of another, styled "The Bonnie Brucklet Lassie." Burns, in his notes on Scottish song, alludes with surprise to the fact that such clever ballads should have been the composition of a poor devil with a sky-light hat and hardly a shoe to his feet. One of the principal works compiled by Tytler was the *Edinburgh Geographical Grammar*, published by Mr. Kincaid as an improvement upon the work bearing the name of Guthrie, which had gone through numerous editions without any revision to keep it abreast of the march of information. In the year 1792 Mr. Tytler was conducting a periodical work, entitled "*The Historical Register*, or Edinburgh Monthly Intelligencer," and putting the last hand to a *System of Surgery*, in three volumes, which he had undertaken for a surgeon in Edinburgh, who wished to have the nominal credit of such a work, when he was suddenly obliged to leave his native country. Having espoused the cause of parliamentary reform, and joined the society entitled "Friends of the People," he published, at the close of the year 1792, a political placard, which, in that excited time, was deemed by the authorities to be of a seditious tendency. Learning that the emissaries of the law had been sent forth in quest of him, he sought refuge in the house of a friend in a solitary situation on the northern skirts of Salisbury Crags; whence, after a short concealment, he withdrew to Ireland; and thence, after finishing his *System of Surgery*, to the United States of America. Having been cited before the High Court of Justiciary, and failed to appear, he was outlawed by that tribunal, January 7, 1793. His family, which he necessarily left behind him, was for some time in great distress; nor did they ever rejoin him in the land of his adoption, poverty

on both sides perhaps refusing the necessary expenses. In America Tytler resumed the course of life which had been interrupted by political persecution. He was conducting a newspaper at Salem, when he died of a severe cold, in the latter part of the year 1803.

This extraordinary genius was, perhaps, a fair specimen of a class of literary men who lived in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and were characterized by many of the general peculiarities of that bad era, in a form only exaggerated perhaps by their abilities. They were generally open scoffers at what their fellow-creatures held sacred; decency in private life they esteemed a mean and unworthy virtue; to desire a fair share of worldly advantages was, with them, the mark of an ignoble nature. They professed boundless benevolence and a devotion to the spirit of sociality, and thought that talent not only excused all kinds of frailties, but was only to be effectually proved by such. The persons "content to dwell in decencies for ever" were the chief objects of their aversion; while, if a man would only neglect his affairs, and keep himself and his family in a sufficient degree of poverty, they would applaud him as a paragon of self-denial. Fortunately, this class of infatuated beings is now nearly extinct; but their delusion had not been exploded till it had been the cause of much intellectual ruin, and the vitiation of a large share of our literature.

TYTLER, PATRICK FRASER. This popular Scottish historian was the son of Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, whose writings as a lawyer, professor of universal history, critic, and biographer, have been already enumerated; and grandson of William Tytler of Woodhouselee, the generous champion of Mary Queen of Scots, and successful investigator of our ancient national history and literature. Thus, for nearly a century, the labours of these distinguished three have followed in uninterrupted succession, and been almost exclusively devoted to the illustration of the annals of our country.

Patrick Fraser Tytler was born at Edinburgh, on the 30th of August, 1791, and was the fourth son of Lord Woodhouselee. His early education was commenced at the high-school of his native city, where he had for his preceptors Mr. (afterwards Professor) Christison, and Dr. Adam the rector of the institution. On leaving the high-school he entered the university of Edinburgh in 1805, and went through the usual course of literary and philosophical studies necessary for the study of the law, having chosen the Scottish bar for his destination. After having ended his studies at the university, Mr. Tytler underwent his public examinations, and was admitted into the faculty of advocates on the 3d of July, 1813. In his case, however, the law, as a profession, had few attractions compared with those of literature and historical research, and therefore, after some desultory practice, he finally abandoned the bar for the more congenial work of authorship. An event also occurred, after he had worn the barrister's gown scarcely a twelvemonth, that must have had some influence in confirming his choice. This was the peace of 1814, by which the Continent, and especially France, were thrown open to British tourists, and the spirit of travel set free to wander where it listed. Like many of our young inquirers who were eager in this way to finish their studies, Mr. Tytler availed himself of the opportunity, by making a tour through France and Belgium. His first attempts in authorship were a few articles in *Blackwood's Magazine*; but a mind so well stored could not long remain contented with the transient efforts of journalism; and

Mr. Tytler's first work, which was published in Edinburgh in 1819, clearly indicated the course of his studies, while it gave promise of the historical accessions which he was afterwards to contribute to the annals of his country. This was his "*Life of James Crichton of Cluny*, commonly called the Admirable Crichton"—a personage of whose learning and varied talents such wonderful tales had been told, that posterity had begun to class him with King Arthur, and the other mythic heroes of old British history, who people the fairy regions of Avalon. This work was so favourably received by the public, that a second edition of it, corrected and enlarged, with an appendix of original papers, was published in 1823.—The next literary production of Mr. Tytler was "*An Account of the Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton*, including Biographical Sketches of the most eminent Legal Characters from the Institution of the Court of Session by James V. till the Period of the Union of the Crowns." This was published in Edinburgh in 1823.—A third work, also biographical, was published by Mr. Tytler, but anonymously, in 1826. This was the *Life of John Wicks*, the English Reformer.

These productions, laborious though they were from the antiquarian toil and research they had occasioned, were considered by him as only light preludes to the far more important work which he now contemplated. The circumstances that first led to such an undertaking are worthy of notice. Mr. Tytler having, during the course of a summer excursion, paid a visit to Abbotsford, was received with that warm-hearted welcome, and ushered into that choice intellectual society, for which the illustrious owner and his hall were at all times so distinguished; and during the hours of that happy evening, tale, and song, and literary discussion, and old remembrances, followed each other in rich and rapid succession. Matters, however, of more lasting moment occupied, as usual, the mind of Sir Walter Scott, and during the evening he took Mr. Tytler aside for the purpose of some by-conversation. It was to advise him to write a HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. He had long, in common with many of our most distinguished countrymen, felt the want of such a work;¹ and several years before this period he had himself been almost persuaded by the publishers to undertake so congenial a task, and had thought that, by interspersing the narrative with romantic anecdotes, illustrative of the manners of his countrymen, he might produce a work such as the public would gladly welcome. He had, indeed, he added, made a partial commencement, in the form of an introductory essay—the same which was afterwards published in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1816, as an article upon the Culloden Papers. But on thinking further on the subject, he found difficulties in his

way which, in his (Sir Walter's) case, could not easily be surmounted. He saw that a Scottish history must be something more important than a popular romance; and that although the materials for it were so abundant in the form of national records, old Scottish authors, public and private documents, and other such sources, yet the task of digesting, elucidating, and arranging these materials, would engross more time than he could spare. He also found that the task must be pursued not only in Scotland, but in London, among the national archives, and wherever else such information could be found—a kind of labour which his official duties and other avocations would completely prevent. Perceiving these difficulties he had abandoned the alluring enterprise, notwithstanding his conviction that a history of Scotland had still to be written, and his own wish to supply the deficiency; and he had at last settled into the purpose of attempting nothing more in this way than a collection of historical anecdotes for the young, such as might impress upon their memories the brave and good deeds of illustrious Scotsmen, and inspire them with sentiments of nationality.²

All this, as the reader may perceive, was preparatory to an advice—a request. It was nothing less than that Mr. Tytler himself should be the historian of Scotland. Here Sir Walter did not fail to urge upon his young friend such motives as might incite him to the attempt. It was one that would be most congenial to his previous studies and pursuits. It would concentrate upon one great aim those efforts which he had expended upon a variety of subjects. It would gratify his patriotic feelings as a Scot, as well as his predilections for historical writing. The work itself would indeed be long and laborious; but then he had the advantage of youth on his side, so that he might live to complete it; and if it were written under a deep conviction of the importance of historical truth, what a permanent benefit it would prove to his country! Finally, Sir Walter finished his persuasions, in his own kind, characteristic manner, by offering to Mr. Tytler all the assistance in his power, not only in obtaining admission to all the repositories in which the materials were contained, but his best advice in pursuing the necessary investigations.

This was a memorable conversation in the life of Mr. Tytler: it was the turning-point of his literary career, the bias by which his whole after-course was directed. Deeply and anxiously he mused upon it on his evening ride homeward to the mansion of Yair, where at that time he was sojourning; and it was after he had forded the Tweed at Bordside that he gave vent to his imprisoned feelings, by rehearsing to his friend who accompanied him, the whole tenor of the dialogue. On being asked how he liked the suggestion, he replied, that the undertaking had a very formidable appearance—and that though he had always been attached to historical pursuits, and was ambitious of becoming a historian, he had never conceived the idea of writing the history of his own country, from the peculiar difficulties that lay in the way of such an attempt, and in making it what he thought a history of Scotland ought to be; now, however, he felt otherwise, and would lay the suggestion to heart, not only on account of the quarter from which it had come, but the assistance that had been

¹ In a letter written upon this subject, A.D. 1823, Sir Walter Scott thus summed up our national deficiency:—"We are still but very indifferently provided with Scotch histories of a general description. Lord Hailes' *Annals* are the foundation-stone, and an excellent book, though dryly written. Pinkerton, in two very unreadable quartos, which yet abound in information, takes up the thread where Hailes drops it—and then you have Robertson, down to the union of the crowns. But I would beware of task-work, which Pinkerton at least must always be, and I would relieve him [his correspondent's pupil] every now and then by looking at the pages of old Pit-scottie, where events are told with so much naïveté, and even humour, and such individuality, as it were, that it places the actors and scenes before the reader. The whole history of James V. and Queen Mary may be read to great advantage in the elegant Latin of Lesly, Bishop of Ross, and collated with the account which his opponent Buchanan, in language still more classical, gives of the same eventful reigns. Laing is but a bad guide through the seventeenth century, yet I hardly know where a combined account of these events is to be had, so far as Scotland is concerned."

² This Sir Walter Scott accomplished by his *Tales of a Grandfather*, published in 1827. The precise year of this interview between Sir Walter and Mr. Tytler has been unfortunately forgot; but as the indefatigable author of *Waverley* was not accustomed to dally with a purpose he had once formed, the conversation probably occurred in the summer of the previous year.

so kindly promised. The resolution on which he finally settled he must have arrived at promptly, and followed up with almost immediate action, by which he stood committed to a lifetime of work in a new sphere of occupation, and to whatever, in the shape of success or failure, it might chance to bring him. The devotedness of a hero who saves his country, or of a legislator who regenerates it, may be matched by the devotedness of him who records their deeds. The historian who evolves the full truth of a Marathon or Bannockburn fight from the remote obscurity in which it is clouded, may have had as hard and heroic a task as he who has achieved it.

It was in the summer of 1828 that the first volume of Tytler's *History of Scotland* issued from the press. As it was only the first instalment of a large promise the public received it as such; and while its merits were felt, the language of criticism was cautious and measured, although both commendation and hopeful encouragement were by no means withheld. The rest of the work followed at intervals; and as each successive volume appeared, the general approbation was deepened: it was soon felt and acknowledged that a truly national history was now in progress, to supersede the fragmentary records in which the Scottish nationality had been hampered and confined. At length the whole was completed in the winter of 1843, when the ninth and last volume appeared. His task was ended, and the author thus gracefully bade it adieu in the last paragraph:—"It is with feelings of gratitude, mingled with regret, that the author now closes this work—the history of his country—the labour of little less than eighteen years: gratitude to the Giver of all good, that life and health have been spared to complete, however imperfectly, an arduous undertaking; regret that the tranquil pleasures of historical investigation, the happy hours devoted to the pursuit of truth, are at an end, and that he must at last bid farewell to an old and dear companion." The completed history was now before the world, but it had not needed to wait thus long to establish the lasting reputation which it now possesses. The generous labour, the indefatigable research, and lucid order by which it is so eminently distinguished—the always deepening interest of the narrative, and increasing eloquence of the style, by which the work gathers and grows in attractiveness to the last—were felt not only by the learned and critical, but the reading public at large, so that even those who could not coincide with the author in his views of the Scottish Reformation, and the agencies by which it was effected, were yet compelled to acknowledge the honesty, the modesty, and the disinterestedness with which his statements were announced, as well as the strong array of evidence with which they were apparently corroborated. With his Tory and high-church Episcopalian principles, and with the strange documents in his hands, which he had rescued from the dust of ages and brought for the first time to the light of day, they could not well imagine how he could have written otherwise. Such was the conviction even of those who entered the field against him, armed with opposite views, and counter-evidence to make them good. A sublimity history wholly divested of sublimity feelings would not be worth reading.

Although Tytler's *History of Scotland* is complete in itself, as far as the original aim and purpose of the author are concerned, yet when the whole was concluded, he felt, in common with many whose opinion he respected, that a still more ample field should have been comprised. Thus, he commenced with the reign of Alexander III., the prelude to the wars of Scottish independence, because it is only

from this point that our national history can be properly authenticated. Edward I., who made such wild havoc with the Scottish muniments, so that no trace of Scotland as an independent kingdom should ever be found, was unable to annihilate the memory of the prosperity he had destroyed, the cruelties he had perpetrated, and the gallantry with which his usurpation had been overthrown; these were burned in, as with a branding-iron, upon Scottish memory to the end of time, and Edward, by his work of demolition, only erected himself into a notorious pillar, to form a new starting-point for the national history to commence its glorious career. Tytler, however, knew that a stirring and eventful era had gone before, and that the early boyhood and youth of Scotland was not only full of interest, but a subject of intense curiosity; and doubly difficult though the task would have been, he had resolved, even long before the history was ended, to explore this mythic period, and avail himself of such facts and probabilities as it afforded, in the form of a preliminary dissertation. Such was his purpose, which his previous investigations had well fitted him to effect; and all that he required was only a breathing interval, after the nine volumes of his history had been finished. But that interval, in his case so needed, could not restore the active brain and buoyant spirit that had already accomplished their appointed duty, and accomplished it so well! He had also purposed to terminate his history, not at the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland under James I., but of the two kingdoms under Anne; but here he found the incidents so voluminous, and withal so difficult to sift, condense, and arrange, as would have formed a task equal to all his past labours, and required a new lifetime for its fulfilment, so that the design was abandoned.

During the long space of nearly eighteen years, in which Mr. Tytler was employed in the *History of Scotland*, this, although his greatest, was not his only literary production; and during occasional intervals he published the following works, which of themselves would have been reckoned a considerable amount of authorship:—*Lives of Scottish Worthies*, in three volumes 12mo. Published in Murray's *Family Library*. London, 1831–33.—*Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America*. Published in the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library* of Messrs. Oliver & Boyd. 1832.—"*Memoirs of the War carried on in Scotland and Ireland, 1689–91*, by Major-general Hugh Mackay." This volume, which he edited in conjunction with Mr. Hog of Newliston, and Mr. Adam Urquhart, was presented to the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs in 1833.—*Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. Published in the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*. 12mo. 1833.—*Life of King Henry VIII.* London, 1837.—"*England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, with the Contemporary History of Europe; in a Series of Original Letters, never before Published; with Historical Introductions," &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1839.—The article "Scotland," in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which was afterwards published in a separate form, as a *History of Scotland* for the use of schools.

While Mr. Tytler thus occasionally unbent his mind with what to others would have proved a serious burden, he was also alive to the stir of the world around him, and felt sufficient interest in the passing events of the day. This was especially the case when that important ecclesiastical movement, the Disruption, occurred in Scotland in 1843. As a Christian, a Scotchman, and a historian, it was especially calculated to arrest his attention; while the

fact of his being an Episcopalian removed him from the turmoil, and enabled him to regard it with a cool, dispassionate eye. The sentiments, therefore, of one so situated, and so conversant with the historical facts and principles which were appealed to by the contending parties on this occasion, are well worthy of notice. These he fully and distinctly delivered in a letter, dated June 6th, 1843, to a friend, who had abandoned the Establishment, and joined himself to the Free Church. "I do not see," he writes, "how, consistently with your principles, and belief in what constitutes a true Presbyterian kirk, you could have acted otherwise. In our conversations on the subject I remember often saying, that had I been a Presbyterian, I must have done the same. Popular election of their ministers, and complete spiritual independence, were, from the first, the two great principles laid down by Knox as the foundation on which their whole superstructure rested, and, indeed, without the last, no church could stand. With the first—the right of the people to choose their ministers—I have no sympathies: with the last, every feeling of my heart and reason is on your side—and no one knows how soon the Church of England may have to contend for it. Let us hope that if it does come to this, there may be as much courage and conscience in England as across the border."

In his mode of study Mr. Tytler, although so deeply immersed in the absorbing research of history and antiquarianism, was no peevish recluse student, sheltering himself within the innermost recesses of his hermitage, and quarrelling with every sound above a gentle whisper: instead of this, his favourite place of work was the parlour or the drawing-room, surrounded by the society of his family and friends; and there he consulted his authorities, arranged his notes, and wrote out his copy for the printer, animated and cheered onward rather than disturbed by the society around him; listening to the music that might be going on, to which he was very partial, and mingling in the subjects of conversation. In this cheerful, genial fashion, he embodied into living form the materials of his anxious research, which he had gleaned among the MSS. of the British Museum or the State-paper Office. That he might be near these fountainheads also, he resided for a considerable period during the latter part of his life in the metropolis. During the present reign he was oftener than once a guest at Windsor, where he was received with honourable distinction; and during the administration of Sir Robert Peel, when literary merit was not thought unworthy of state recognition and reward, his high services as a national historian were attested by a pension of £200 per annum.

In everyday life, unconnected with his intellectual pursuits, the high moral worth, amiable gentle temper, and conversational powers of Mr. Tytler, endeared him to a wide circle of friends, by whom these qualities are still most affectionately remembered. But the characteristic by which he was especially distinguished was the deep-seated religious principle for which he was noted from his earliest youth, and by which his whole course of life was regulated to the close, both in his private and literary relationships. In subservience to this were his hilarity and wit, which were so pervaded with his own amiable temperament, that instead of repelling, they attracted all around him, and mesmerized the company for the time into happy beings like himself. In this way the historian, amidst the throngs and events of centuries, maintained and preserved to the end his own personal identity, instead of losing it among past ages—a trait of intellectual independence hard indeed to compass, and very rarely to be found

among those who have won for themselves a high literary reputation, especially among the more crabbed and abstruse departments of intellect. In the earlier part of his life Mr. Tytler served in the troop of the Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry—a corps in which not only the highest rank but the best talent of Scotland was enrolled; and among such congenial spirits he soon took the lead, not only on account of the fascinating wit and cheerfulness of his conversation, but the songs which he composed and sung—for he was also a poet of no common mark; and the lyrics with which he was wont to charm the mess-table were connected with the military affairs of the regiment, and the duties with which his comrades were occupied. On one occasion, being desirous of retirement, probably for a holiday's recreation, and aware how his furlough would be apt to be invaded, he stole away to the house of his brother at Woodhouselee. But his absence was instantly felt in the next merry meeting of his comrades, at their headquarters of Musselburgh, and a corporal's troop, with a led-horse and a mock warrant for seizure, were despatched to apprehend and bring back the deserter. Tytler, who espied the coming of this band, escaped by a back-door, and took shelter in the wood above Woodhouselee. After he had remained there for such a length of time that he thought the danger must be over, he ventured to return to the house; but ill had he calculated upon the double sharpness of the lawyer-soldiers of the Lothian Yeomanry. He was captured at the very threshold by the ambush that awaited his return, deprived of his arms, mounted upon the led-horse, and carried off in triumph to the military encampment. This diverting pantomime, of what in the stern realities of war is often a moving tragedy, so greatly tickled his fancy, that on the same evening he composed a song, detailing, in most comic fashion, the circumstances of his capture, which he sang at the mess-table on the following day, amidst the applauding peals of his companions, who were thus well requited for their trouble. This song ever after continued to be the most popular of all his lyrical productions.

But we must hasten to the mournful termination—"the last scene of all." In 1843 Mr. Tytler had finished his *History of Scotland*; and although he had already written so much, and this too upon subjects where the apparent quantity of labour bears but a small proportion to the toil and research that have produced it, he was still earnest to accomplish more, and hopeful, after a period of rest, to be enabled to resume those occupations which had now become the chief element of his existence. But even already his literary life had drawn to a close. Although of a healthy vigorous constitution, active habits, and cheerful temperament, his over-wearied mind and exhausted frame had no longer power to rally; and after wandering over the Continent in a hopeless pursuit of health, he returned home to die. His death occurred on the morning of the 24th December, 1849, after several years of sickness and suffering, and when he had entered his fifty-ninth year.

Mr. Tytler was twice married. His first wife, who died in 1835, was Rachel Elizabeth, daughter of the late Thomas Hog, Esq., of Newliston, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and Thomas Patrick, who both entered the East India Company's military service, and one daughter. His second wife was Anastasia, daughter of Thomas Bonar, Esq., of Camden Place, Kent.

TYTLER, WILLIAM, of Woodhouselee, an eminent antiquarian writer, was born in Edinburgh on

the 12th October, 1711. His father, Alexander Tytler, was a writer by profession in the same city. His mother was daughter of Mr. William Leslie, merchant in Aberdeen, and grand-daughter of Sir Patrick Leslie of Iden.

The subject of this memoir received his education at the high-school and university of his native city, and in both distinguished himself by assiduity in his studies, and by an early and more than ordinary proficiency in classical learning. Having added to his other acquirements a competent knowledge of municipal law, which he studied under Mr. Alexander Bryce, professor of that science in the university of Edinburgh, he was, in 1744, admitted into the Society of Writers to his Majesty's Signet, in which capacity he practised with increasing success till his death.

Mr. Tytler's first appearance as an author took place in 1759, when he published an "*Inquiry, Historical and Critical, into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots, and an Examination of the Histories of Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume with respect to that Evidence.*" In this work Mr. Tytler warmly espoused the cause of the unfortunate princess, and brought a force of argument, and an acuteness and precision of reasoning, to the discussion of the interesting question of her innocence or guilt, which had never been employed on it before. It was the first appeal in behalf of the Scottish queen which made any impression on the public mind, or which excited any feeling of particular interest in the charges which had been brought against her moral character. A similar attempt with this of Mr. Tytler's had been made some years previously by Walter Goodal, one of the under-keepers of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, but it was so indifferently written, and its matter so unskillfully arranged, that it entirely failed to attract any share of the public attention. Mr. Tytler, however, found it a useful assistant. He adopted many of Goodal's arguments, but he arranged them anew, and gave them that consistency and force which is so essential to efficiency. The first edition of the *Inquiry* was published in a single octavo volume; another, considerably enlarged, particularly in the historical part, soon afterwards appeared; and in 1790 a fourth edition was published in two volumes.

The ability displayed by this work acquired for Mr. Tytler a very high reputation in the world of letters. It was eagerly read throughout Britain, and was scarcely less popular in France, into the language of which country it was pretty ably translated. The interest which the *Inquiry* excited was also very great. There were a novelty and chivalry in the attempt eminently calculated to attract attention and to excite sympathy, and it obtained a large share of both. It was reviewed in many of the different periodicals of the day by some of the most eminent literary men then living; amongst these were Johnson, Smollett, and Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury. To the favourable testimony to the merits of the work borne by these competent judges was added that of Lord-chancellor Hardwicke, who said it was the most conclusive arrangement of circumstantial evidence he had ever seen.

Mr. Tytler's next literary production was the *Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland*, in one volume 8vo, Edinburgh, 1783. In this publication Mr. Tytler, on very strong grounds, ascribes to that monarch the celebrated poems of "The King's Quair" and "Christ's Kirk on the Green." His reasoning here, as in the defence of Mary, is remarkable for cogency and conciseness, and if it is not always convincing, it is at least

always plausible. To the *Poetical Remains* there is added a "Dissertation on the Life and Writings of James," remarkable at once for profound antiquarian research, and the lucid arrangement of its facts.

Mr. Tytler was an ardent lover of music, especially of the music of his native country. He was himself a good performer, and his theoretical knowledge of the science was fully equal to his practical proficiency. This devotion to music, together with a fine sensibility, which subjected him in a peculiar manner to the influence of the pathetic strains of the national melodies of Scotland, led him to write a highly interesting, though in some respects fanciful, essay on Scottish music, which is appended to Arnott's *History of Edinburgh*.

The ability which these various publications displayed rapidly increased Mr. Tytler's reputation, and procured him the respect and esteem of men of taste and learning, especially of those of his native country, who felt and acknowledged the good service he was doing towards completing their national history by his industry, diligence, and patient research in the peculiar walk of literature he had chosen—a feeling which was yet further increased by his subsequent publications. The next of these, of the character alluded to, was a "Dissertation on the Marriage of Queen Mary to the Earl of Bothwell," published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries* in 1791. In this "Dissertation," which is distinguished by all the merits displayed by Mr. Tytler's other productions, he defends, with much ingenuity, that unhappy step which united Mary to Bothwell; but it is to be feared that, with all its ingenuity and judicious remark, it can never be otherwise considered than as an attempt, generous and chivalrous indeed, but unavailing, to defend a thing in itself indefensible.

In the year following, viz. 1792, Mr. Tytler published, through the same channel with that by which the "Dissertations" had been given to the world, "Observations on the Vision, a Poem," first published in Ramsay's *Evergreen*. The object of these observations was the generous one of vindicating Ramsay's title to the merit of being the author of the poem in question, of which some doubts had been entertained.

The "Observations," &c., were soon after followed by a production of singular interest. This was "*An Account of the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments of Edinburgh in the last (Seventeenth) Century*," with the plan of a Grand Concert of Music performed there on St. Cecilia's Day, 1695."

Mr. Tytler was also the author of a paper in the *Loanger*, No. 16, entitled the "Defects of Modern Female Education in Teaching the Duties of a Wife;" and with this terminates the catalogue of his published literary achievements, so far as these are known or acknowledged.

To Mr. Tytler's talents and acquirements his works will always bear evidence, but there are other merits which he possessed in an eminent degree, which it requires the pen of the biographer to perpetuate. His works sufficiently inform us of his profound and intimate acquaintance with Scottish history and antiquarian lore; of his zealous patriotism, and eminent knowledge of the science of music; but they do not inform us of his generous and benevolent disposition, nor of that delightful and enviable buoyancy of spirit which enabled him, at the latest period of a life protracted beyond the usual limit of human existence, to join, with the utmost glee, in all the pranks and follies of the young persons, his friends and relatives, who came to visit him, and whom he was always rejoiced to see. Mr. Tytler not only attained and

enjoyed himself a healthy and happy old age, but had a prescription ready for his friends which would confer the same blessing. This prescription was "short but cheerful meals, music, and a good conscience."

Mr. Tytler was one of the original members of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, and continued his connection with that body for nearly sixty years. He usually spent a portion of the summer at his beautiful country seat of Woodhouselee. Here in a private and shady walk he had erected an urn with the following inscription:—

Hunc lucum
Caris mortuis amicis
Sacrum dicat
W. T.

Some time before his death Mr. Tytler was seized with a slight paralytic affection, but it did not much

debilitate his frame, nor did it in the least degree affect his faculties, all of which remained unimpaired till the hour of his death, an event which happened on the 12th of September, 1792, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Mr. Tytler was married in 1745, to Miss Anne Craig, daughter of James Craig, Esq., of Costerton, in the county of Midlothian, one of the writers to his majesty's signet, by whom he left two sons—Alexander Fraser Tytler, afterwards Lord Woodhouselee, and Major Patrick Tytler, fort-major of the castle of Stirling. He left also one daughter, Miss Christina Tytler. It only remains to be added to this sketch—and the addition, though short, comprises one of the strongest eulogiums which was ever bestowed on human virtue—it is recorded of Mr. Tytler, that no one ever spoke ill of him.

U.

URE, DR. ANDREW, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. This veteran of chemical science, whose studies in chemistry were so successfully employed in the improvement of arts and manufactures, was born in Glasgow, May 18, 1778. He first studied at the university of his native city, and afterwards at that of Edinburgh. That his student-life had been distinguished by application was shown by his literary attainments, which were those of a good linguist and fair classical scholar, while he was also deeply read in theology and biblical criticism, and was well acquainted both with foreign and English literature. But the study of chemistry, in which he was so greatly to distinguish himself, was his favourite pursuit. After having obtained the degree of A.M., he graduated as M.D. at the university of Glasgow in 1801, and in 1804 was appointed professor of chemistry at the Andersonian University in that city, which had been recently established under the presidency of Dr. Birkbeck. In 1809 Professor Ure visited London, being commissioned to make the scientific arrangements for the Glasgow observatory, then about to be established; and in the metropolis he acquired the friendship of Maskelyne, Pond, and Groombridge, and other celebrated astronomers, as well as of Davy, Wollaston, Henry, and several other distinguished chemists of the day. On the establishment of the Glasgow observatory Dr. Ure resided there for several years, and there was honoured with a most friendly visit by Sir William Herschel. In the meantime his duties as professor in the Andersonian Institution were prosecuted with ardour, and productive of important results. His well-attended class numbered at one time 400 students, and in teaching his pupils he directed their investigations with a reference to the appliance of chemistry to the improvement of arts and manufactures—an application of the resources of science which was readily taken up and zealously prosecuted in Glasgow, to which city the subject was of vital importance—and Dr. Ure has the credit of having headed that movement by which the sources of our national prosperity have been so well developed and abundantly increased. The influence of the professor on the manufactures of Glasgow was so important that the example extended to France, and there new courses of lectures were established upon the plan of those of Dr. Ure. Nor were these his valuable exertions confined to lecturing; the valuable papers which he contributed to several

societies are also to be taken into account, by which the benefits of his discoveries and improvements were more permanently established and more widely diffused. In 1818 a paper was read before the Royal Society, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for that year, announcing "New Experimental Researches on some of the Leading Doctrines of Caloric, particularly on the Relation between Elasticity, Temperature, and Latent Heat of different Vapours, and on Thermometric Admeasurement and Capacity"—and these new views were adopted by Mr. Ivory, Mr. Daniell, and other eminent men, as the basis of their meteorological theories. Another paper of his, "On Sulphuric Acid, and the Law of Progression followed in its Densities at different Degrees of Dilution," which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Institution*, 1817, was an admirable specimen of the useful application of logarithms to chemistry. In the *Journal* of the same year appeared his physico-geometrical paper on "Mean Specific Gravity," and in the next year "Experiments to Determine the Constitution of Liquid Nitric Acid, and the Law of Progression of its Density at various Degrees of Dilution." His tables of these acids, the two most important of chemical agents, have since been generally adopted by chemists. In a paper on "Muriatic Acid and Chlorine," published in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions* for 1818, Dr. Ure described the eudiometer which bears his name. In the *Philosophical Transactions*, May, 1822, appeared his paper "On the Ultimate Analysis of Vegetable and Animal Substances." These were but a few of his more important communications, by which the science of chemistry, if not wholly revolutionized, was at least most materially improved. In 1821 he published his *Dictionary of Chemistry*, a standard work and leading authority on the subject, which has passed through many editions and been translated into most of the continental languages; and in 1822 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. He was also one of the original fellows of the Geographical Society, and a member of several scientific societies both at home and abroad. In 1824 Dr. Ure published a translation of Berthollet on *Dyeing and Bleaching*, in two volumes 8vo; and in 1829 a *New System of Geology*, remarkable as one of the last books on the subject which advocated the influence of the Noachian deluge on the surface of the earth. By this brief recapitulation we have not given a full

idea of the extent and variety of his scientific labours and services since his entrance into public life. In the Andersonian Institution he was not only professor of chemistry but also of natural philosophy, and in the last of these capacities he delivered lectures and performed experiments before crowds which the large hall of the building could scarcely contain. He also gave the lectures on *materia medica* in connection with the medical courses of the institution, and in 1813 published a *Systematic Table of Materia Medica*, with a dissertation on the action of medicines. He was, moreover, professor of astronomy, on which account he had his dwelling in the observatory of Glasgow, in the establishment of which his active services had been highly influential.

In 1830 Dr. Ure removed to London, and in 1834 he was appointed analytical chemist to the Board of Customs. In this capacity his important researches on sugar-refining, which he conducted for the government, led to the fixation of the then established duties on the different kinds of sugar. In 1835 he published the *Philosophy of Manufactures*, and in the following year his work entitled the *Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain compared with that of other Countries*. "By the perusal of this book," said William Fairbairn of Manchester, a competent authority on the subject, "any person might easily make all the machines required for the cotton manufactures." But the greatest and most important of all Dr. Ure's publications was the *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines*, which was first published in 1837; in 1839 a supplement was added to it, and the work was subsequently enlarged by recent inventions and discoveries in later editions. It was a dictionary comprising such an amount of scientific knowledge, and such a variety of subjects, that when the work was translated in France it was deemed necessary to employ nineteen *collaborateurs*, all of them of scientific reputation, in the undertaking.

Besides these valuable publications, Dr. Ure was occupied in London with the duties of his important appointment, which chiefly consisted in conducting chemical analyses for the government, or in consultation for commercial purposes. As an analytic chemist he was regarded as a sure authority, and it is alleged that none of the results he announced have ever been impugned. In this honourable and useful manner his life was spent, and although for some years before he died his health had been infirm, his cheerfulness and mental energy had scarcely been abated. We have written this short memoir in vain if we have failed to impart some idea of the multifarious scientific knowledge of Dr. Ure, his power of simplifying and popularizing it, his unwearied industry and energy in prosecuting its results, and the success with which he brought all his discoveries to bear upon the wealth, the comforts, and improvement of society at large. He died in his house, in London, on the 2d of January, 1857, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

URE, REV. DAVID. So late as the close of the last century the science of geology was little studied, and still less understood, in Scotland. Its researches upon the Continent had been accompanied with such startling theories upon the date of the world and mode of its creation, that the orthodox believers in the Old Testament cosmogony were shocked, and geology itself was regarded with dread and aversion as a storehouse of heretical opinions that had better remain unopened. Two inquirers, however—and these also clergymen of unimpeachable orthodoxy—were honourable exceptions to the pre-

valent dislike. The first was the Rev. R. Wodrow, the distinguished historian of the Church of Scotland, who investigated the productions under the surface of the earth as carefully as the deeds that had been wrought upon it, and carried into *lithoscopy* (for thus he termed the science before it had obtained its present name) the same inquiring spirit which he had brought into history. The other clergyman, who appeared at a considerably later date, was the Rev. David Ure, author of the *History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride*, who not only dared to carry his explorations into these forbidden fields, but to publish what he had discovered.

David Ure was born in Glasgow, but in what year has not been stated. For this the lowliness of his origin perhaps may account, for his father was nothing more than an operative weaver, and David himself was brought up in the same occupation. His father dying while he was still very young, the support of his old mother was devolved upon him; but his industry not only provided for the household wants, but enabled him to prosecute his education first at the grammar or high school, and afterwards at the university of Glasgow, with the view of becoming a minister. His preparatory studies, although under so great disadvantages, were conducted with such perseverance as to insure success. "He generally laboured," we are told, "the greatest part of the night; and while his hands were throwing the shuttle, his eye would be intent on Virgil, Homer, or some ancient author." In this way, too, in the same city and about the same period, a young scholar, who was a cooper, generally studied the classics with the book concealed in the barrel on which he was operating, to the great annoyance of his father, who often saw the hammer of the youth suspended in a classical reverie, and was obliged to quicken him into action with a box on the ear. But that dreamy enthusiastic student was afterwards Professor John Young, one of the most accomplished classical linguists of his day. While Ure attended the Greek class, its professor, the celebrated Dr. Moore, noted his orderly behaviour and superior diligence in preparing his lessons, so that while scolding the other students for remissness, he often passed him over with the following laudatory couplet:—

"David Ure, he sits secure;
He'll ne'er be fined by Dr. Moore."

Such were the simple fashions towards the close of the last century in the university of Glasgow, and in a class where the majority of the pupils were little more than unfledged school-boys.

It was soon found, however, that Ure's inclination lay more towards science than literature. This was shown by the long pilgrimages he often made to investigate some antique production or natural curiosity, and in this unaided fashion he groped his way upon a path in which as yet there were few milestones or sign-posts. It was not wonderful also that he occasionally diverged into attempts to discover the perpetual motion and the philosopher's stone. Although these scientific delusions had disappeared, their shadows had not wholly been withdrawn, and that love of the marvellous which is never extinct in the human breast could still cling to them until they were superseded by modern wonders. David Ure ventured to consult Dr. Moore upon his projects, and got from him the following reply: "David, we have got a sufficient perpetual motion in you; and industry and perseverance are the true philosopher's stone, because, though they should not produce gold, they will produce what can be exchanged for gold."

While a student in divinity, Ure was for some time

assistant to the schoolmaster of Stewarton, in Ayrshire, and afterwards he taught a subscription school in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton. On being licensed as a preacher, he was employed as an assistant by the Rev. Mr. Connell, minister of Kilbride, upon the scanty salary of ten pounds a year and his board. This was a poor allowance, especially when the maintenance of his aged mother still in a great measure depended upon him. But he cheerfully undertook and faithfully discharged the duties of his office, and it was here also that he explored and brought to light that important mass of facts in natural science which he afterwards embodied in his *History of the Parishes of Kilbride and Rutherglen*. "He also," we are told, "made several practical discoveries, from which that district continues to derive considerable benefit." Such a result was certain sooner or later to follow from his careful explorations among its mineral strata, and in this way he discovered the philosopher's stone, if not for his own benefit, at least for that of posterity.

After having been some time assistant at Kilbride, Ure had the promise of succeeding to the incumbency, and on the death of Mr. Connell his succession was expected by the parishioners. But such obstacles had already risen that there was no chance of a harmonious call to the charge. How this obstacle had originated we are not informed, some imputing it to female manoeuvres which more or less enter into all such clerical elections; while others think that his political opinions, however conformed to those of the present age, were too far in advance of his own day and generation. He was, in short, a modern reformer; and in the wild commencement of the French revolution, reform, instead of being patriotism, was something not far off high-treason. Finding that there was no likelihood of unanimous acceptance, and unwilling to be the cause of dissension, Ure at once abandoned the field, and set off to Newcastle on foot, where he for some time officiated as assistant in a Presbyterian chapel. He was afterwards employed by Sir John Sinclair, who at that time had commenced his gigantic work, the *Statistical Account of Scotland*; and of this Ure executed the first sketch of the agricultural surveys of the counties of Roxburgh, Dumbarton, and Kinross. He also superintended the publication of several of the last volumes, and drew up the general indexes of the *Statistical Account*. Other miscellaneous work occurred during the publication, such as surveying and drawing up accounts of parishes from which no returns had been made, and in such cases he was always ready with assistance.

Whether in pursuing his own researches or executing the scientific commissions of others, Ure's equipments and style of travelling were those of a philosopher. He always went on foot, and though small of stature he was light, active, and capable of enduring much fatigue. Independent of inns, and simple in his diet, he usually carried bread and cheese in his pocket, on which he made his meals by the side of a spring; and when he could afford it, a glass of ale at the village ale-house was the highest of his luxuries. While his travelling cupboard was so light and convenient, his travelling apparatus for conducting his scientific investigations was equally simple, and is thus described by his biographer:—"His great-coat was furnished with a large pocket, in which he stored such minerals or other curiosities as had attracted his notice. He carried a tin box for stowing curious plants; a large cudgel, armed with steel, so as to serve both as a spade and pick-axe; a few small chisels and other tools; a blow-pipe, with its appurtenances, a small liquid chemical ap-

paratus, optical instruments, &c.; so that his friends used to call him a walking shop or laboratory." The account goes on to state—"In this way he braved all weathers; and heat or cold, wet or dry, seemed equally indifferent to him. He was a patient observer and accurate describer of nature. His descriptions were always taken down on the spot, in a hieroglyphical species of shorthand invented by himself, and which it is to be regretted no one else but himself understood."

The most important of the results of this exploratory spirit appeared in 1793, when he issued from the Glasgow press his work entitled the "*History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride*," published with a view to promote the Study of Antiquity and Natural History. By David Ure, A.M., Preacher of the Gospel." The volume was in demy 8vo of 334 pages, and illustrated with numerous excellent plates of the principal objects described in the work. The *History* was divided into two principal sections, the first consisting of four chapters devoted to the antiquities and the general and statistical account of the two districts; the second comprises in two chapters their natural history, classified in reference to their animal, vegetable, and mineral productions, and their fossil remains. As may be conjectured, this last portion, containing the natural history of Rutherglen and Kilbride, was the most important part of the work; it was into it that the author brought his whole power of geological investigation and discussion, and thereby opened up a field of research hitherto little prosecuted in Scotland. The public were impressed with the amount of scientific knowledge that might be contained within the circle of two paltry country parishes, or among the strata of their foundations, and the studious were tempted to explore those depths beneath the surface which hitherto had been to them as a sealed book. The *History of Rutherglen and Kilbride* was an authority in general demand and frequently consulted until within the last twenty years, when the progress of the science of which it had been a successful pioneer superseded it by new discoveries. And still its merits are recognized by the lovers of science, so that the work is sought after as an antiquarian reminiscence, and cherished as a valuable treasure.

Of the life of David Ure after this publication had appeared, on which his distinction mainly rests, little remains to be told. We have already seen how little he had been indebted to the gifts of fortune or to church promotion, and how contentedly he had continued to labour in poverty until the task for which he was especially fitted had been accomplished. At last, in 1796, he became the settled minister of a parish, by a presentation from the Earl of Buchan to the church of Uphall in Linlithgowshire. Here, however, his career was short, as he died of dropsy on the 28th of March, 1798.

URQUHART, SIR THOMAS, of Cromarty, as he designates himself, was a writer of some note in the seventeenth century, but is much more remarkable for the eccentricity than either the depth or extent of his genius. Of this singular person there is scarcely anything more known than that he was knighted, though for what service is not recorded, by Charles I. at Whitehall; and that having at an after period, viz. in 1651, accompanied his successor, Charles II., from Scotland in his invasion of England, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester. After his capture he was detained in London on his parole; and this interval he employed in writing some of the extraordinary works which have perpetuated his name.

He appears to have travelled at some period of his life through the greater part of Europe, to have been well skilled in the modern languages of the Continent, and to have been tolerably accomplished in the fashionable arts of the times in which he lived.

Meagre and few as these particulars are, they yet comprehend all that is left us regarding the history of a person who, to judge by the expressions which he employs when speaking of himself in his writings, expected to fill no inconsiderable space in the eyes of posterity. Amongst Sir Thomas' works is a translation of *Rabelais*, remarkably well executed; but with this performance begins and ends all possibility of conscientiously complimenting him on his literary attainments. All the rest of his productions, though in each occasional scintillations of genius may be discovered, are mere rhapsodies, incoherent, unintelligible, and extravagantly absurd. At the head of this curious list appears, "*The Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel, more Precious than Diamonds incased in Gold, the like whereof was never seen in any Age; found in the Kennel of Worcester Streets, the Day after the Fight, and six before the Autumnal Equinox, &c. &c., Anno 1651.*" This extraordinary work was written, as its author avows, for the extraordinary purpose of helping him, by the display of talent which he conceived it would exhibit, to the recovery of his forfeited estates in Cromarty. As may be readily conceived, however, it had no such effect; and it will be at once understood why it

should not, when it is mentioned that Cromwell was then protector of England. The *Jewel*, its author boasts, was written in fourteen days; there being a struggle between him and the printer which should get on fastest—a contest which sometimes bore so hard upon him that he was, as he tells us, obliged to tear off fragments from the sheet he was writing, in order to keep the press going. The *Jewel* contains, amongst other piquant matters, the adventures of the Admirable Crichton, and a pedigree of the author's family, in which he traces the male line with great precision and accuracy from Adam to himself, and on the female side from Eve to his mother; regulating, as he goes along, the great events in the history of the world by the births and deaths of the Urquharts; to which important events he, with a proper sense of the respectability and dignity of his progenitors, makes them quite subordinate.

This multilibrarian and elaborate work, although the most important of the learned knight's productions, was not the first in point of time. In 1645 he published in London a treatise on *Trigonometry*, dedicated in very flowery language to "the right honourable and most noble lady, my dear and loving mother, the lady-dowager of Cromartie." This work, though disfigured by all the faults of manner and style peculiar to its author, yet discovers a knowledge of mathematics, which, when associated with his other attainments, leaves no doubt of his having been a man of very superior natural endowments.

V.

VEDDER, DAVID. This warm-hearted enthusiastic sailor-poet was born in the parish of Burness, Orkney, in 1790. His father was a small proprietor near Kirkwall, but of him he was bereaved in early boyhood; his widowed mother, however, directed the first steps of his education with singular ability, and carefully led him into that good path which he followed out to the end of his days. Being left an orphan at the age of twelve, David chose the occupation most natural to an island boy and Orcadian—it was that of a sailor, and in the first instance as a cabin-boy; but at the age of eighteen he rose to the rank of mate, and only two years after to the command of a ship, in which he made several voyages to Greenland and other places. Afterwards he entered the revenue service as first officer of an armed cruiser, in which he continued till 1820, when he obtained the government appointment of tide-surveyor of customs, and officiated in that capacity at the ports of Montrose, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, and Leith till the close of his active and well-spent life.

Although the tempest-beaten shores and incessantly shifting skies of Orkney are so fitted to inspire poetical emotions—though its wild scenery is fraught with such romantic historical remembrances—and though its children are the descendants of those Vi-kings and Jarls who wrought such wondrous deeds in their day, and of those Scalds who recorded them in song—yet it is singular that so few Orcadians of the modern stock have distinguished themselves in the walks of poetry. A veritable Orkney poet, therefore, is the more valuable on account of the rarity of the species—and one of these few, as well as the choicest specimen of the whole, was David Vedder. The maternal education, although so early terminated, had not only made him a reader and a thinker, but had culti-

vated his poetical tendencies, so that the ocean storms, by which they might have been otherwise extinguished, only seem to have nursed them into full maturity. Even while a young sailor, and amidst the boisterous navigation of the northern seas, his chief recreation as well as delight was poetry, so that he ventured at the early age of twenty-one to launch his first published poem into the pages of a magazine. Thus committed to the destinies of the press, other similar attempts quickly followed; and encouraged by the favourable reception they experienced, he commenced authorship in earnest, with a volume entitled the "*Covenanter's Communion*, and other Poems," which was published by Blackwood in 1826. This work was so favourably received that the whole impression was soon exhausted.

We can only give a brief enumeration of David Vedder's other works. To the *Covenanter's Communion* succeeded his *Orcadian Sketches*—a production of prose and verse intermixed, in the strong sonorous poetry of which the ringing of his native storms predominates, while many of the events are reminiscences of his own early life. This was followed by a *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, which was much read and admired until it was superseded by the able and ample narrative of Lockhart. In 1841 he published a volume of his collected pieces, under the title of *Poems—Legendary, Lyrical, and Descriptive*. In 1848 he published, in conjunction with his son-in-law, Mr. Frederick Schenck, the distinguished lithographer, a splendidly illustrated volume, entitled *Lays and Lithographs*, the whole of the letter-press of which was supplied by Mr. Vedder. His last principal work was a new English version of the quaint old German story of *Reynard the Fox*, adorned with similar illustrations.

Besides these entire productions, Mr. Vedder was considerably employed, over a course of years, as a coadjutor in other literary undertakings. These, independently of numerous contributions to newspapers and magazines, consisted of additions to George Thomson's *Musical Miscellany*, Blackie's *Book of Scottish Song*, and Robertson's *Whistlebinkie*. He also contributed the greater part of the letter-press to Geikie's well-known volume of *Etchings*. As his authorship had commenced, in like manner it terminated with the Covenanters; for during his last illness he was employed in the composition of a beautiful ballad descriptive of their sufferings, founded upon an incident in the life of Andrew Grey, of Chryston, in Lanarkshire.

The estimate of Vedder's literary and intellectual character has been justly and briefly expressed by the Rev. George Gilfillan in the following words—

"As a poet and prose writer his powers were of no ordinary kind. He added to strong unrestrained sense much fancy and humour. If not a 'maker' in the full extent of that name, he had unquestionably a true natural vein. Dr. Chalmers used actually to electrify his class-room by reading those lines of Vedder's, entitled 'All Nature worships there;' and many parts of his *Covenanter's Communion* and his *Orcadian Sketches* display similar power and truth of genius. Although in a great degree self-taught, he managed not only to acquire an excellent English style, but an extensive knowledge of foreign tongues, and his translations from the German are understood to be exceedingly faithful and spirited."

The death of Mr. Vedder occurred at his residence in Newington, near Edinburgh, on the 11th of February, 1854, when he had reached his sixty-fourth year.

W.

WALKER, JAMES, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.S.E. This excellent civil engineer, whose professional talents were attested by so many skilful erections of public utility, was born at Falkirk on the 14th of September, 1781. He received the earlier part of his education at the parish school of his native town, and was afterwards a student at the university of Glasgow. Having there completed his education so far as was necessary for his chosen occupation, he went to London and commenced the study of engineering under his uncle, Ralph Walker, also distinguished in that scientific profession, and at the time employed in constructing the West India Docks. Under such a teacher, and with such opportunities, the talents and aptitudes of James Walker were improved to the uttermost, so that he became one of the most distinguished civil engineers of his day.

After he had entered into public life, his history was chiefly to be traced in the works he planned and superintended—in docks, bridges, and lighthouses—those silent memorials which only reveal the name of their founder to such as are curious enough to inquire for it. The department of his profession to which he exclusively adhered was marine engineering, in which he had originally been trained; and although the character of his mind was not original or inventive, it was distinguished by qualities scarcely less useful—by intuitive sagacity, much caution, sound judgment, and especially the faculty of profiting by his large and varied experience; and thus, while he avoided those professional blunders into which theoretic enthusiasts are so apt to fall, his works were eminently successful, and obtained for him the high position of being the first authority of his time. These, however, were so varied in character, and so many in number, that it would be impossible to particularize them, more especially as they ranged over a long course of life that was in constant action to its close. Let it suffice to say, that at the time of his death he was conducting, as government engineer, the national harbours of refuge at Dover, Alderney, and Jersey, and the refuge harbour at the mouth of the Tyne. As engineer to the Trinity House of London, he constructed various lighthouses, especially that on the Bishop's Rock, a situation so exposed as to make the construction of a lighthouse there a work of peculiar difficulty. On navigation and canal works he was frequently consulted as a

special authority, and of his bridge-architecture a favourable specimen has been given in the Stockwell Street bridge at Glasgow. The talents and success of Mr. Walker in his professional career were acknowledged by correspondent honours. From the university of Glasgow, where in his early days he had been a student, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws; he was appointed president of the Institution of Civil Engineers on the death of Mr. Telford in 1834; he was a member of the Royal Society of London; and in 1824 he was elected a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

After these labours had been continued unabated to a good old age, Mr. Walker, sometime before his death, had exhibited symptoms of declining health; but with a robust constitution, combined with an abundant flow of cheerfulness and spirit, he bore up against the growing lassitude, and even to the last continued his beloved occupation, which to him had become a second nature, so that even on the day before his sudden decease he was employed in writing a report to the Admiralty on the Alderney harbour of refuge. He died from a stroke of apoplexy on the 8th of October, 1862, in his eighty-first year.

WALLACE, JAMES, usually called Colonel Wallace, leader of the Covenanters at the battle of Pentland Hills, was descended from the Wallaces of Dundonald, a branch of the Wallaces of Craigie. Neither the place nor the year of his birth is known; but in the sentence of death, which was passed against him in absence after the battle of Pentland, he is styled "of Auchens," an estate situated in the parish of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, and which was the family-seat of his ancestors, and most probably his own birth-place. Of his education there is equally little known as of the other particulars alluded to. He appears, however, to have adopted the military profession at a very early period of life, and having distinguished himself in the parliamentary army was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He went to Ireland in the Marquis of Argyle's regiment in the year 1642, and in 1645 was recalled to oppose the progress of the Marquis of Montrose. At what period of the struggle Colonel Wallace joined the army of the Covenanters under General Baillie is unknown, but he was at the battle of Kilsyth, where he was taken prisoner.

In 1650, when Charles II. came from the Continent at the entreaty of the Scottish parliament, two regiments being ordered to be embodied of "the choicest of the army, and fittest for that trust," one of horse and another of foot, as his body-guards, Wallace was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the foot regiment, under Lord Lorn, who was colonel. Sir James Balfour, lord lyon king-at-arms, by his majesty's command set down the devices upon the ensigns and colours of these regiments. Those of the lieutenant-colonel [Wallace] were azure, a unicorn argent, and on the other side, in "grate gold letters," these words, "Covenant for religion, king, and kingdoms." At the battle of Dunbar Wallace was again made prisoner; and in the end of that year Lord Lorn, in a petition to the parliament, says, "In respect my lieutenant-colonel has, in God's good providence, returned to his charge, whose fidelity in this cause is well known both in Ireland and in this kingdom, and that his losses are very many and great, I do humbly desire that your majesty and this high court of parliament may be pleased in a particular manner to take notice of him, that he may not only have a company appointed him, but likewise something may be done for the satisfaction of his former losses." Upon this petition the committee of bills reported "that Lieutenant-colonel Wallace may be referred to the Committee of Estates, that he may be assigned to some part of the excise or maintenance forth of the shire of Ayr, or any other of the shires in the south."

Colonel Wallace seems to have lived in retirement from the Restoration till the month of November, 1666, when Maclellan of Barscob, and some other gentlemen who had been driven into hiding, happening to fall in with some soldiers whom they found maltreating a poor old countryman, immediately disarmed them, and thus gave occasion to that rising which, from the place where it was suppressed, has always been called the rising of Pentland. Having fairly committed themselves by their humane interference, these gentlemen conceived the design of anticipating the vengeance of Sir James Turner, by surprising him with his whole party where he lay, in the town of Dumfries, about sixteen miles distant. Accordingly, having assembled their friends, to the number of about fifty horse with a few foot, they marched into that town upon Thursday, the 15th of November, and made Sir James prisoner with his whole party, wounding only one man. The insurgents on this occasion were led by a Mr. Andrew Gray, a merchant in Edinburgh, who happened by chance to be in that part of the country at the time. Neilson of Corsack, however, was the leader, before whom Sir James Turner, upon being made prisoner, was brought. From this gentleman he obtained quarter and protection; but when Gray, the chief of the party, came up, he insisted upon having him shot upon the spot. They finally, however, set him upon a sorry beast, and carried him about with them in his *déshabillé*, and in this manner proceeded to the market-cross, where they drank the king's health and prosperity to his government. Sir James, however, for some days could not believe but that they intended to hang him when they should find time and place suitable.

While these things were transacting in Dumfries, the friends of religion and liberty kept up a correspondence by special messengers, and continued deliberating on what was best to be done. Among others, Wallace joined a consultation, which was held at the chambers of Mr. Alexander Robertson in Edinburgh, the same night that Sir James Turner was made prisoner. At this meeting it was resolved

to make common cause with the western brethren, and seek redress from government with arms in their hands. Colonel Wallace and a little band of adherents lost no time in proceeding to Ayrshire, in the hope of being joined by the friends of religion and liberty there. They visited successively Mauchline, Ayr, Ochiltree, Cumnock, Muirkirk, and other places on the route; but met with little encouragement in their enterprise. Mr. Robertson, who had been still less successful in procuring assistance, rejoined Wallace, along with Captain Robert Lockhart, and insisted that the undertaking should be abandoned. This counsel was unpalatable to Wallace, but he forthwith sent Maxwell of Monreith to consult with John Guthrie, brother to the celebrated minister of Fenwick, on the subject. Having been reinforced by a small party from Cunningham, under Captain Arot, the whole body marched to Douglas on Saturday the 24th, where at night, after solemn prayer, the proposal of Robertson and Lockhart was carefully considered. It was rejected without one dissenting voice, all being clear that they had a divine warrant for the course they were pursuing. They resolved, therefore, to persevere in it, although they should die at the end of it; hoping that, at least, their testimony would not be given in vain to the cause they had espoused. Two other questions were discussed at this meeting: the renewing of the covenants—to which all agreed; and what should be done with Sir James Turner, whom, for want of any place in which to confine him, they still carried about with them; and who, as a persecutor and murderer of God's people, it was contended by many, ought to have been put to death. As quarter, however, it was alleged, had been granted to him, and as he had been spared so long, "the motion for pistolling him was slighted." On the morrow, Sabbath, they marched for Lesmahagow, and passed the house of Robert Lockhart, where Mr. Robertson also was at the time; but neither of the two came out. This day they perfected as well as they could the modelling of their force; but few as their numbers were, they had not the half of the officers requisite: they had not above four or five that had ever been soldiers. At night they entered Lanark, crossing Clyde near the town. Next day, Monday the 26th, guards being set upon the water in a boat to prevent any surprise from the enemy, the covenants were renewed, Mr. John Guthrie preaching and presiding to one part of the army, and Messrs. Gilbert Semple and Crookshanks to the other; and the work was gone about "with as much joy and cheerfulness as may be supposed in such a condition." On this day considerable numbers joined them; and with the view of favouring the rising of their friends, who were understood to be numerous, in Shotts, West Calder, and Bathgate, they marched for the latter place, but did not reach it till late in the evening. Part of the way a large body of the enemy's horse hung upon their rear; the roads were excessively bad, and the place could not so much as afford them a cover from the rain, which was falling in torrents. The officers went into a house for prayer and to deliberate upon their further procedure, when it was resolved to march early in the direction of Edinburgh, in the hope of meeting their friends from that quarter, as well as those they had expected through the day. Scarcely, however, had the meeting broken up, when their guards gave the alarm of the enemy; and though the night was dark and wet in the extreme they set out at twelve o'clock, taking the road through Broxburn, and along the new bridge for Collington. Daylight appeared as they came to the bridge, in the most miserable plight imaginable. From their Edinburgh

friends there was no intelligence; and when they drew up on the east side of the bridge there was not a captain with the horse, save one, and the enemy were close at hand, marching for the same bridge. Wallace, however, was a man of singular resolution and of great self-possession. Even in these distressing circumstances he sent a party to occupy the bridge, and marched off the main body of his little army to a rising ground, where he awaited the enemy to give him battle.

It was at this critical juncture that Lawrie of Blackwood paid him a second visit, not to assist, but to discourage him, by proposing a second time that he should disband his followers and trust to an indemnity, which he assured him the Duke of Hamilton would exert himself to obtain for them. As he had no credentials to show, and seemed to be speaking merely his own sentiments without the authority of either party, Blackwood's proposal excited suspicions of his motives. He, however, remained with the party, which had now moved on to Collington, all night; and in the morning was the bearer of a letter from Colonel Wallace to General Dalzell, who sent it to the council, while he hastened himself to pursue the insurgents. Wallace in the meantime marched to Ingliston Bridge, at the point of the Pentland Hills, and was in the act of drawing up his little party to prevent straggling when he learned that Dalzell, with the advance of the king's troops, was within half a mile of him. There had been a heavy fall of snow through the night, but it was succeeded by a clear frosty day; and it was about noon of that day, the 28th of November, when the armies came in sight of each other. That of the insurgents did not exceed 900 men, ill-armed, worn out with fatigue, and half starving. The royal army, which amounted to upwards of 3000 men, was in the highest order, and well provided in all respects. Wallace disposed his little army with great judgment upon the side of a hill running from north to south. The Galloway gentlemen, on horseback, under McClellan of Barmagachan, were stationed on the south; the remainder of the horse, under Major Learmont, on the north; and the foot, who were exceedingly ill armed, in the middle. Dalzell seems to have been for some time at a loss how to proceed; having such a superiority, however, in numbers, he detached a party of horse, under General Drummond, to the westward, in order to turn Wallace's left wing. This detachment was met by the Galloway gentlemen, under Captain Arnot and Barmagachan, and completely routed in an instant; and had Wallace been in a condition to have supported and followed up this masterly movement, the king's army would inevitably have lost the day. A second attack was met by Major Learmont with equal spirit; and it was not till after sunset, when Dalzell himself charged the feeble unarmed centre with the strength of his army, horse and foot, that any impression was made upon them. This charge they were unable to resist, but were instantly broken and dispersed. The nature of the ground, and the darkness of the night, favoured their flight, and there were not more than 100 of them killed and taken by the victors; but they were in an unfriendly part of the country, and many of the fugitives were murdered by their inhumane countrymen, for whose rights and liberties they were contending.

Colonel Wallace after the battle left the field, in company with Mr. John Welch, and, taking a north-westerly direction along the hills, escaped pursuit. After gaining what they conceived to be a safe distance from the enemy they turned their horses loose, and slept the remainder of the night in a barn.

Wallace for some time concealed himself in different parts of the country, and at length escaped to the Continent, where he assumed the name of Forbes. Even there, however, he was obliged to wander from place to place for several years to avoid his enemies, who still continued to seek him out. When the eagerness of the pursuit abated, he took up his residence at Rotterdam, where Mr. Macward and Mr. John Brown had found an asylum, and were now employed in dispensing ordinances to numerous congregations; but on the complaint of one Henry Wilkie, whom the king had placed at the head of the Scottish factory at Campvere, who found his interests suffering by the greater resort of Scottish merchants at Rotterdam for the sake of enjoying the ministry of these worthy men, the states-general were enjoined by the British government to send all the three out of their territories. In the case of Wallace the states were obliged to comply, as he had been condemned to be executed as a traitor when he should be apprehended, and his lands forfeited for his majesty's use; but they gave him a recommendation to all kings, republics, &c. &c., to whom he might come, of the most flattering description. In the case of the other two the order seems to have been evaded. Wallace ventured in a short time back to Holland, and died at Rotterdam in the end of the year 1678, "lamented of all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance, who were many; and in particular the members of the congregation of which he was a ruling elder bemoaned his death, and their loss, as of a father." "To the last he testified his attachment to the public cause which he had owned, and his satisfaction in reflecting on what he had hazarded and suffered in its defence." He left one son, who succeeded to his father's property, as the sentence of death and of fugitation, which was ratified by the parliament in 1669, was rescinded at the Revolution.

Among the suffering Scottish exiles there were few more esteemed than Colonel Wallace. Mr. Brown of Wamphray, in a testament executed by him at Rotterdam, in 1676, ordered 100 guineas "to be put into the hands of Mr. Wallace, to be given out by him to such as he knoweth indigent and honest;" and while he leaves the half of his remanent gold to Mr. Macward, he leaves the other half to Mr. Wallace. Mr. Macward, who was honoured to close the eyes of his valued friend and fellow-Christian, exclaims, "Great Wallace is gone to glory; of whom I have no doubt it may be said, he hath left no man behind him in that church, minister nor professor; who hath gone through such a variety of tentations, without turning aside to the right hand or to the left. He died in great serenity of soul. When the cause for which he suffered was mentioned, when it was scarce believed he understood or could speak, there was a sunshine of joy looked out of his countenance, and a lifting up of hands on high, as to receive the martyr's crown; together with a lifting up of the voice, with an 'Aha,' as to sing the conqueror's song of victory."

WALLACE, DR. ROBERT, celebrated as the author of a work on the numbers of mankind, and for his exertions in establishing the Scottish Ministers' Widows' Fund, was born on the 7th January, 1697, o.s., in the parish of Kincardine in Perthshire, of which his father, Matthew Wallace, was minister.¹ As he was an only son his early education was carefully attended to. He acquired Latin at the grammar-school of Stirling, and in 1711 was sent to the university of Edinburgh, where he passed through the

¹ *Scots Magazine*, xxxiii. 340; lxxi. 291.

usual routine of study. He was one of the original members of the Rankenian Club, a social literary fraternity, which, from the subsequent celebrity of many of its members, became remarkably connected with the literary history of Scotland. Mr. Wallace directed his studies towards qualifying himself for the Church of Scotland. In 1722 he was licensed to preach by the presbytery of Dumblane, and in August, 1723, the Marquis of Annandale presented him with the living of Moffat.

Dr. Wallace had an early taste for mathematics, to which he directed his attention while a student at the university, and on that study he bestowed many of his spare hours during his ministry. He has left behind him voluminous manuscript specimens of his labours; but it will probably be now considered better evidence of his early proficiency, that in 1720 he was chosen assistant to Dr. Gregory, then suffering under bad health. Wallace was, in 1733, appointed one of the ministers of the Grayfriars' Church in Edinburgh. The countenance of the government, which he had previously obtained, he forfeited in 1736, by refusing to read in his church the act for the more effectually bringing to justice the murderers of Porteous, which the zealous rage of the ministry and the house of peers had appointed to be read from the pulpit. He was in disfavour during the brief reign of the Walpole ministry; but under their successors was intrusted with the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. The revolution in the ministry happened at a moment when Dr. Wallace was enabled to do essential service to his country, by furthering the project of the Ministers' Widows' Fund. The policy of that undertaking was first hinted at by Mr. Mathieson, a minister of the High Church of Edinburgh; Dr. Wallace, in procuring the sanction of the legislature, and Dr. Webster, by an active correspondence and the acquisition of statistical information, brought the plan to its practical bearing, by apportioning the rates, &c., and afterwards zealously watched and nurtured the infant system. As the share which Dr. Wallace took in the promotion of this measure is not very well known, it may be mentioned, that it appears from documents in the office of the trustees of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, that he was moderator of the General Assembly in 1743, which sanctioned the measure. In the ensuing November he was commissioned by the church, along with Mr. George Wishart, minister of the Tron Church, to proceed to London and watch the proceedings of the legislature regarding it. He there presented the scheme to the lord-advocate, who reduced it to the form of a bill. The corrections of Messrs. Wallace and Wishart appear on the scroll of the bill.

In 1744 Dr. Wallace was appointed one of the royal chaplains for Scotland. He had read to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, of which he was an original member and active promoter, a *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times*, which he revised and published in 1752. In this work he was the first to apply to purposes of investigation one of those truisms which, however plain, are never stated until some active mind employs them as foundations for more intricate deductions, that the number of human beings permanently existing in any portion of the earth must be in the ratio of the quantity of food supplied to them. The explanation of this truth by Dr. Wallace has been acknowledged by Malthus, and the work in which it was discussed has acquired deserved fame for the mass of curious statistical information with which the author's learning furnished it; but in the great theory which he laboured to establish, the

author is generally allowed to have failed. He maintained, as a sort of corollary to the truth above mentioned, that where the greatest attention is paid to agriculture, the greatest number of human beings will be fed, and that the ancients having paid greater attention to that art than the moderns, the world of antiquity must have been more populous than that of modern days. Were all food consumed where it is produced, the proposition would be true; but in a world of traffickers, a sort of reverse of the proposition may be said to hold good, viz. that in the period where the smallest *proportion* of the human beings on the surface of the earth is employed in agriculture, the world will be most populous, because for every human being that exists a quantity of food sufficient to live upon *must* be procured; for procuring this food the easiest method will always be preferred, and therefore when the proportion of persons engaged in agriculture is the smaller, we are to presume, not that the less is produced, but that the easier method of providing for the aggregate number has been followed. The great engine of facilitating ease of production is commerce, which makes the abundance of one place supply the deficiency of another, in exchange for such necessities and luxuries as enable the dwellers on the fertile spot to bestow more of their time in cultivation than they could do were they obliged to provide these things for themselves. Hence it is pretty clear that increase of populousness has accompanied modern commerce. Previously to the publication of this treatise, Hume had produced his invaluable critical essay on the populousness of ancient nations, in which, on politico-economical truths, he doubted the authenticity of those authorities on the populousness of antiquity, on many of which Wallace depended. In publishing his book Dr. Wallace added a long supplement, discussing Hume's theory with much learning and curious information, but leaving the grounds on which the sceptic had doubted the good faith of the authorities unconfuted. Wallace's treatise was translated into French, under the inspection of Montesquieu; and was republished in 1809, with a life of the author. Dr. Wallace's other published works are, "*A Sermon*, preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, Monday, January 6, 1745-6, upon occasion of the Anniversary Meeting of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge;" in which he mingled, with a number of extensive statistical details concerning education, collected with his usual learning, and tinged with valuable remarks, a political attack on the Jacobite insurrection of the period, and the motives of its instigators; *Characteristics of the Present State of Great Britain*, published in 1758; and *Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence*, published in 1761, in which he discussed the abstruse subjects of liberty and necessity, the perfectibility of human nature, &c. He left behind him a MS. essay on "Taste," of considerable length, which was prepared for the press by his son, Mr. George Wallace, advocate, but never published. From the new aspect which modern inquiries on this subject have assumed, in their adoption of the cumulative principle of association, this work can now be of little interest; but it may be worth while to know, that his "principles of taste," or sources from whence the feeling was perceived to emanate, were divided into, 1st, grandeur; 2d, novelty; 3d, variety; 4th, uniformity, proportion, and order; 5th, symmetry, congruity, or propriety; and 6th, similitude and resemblance, or contrast and dissimilitude.

Dr. Wallace died on the 29th of July, 1771, in consequence of a cold caught in being overtaken in a walk by a snow-storm. His son George, al-

ready mentioned, is known as the author of a work on the *Descent of Ancient Peorages*, and *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, which has fallen into obscurity.

WALLACE, WILLIAM, the celebrated assertor of the national independence, was born probably about the middle of the reign of Alexander III., or the year 1270. Part of the circumstances which called forth this hero from obscurity are already detailed under the life of Baliol; the remainder must here be briefly noticed.

After the deposition of that unfortunate sovereign in 1296, King Edward I. overran Scotland with his troops, and united it, as he thought, for ever to his native dominions. Many of the nobility who had taken part in the resistance of King John fell into his hands, and were sent prisoners to England, whither Baliol himself, along with his eldest son, had also been sent. He destroyed or took away all the public records, and endeavoured to obliterate every monument of the former independence of Scotland. He displaced those who had held important offices under Baliol, and bestowed them on Englishmen. Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was appointed governor, Hugh de Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciary of Scotland; and having thus settled all things in a state of seeming tranquillity, he departed with the conviction that he had made a final conquest of the country.

Scotland was now fated to experience the most flagrant oppression and tyranny. The unlimited exactions of Cressingham, the treasurer, a voluptuous and selfish ecclesiastic, and the rigour of Ormesby the justiciary in exacting the oath of fealty, soon rendered them odious to the nobles; while the rapacity and barbarism of the soldiers laid the wretched inhabitants open to every species of wrong and insult. Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to Edward were deprived of their estates, and in many cases of their lives. Whatever was valuable in the kingdom was seized upon by its oppressors; even the cause of female virtue was not held sacred under their unhallowed domination; and in short, the whole country was laid under a military despotism of the most unqualified and irresponsible kind. It was at this dark hour of Scotland's history, when the cry of an oppressed people ascended to heaven, and the liberty for which they had so long struggled seemed to have departed for ever from them, that **SIR WILLIAM WALLACE** arose to avenge the wrongs and restore the rights of his country.

Sir William Wallace was descended from an ancient Anglo-Norman family in the west of Scotland. His father was knight of Elderslie and Auchinbothie in Renfrewshire, and his mother daughter of Sir Raynald Crawford, sheriff of Ayr. Wynton, in his *Chronicle*, speaking of him, says,

"Hys Fadyere was a manly knyght,
Hys Modyere was a lady brycht,
Begothene and born in mariage;
Hys eldayre brodyere the herytage
Had and enjoyed in his dayes."

According to some writers, his father and brother were both slain by the English at Lochmaben; but from the above lines it would seem that the elder brother survived his father, and succeeded to the heritage. Sir William, who, as already mentioned, seems to have been born about the middle of the reign of Alexander III., received the rudiments of his education at Dunipace in Stirlingshire, under the guardianship of his uncle, a wealthy ecclesiastic there. This worthy man is said to have stored his nephew's mind with the choicest maxims from the ancients, and in particular to have imprinted upon

his memory the following Leonine verses, which Wallace often repeated in after-years:

"Dico tibi verum, Libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili."

Thus translated by Monipennie:

"My sonne (I say) Freedom is best,
Then never yield to thrall's arrest."

From Dunipace Wallace was removed to a public seminary at Dundee, where he contracted a friendship with John Blair, a Benedictine monk, who afterwards became his chaplain. Blair, being an eye-witness to most of his actions, composed a history of them in Latin; but the work has not, unfortunately, come down to us, though a liberal use has evidently been made of it in the vernacular metrical work of Blind Harry.¹

It would appear that Wallace first displayed his intrepid temper in a quarrel at Dundee with a young English nobleman of the name of Selby, whom, provoked by some wanton indignity, he stabbed with his dagger, and slew on the spot. The consequence of this was, that he was obliged to seek for safety among the wilds and fastnesses of his country,² where by degrees he collected a little band, whom he inspired with his own patriotic sentiments.

Although deserted by their nobility, a spirit of determined hostility to the English government was strongly manifested by the great body of the people. Throughout the country numerous bands of armed peasants collected, and harassed in every possible way the English soldiers. A master-spirit was only wanting to guide them to the restoration of their country's independence—and such they found in Sir William Wallace. He had every personal and mental qualification to constitute him the leader of his countrymen at this period of oppression. In the fragment ascribed to Blair which is preserved, he is described as of a tall and gigantic stature, a serene countenance, a pleasant aspect, large and broad-shouldered, but of no unwieldy bulk; liberal in his gifts, just in his judgments, eloquent in discourse, compassionate to those in distress, a strong protector and deliverer of the oppressed and poor, and a great enemy to liars and cheats. Fordun and Buchanan also characterize him as superior to the rest of mankind in bodily stature, strength, and activity; in bearing cold and heat, thirst and hunger, watching and fatigue; valiant and prudent, magnanimous and disinterested, undaunted in adversity, modest in prosperity, and animated by the most ardent and unextinguishable love of his country. With these qualifications, and with a band of followers who confided in him, and who were stimulated by the same wish of rescuing their country from the tyranny under which it groaned, he soon became a terror to the English,

¹ The following lines occur near the conclusion of Blind Harry's performance:—

"Of Wallace' Life, who hath a better skeel,
May show forth more with wit and eloquence,
For I to this have done my diligence,
After the prose, given from the Latin book,
Which Master Blair in his time undertook,
In fair Latin compiled to an end," &c.

² "There is a respectable man in Longforgan, Perthshire, who has in his possession a stone, called *Wallace's stone*. It was what was formerly called in this country a *bear-stone*, hollow like a large mortar, and was made use of to unhulk the bear or barley, as a preparative for the pot, with a large wooden mell, long before barley-mills were known. Its station was on one side of the door, and covered with a flat stone for a seat when not otherwise employed. Upon this stone Wallace sat on his way from Dundee, when he fled after killing Selby, the governor's son, and was fed with bread and milk by the goodwife of the house, from whom the man who now lives there, and is the proprietor of the stone, is lineally descended; and here his forbears (ancestors) have lived ever since, in nearly the same station and circumstances, for about 500 years."—*Statistical Account of Scotland*, xix. 561.

and performed many daring feats of valour. His early and desultory enterprises against the enemy were almost all successful; and the result was, that numbers who had looked with indignation at the usurpation of the crown by Edward, and who only waited for an opportunity of asserting the independence of their country, flocked to his standard, until he found himself at the head of a great body of men, all fired with the same patriotic spirit.

As Wallace's party grew stronger, several of the Scottish nobles joined him. Among these were the steward of Scotland, and Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell; Sir John the Grahame, who became Wallace's bosom friend and confidant; William Douglas, Lord of Douglasdale, designated the Hardy; Sir Robert Boyd; Alexander de Lindsay; Sir Richard Lundin; and Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow. These either acted together or engaged in separate expeditions, as circumstances allowed. Ormesby, the English justiciary, was about this time holding his court at Scone. Wallace attacked him there, killed some of his followers, and took many prisoners; but the justiciary had the good fortune to escape. While Wallace was engaged in this expedition, or some other equally daring, Lord Douglas recovered the castles of Durisdeer and Sanquhar from the English.¹

About the same period a memorable adventure in the history of Wallace—the burning of the Barns of Ayr—is said to have taken place. According to prevalent tradition, the English governor of Ayr invited to a friendly conference many of the Scottish gentry, in some large buildings, called the Barns of Ayr, where, by a treacherous and premeditated stratagem, they were strangled to death. Among those slain in this base manner were Sir Raynald Crawford, sheriff of the county of Ayr, and maternal uncle to Wallace, Sir Neil Montgomerie, Sir Bryce Blair, and Crystal of Seton.² Wallace, on hearing of this circumstance, instantly set forward towards Ayr, accompanied by his confederates; and about midnight surrounded the barns where the English soldiers were cantoned, set them on fire, and either killed, or forced back to perish in the flames, all who endeavoured to escape. Many of the English soldiers who lodged in a convent were at the same time attacked and put to the sword by the friars: and this is still proverbially called the Friar of Ayr's Blessing. On returning from Ayr with a body, it is said, of 300 men, Wallace proposed to make an attack upon Glasgow, which was possessed by an English force of 1000 soldiers. With this purpose he divided his band into two, giving the command

of one of them to Boyd of Auchinleck,³ with instructions to make a circuit and enter the town at an opposite point, while he himself would engage in the front. Wallace came in contact with the English near the college site in High Street; a desperate and well-contested combat ensued: the leader of the English fell beneath the sword of Wallace; and on the appearance of Boyd, the English were thrown into confusion, and pursued with great loss as far as Bothwell Castle.

These, and similar gallant exertions in the cause of Scotland, at length roused the indignation of the English monarch, who had been at first inclined to treat them with disdain. Calling forth the military force on the north of the Trent, he sent Sir Henry Percy, nephew of the Earl of Surrey, and Sir Robert Clifford, into Scotland to reduce the insurgents, at the head of an army of 40,000 foot and 300 fully caparisoned horse. The English army marched through Annandale to Lochmaben, where, during the night, their encampment was suddenly surprised and attacked with great fury by Wallace and his party, who, however, in the end were obliged to retire. At break of day, the English advanced towards Irvine, and soon discovered the Scottish squadrons drawn up on the border of a small lake. The force of the latter was unequal to a well-appointed army; but Wallace was among them, and under his conduct they might have made a successful resistance. Discussions, however, arose among the chiefs as to precedence; and they were perhaps the more untractable from a conviction of their inferiority to the enemy. Sir Richard Lundin was the first to set the example. Exclaiming that he would not remain with a party at variance with itself, he left the Scottish camp, and went over with his retainers to the English. He was followed in this by Bruce (afterwards the hero of Bannockburn), who had lately joined the Scottish army; by the steward of Scotland and his brother; by Alexander de Lindsay; William, Lord of Douglasdale; and the Bishop of Glasgow. All these acknowledged their offences, and for themselves and their adherents made submission to Edward. A treaty⁴ to this effect, to which their seals were appended, was drawn up in Norman French, and a copy transmitted to Wallace; but this brave and patriotic man rejected it with disdain. It is supposed that Sir John Grahame and Sir Robert Boyd were not present on this occasion; their names are not in the treaty; and historians say that Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell was the only baron who remained with Wallace after this disgraceful desertion.

Undismayed by the occurrence, Wallace retired to

¹ The manner of his taking the castle of Sanquhar is thus described by Hume of Godscroft in his *History of the House of Douglas*:—"There was one Anderson that served the castle, and furnished it with wood and fuel. The Lord Douglas directs one of his trustiest and stoutest of his servants to deal with him, or to find some means to betray the castle to him, and to bring him within the gates only. Anderson, either persuaded by entreaty or corrupted by money, gave my lord's servant, called Thomas Dickson, his apparel and carriages; who, coming to the castle, was let in by the porter for Anderson. Dickson stabbed the porter; and, giving the signal to my lord, who lay near by with his companions, set open the gates, and received them into the court. They, being entered, killed the captain and the whole of the English garrison, and so remained masters of the place. The captain's name was Beauford, who had oppressed the country that lay near him very insolently. One of the English that had been in the castle, escaping, went to the other garrisons that were in other castles and towns adjacent, and told them what had befallen his fellows, and withal informed them how the castle might be recovered. Whereupon, joining their forces together, they came and besieged it. Lord Douglas, finding himself straitened, and unprovided of necessaries for his defence, did secretly convey his man Dickson out at a postern or some hidden passage, and sent him to William Wallace for aid. Wallace was then in Lennox; and hearing of the

danger Douglas was in, made all the haste he could to come to his relief. The English, having notice of Wallace's approach, left the siege and retired towards England, yet not so quickly but that Wallace, accompanied by Sir John Graham, did overtake them, and killed 500 of their number before they could pass Dalswinton. By these and such like means Wallace, with his assistants, having beaten the English from most parts of their strengths in Scotland, did commit the care and custody of the whole country, from Drumlanrig to Ayr, to the charge of the Lord Douglas."

² Barbour, a credible author, says (alluding to Crystal of Seton),

"It was gret sorrow sekirly,
That so worthy persoun as he,
Suld on sic manner hangy be?
This gate endyt his worthynes,
And off Crawford als Schyr Kanald wes,
And Schyr Bryce als the Blar;
Hangyt in till a barne in Ayr."

The Bruce, iii. 260.

³ The father of this warrior, in consequence of the gallantry he displayed at the battle of Largs, obtained a grant of lands in Cunningham from Alexander III.

⁴ It is dated 9th July, 1297. See Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 774.

the north, after venting his indignation on the castle and lands of the Bishop of Glasgow, who was the negotiator of the treaty, and who by his intrigues had the common fortune of being suspected by both parties. There are no authentic memorials regarding the particular actions of Wallace during the summer months that intervened between the treaty of Irvine and the battle of Stirling; but he seems to have been active and successful in raising a formidable army. The spirit of his countrymen was now roused. Knighton, an old English historian, informs us, that "although the nobility of Scotland had attached themselves to England, *THE HEART OF THE PEOPLE WAS WITH WALLACE*, and the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and their prince." The cause of this is obvious. Many or most of the nobles were Normans of recent connection with Scotland, still disposed to look rather to England than to Scotland as their country, and to the English monarch, than to the Scottish, as their sovereign; while the common people had no attachment but to their native soil and their native prince. Wallace was one of the Anglo-Normans who sided with the body of the people in this quarrel, and it is easy to see that much of the jealousy of the nobility towards him was excited by the reflection, that he deserted the cause of his kindred aristocracy for the sake of popular and national rights.

It was when Wallace had succeeded in expelling the English from the castles of Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and nearly all their strongholds on the north of the Forth, and had just begun the siege of the castle of Dundee, that intelligence reached him of the English army, under the command of the Earl of Surrey and Cressingham the treasurer, being on its march to oppose him. Charging the citizens of Dundee to continue, on pain of death, the siege of the castle, he hastened with all his troops to guard the important passage of the Forth, before Surrey had passed the bridge at Stirling, and encamped behind a rising ground in the neighbourhood of the abbey of Cambuskenneth. His army at this time amounted to 40,000 foot and 180 horse. That of the English was superior in numbers, being 50,000 foot and 1000 horse. The steward of Scotland, the Earl of Lennox, Sir Richard Lundin, and others of the Scottish barons, were now with the English, and on the army reaching Stirling bridge, they requested Surrey to delay an attack till they had attempted to bring Wallace to terms. They soon returned with the information that they had failed in their efforts at a reconciliation, and that they had not been able to persuade a single soldier to desert. Surrey, who seems to have been aware of the danger of passing the bridge, as a last resource sent two friars to offer a pardon to Wallace and his followers, on condition that they would lay down their arms. But the spirit of Wallace was unsubdued. "Go back to your masters," he said, "and tell them that we stand not here to treat of peace, but to avenge the wrongs and restore the freedom of our country. Let the English come on—we shall meet them beard to beard." On hearing this defiance, the English impatiently demanded to be led to the attack; but Surrey, alive to the strong position occupied by the Scots, hesitated, until overcome by the taunts and impatience of Cressingham. "Why, my lord," cried this insolent churchman, "should we protract the war, and spend the king's money? Let us forward, as becomes us, and do our knightly duty."

The English army began to cross the bridge, led by Sir Marmaduke Twenge and Cressingham; and when nearly the half had passed, Wallace charged them with his whole force, before they had time to

form, and threw them into inextricable confusion. A vast multitude was slain, or drowned in the river in attempting to rejoin Surrey, who stood on the other side a spectator of the discomfiture. Cressingham the treasurer was among the first who fell; and so deeply was his character detested, that the Scots mangled his dead body, and tore the skin from his limbs.¹ Twenge, by a gallant struggle, regained the bridge and got over to his friends. A panic seized the English who stood with Surrey, spectators of the rout. Abandoning their waggons and baggage, they fled precipitately, burning the bridge (which was of wood) to prevent pursuit. The Earl of Lennox and the Scottish barons, perceiving this, threw off their mask of alliance with Edward; and being joined by part of the Scottish army, who crossed the river by means of a ford at some distance from the bridge, pursued the English with great vigour as far as Berwick, which was soon abandoned and taken possession of by the victorious army. It is not known how many of the English fell at this battle, but the slaughter must have been great, as few of those who crossed the bridge escaped; and the Scots, smarting under the cruel insolence and rapacity with which they had been treated, gave little quarter. On the side of the Scots few of any note were slain, with the exception of Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the faithful companion of Wallace, whose son, some time after, was made regent of Scotland.

This decisive engagement took place on the 11th of September, 1297; and its consequences were important. The castles of Dundee, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh immediately surrendered to Wallace; and in a short time not a fortress or castle in Scotland remained in the hands of the English. Thus through the means of one man was Scotland delivered from the iron yoke of Edward, and her name and independence among the nations of the earth restored.

Wallace was now declared, by the voice of the people, governor and guardian of the kingdom, under Baliol.² About the same time a severe dearth and famine, the consequence of bad seasons and the ravages of war, afflicted Scotland; and Wallace, with the view of procuring sustenance for his followers and of profiting by his victory at Stirling, resolved upon an immediate expedition into England. For the purpose of raising a formidable army he commanded that from every county, barony, town, and village, a certain proportion of fighting men, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, should be levied; and although the jealousy of the Scottish nobility began to be more than ever excited, and many endeavours were made by them to prevent cordial co-operation, he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body of men, with whom he marched towards the north of England, taking with him as his partner in command Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, son of the gallant knight who fell at the battle of Stirling bridge. The approach of the Scottish army struck the inhabitants of the northern counties with terror: they abandoned their dwellings, and, with their cattle and household goods, took refuge in Newcastle. "At this time," says Hemingford, an English historian, "the praise of God was unheard in any church or monastery throughout the whole country, from New-

¹ It is said in an old MS. chronicle, that Wallace made a sword-belt of Cressingham's skin. This may be the origin of the story, that the Scots made *girths* of his skin; an absurdity upon which Lord Hailes is at the pains of passing a joke.

² His title runs thus in a document of his own time:—"Willelmus Walays, miles, custos regni Scotie, et ductor exercitus ejusdem, nomine præclari Principis Domini Johannis, Dei gratia, regis Scotie illustris, de consensu communitatis ejusdem."

castle-upon-Tyne to the gates of Carlisle; for the monks, canons regular, and other priests who were ministers of the Lord, fled with the whole people from the face of the enemy; nor was there any to oppose them, except that now and then a few English who belonged to the castle of Alnwick, and other strengths, ventured from their safe-holds, and slew some stragglers. But these were slight successes; and the Scots roved over the country from the feast of St. Luke's to St. Martin's Day, inflicting upon it all the miseries of unrestrained rapine and bloodshed.¹ All the tract of country from Cockermouth and Carlisle to the gates of Newcastle was laid waste; and it was next determined to invade the county of Durham. But the winter set in with such severity, and provisions became so scarce, that multitudes of the Scots perished through cold and famine, and Wallace was obliged to draw off his army. It seems that he endeavoured in vain to restrain many outrages of his followers. The canons of Hexham, a large town in Northumberland, complained to him that their monastery had been sacrilegiously plundered and that their lives were in danger. "Remain with me," he said; "for I cannot protect you from my soldiers when you are out of my presence." At the same time he granted them a charter, by which the priory and convent were admitted under the peace of the King of Scotland; and all persons interdicted, on pain of the loss of life, from doing them injury. This curious document still exists. It is dated at Hexham on the 8th of November, 1297.

After his return from England, Wallace proceeded to adopt and enforce those public measures which he considered necessary for securing the liberty of his country. With the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility he conferred the office of constabulary of Dundee on Alexander, named Skirmis-chur, or Scrimgeour, and his heirs, "for his faithful aid in bearing the banner of Scotland."² He divided the kingdom into military districts, in order to secure new levies at any time when the danger or exigency of the state required them. He appointed an officer or sergeant over every four men, another of higher power over every nine, another of still higher authority over every nineteen; and thus in an ascending scale of disciplined authority, up to the officer or chiliarch, who commanded a thousand men. In other respects his administration was marked by justice and sound judgment. He was liberal in rewarding those who deserved well of their country, by their exertions during its late struggle for liberty; and strict in punishing all instances of private wrong and oppression. But the envy and jealousy of the higher nobility, who could ill brook the elevation of one whose actions had thrown them so much into the shade, perplexed the councils and weakened the government of the country, at a time when the political existence of Scotland depended on its unanimity.

Edward was in Flanders when the news reached him that the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, had entirely defeated Surrey, driven every English soldier out of their country, invaded England, and, in short, had thrown off effectually the yoke with which he had fettered them. Inflamed against them at this overthrow of his exertions and schemes, he issued orders to all the forces of England and Wales

to meet him at York; and, concluding a truce with France, hastened home to take signal vengeance on the assertors of their liberty, and to make final conquest of a country which had proved so contumacious and untractable. At York he held a parliament, on the feast of Pentecost, 1298, where, to secure the hearty co-operation of his subjects in his invasion of Scotland, he passed several gracious and popular acts, and came under a promise of ratifying more should he return victorious. He soon found himself at the head of an army, formidable in number, and splendid in equipment. It consisted at first of 7000 fully caparisoned horse and 80,000 infantry; and these were soon strengthened by the arrival of a powerful reinforcement from Gascony. A large fleet, laden with provisions, had orders to sail up the Frith of Forth as the army advanced.

The English rendezvoused near Roxburgh; and about midsummer advanced into the country by easy marches. A party under Aymer de Valloins, Earl of Pembroke, landed in the north of Fife. Wallace attacked and routed them in the forest of Black Ironside, 12th June, 1298. Among the Scots, Sir Duncan Balfour, sheriff of Fife, was the only person of importance who fell in this engagement.

This partial success, however, of the ever-active guardian of his country, could not affect the terrible array that was now coming against him. He had no army at all able to compete with Edward; and his situation was rendered more perilous by the mean fears and jealousies of the nobility. Many of these, alarmed for their estates, abandoned him in his need; and others, who yet retained a spirit of resistance towards the English supremacy, envied his elevation, and sowed dissensions and divisions among his council. Wallace, however, with a spirit equal to all emergencies, endeavoured to collect and consolidate the strength of the country. Among the barons who repaired to his standard, only the four following are recorded: John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger; Sir John Stewart of Bonkill; Sir John Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, the grand-uncle of the young Earl of Fife. Robert Bruce remained with a strong body of his vassals in the castle of Ayr.³ As the army of Wallace was altogether unequal to the enemy, he adopted the only plan by which he could hope to overcome it. He fell back slowly as Edward advanced, leaving some garrisons in the most important castles, driving off all supplies, wasting the country through which the English were to pass, and waiting till a scarcity of provisions compelled them to retreat, and gave him a favourable opportunity of attacking them.

Edward proceeded as far as Kirkliston, a village six miles west of Edinburgh, without meeting any opposition, except from the castle of Dirleton, which, after a resolute resistance, surrendered to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham. But a devastating army had gone before him, and his soldiers began to suffer severely from the scarcity of provisions. At Kirk-

¹ In retaliation, Lord Robert Clifford twice invaded Annandale with an army of 20,000 men and 100 horses. In his second inroad, the town of Annan, which belonged to Robert Bruce, and the church of Gysborne, were burned and plundered. This is said to have determined Bruce to desert the English and join the party of Wallace.

² This grant is dated at Torphichen, 29th March, 1298.

³ The story told by Fordun of the interview between Wallace and Bruce on the banks of the Carron, after the battle of Falkirk, is not well borne out by the circumstances of the parties. Bruce was not present at the battle, and at that period did not belong to the English interest; which is proved by the fact, that after that fatal engagement he fled from his castle at Ayr on the approach of Edward. At the same time, it must be confessed that he held a suspicious neutrality with regard to Wallace; and if we can reconcile ourselves to the probability of a meeting between these two heroes, it is not difficult to suppose that it might be, in its general bearing, such as it is represented. About 1277 or 1282 an expatriated Scotsman offered a prize to any one who should write the best poem on this heroic interview. Mrs. Hemans, who afterwards distinguished herself by many beautiful effusions in verse, was the successful competitor.

liston, therefore, he determined to wait the arrival of his fleet from Berwick; but, owing to contrary winds, only a few ships reached the coast, and in the course of a month his army was reduced to absolute famine. An insurrection also arose among the English and Welsh cavalry, in which the latter, exasperated at the death of several of their companions, threatened to join the Scots. "Let them go," said Edward, courageously: "I shall then have an opportunity of chastising all my enemies at the same time." Worn out, however, by a daily increasing famine, Edward was at last obliged to abandon his prospects of ambition and revenge, and to issue orders for a retreat to the eastern borders. It was at this critical moment, when the English army began to break up their quarters, that Edward, through the treachery of two Scottish lords, Patrick Earl of Dunbar, and the Earl of Angus, received information that the Scots lay encamped in the forest of Falkirk; and that it was the intention of Wallace to surprise him by a night attack, and to hang upon and harass his rear. "Thank God," cried Edward, "they shall not need to follow me; I shall go and meet them." His army was immediately marched towards Falkirk, and on the evening of the day on which he received the information, encamped on a heath near Linlithgow.

Next morning (July 22d, 1298) the Scottish army was despatched forming on a stony field at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk. It did not amount in number to the third part of the English, and, weak as it was, is said by the Scottish historians to have been still further weakened by fatal dissensions. Wallace, however, seems to have availed himself of every advantage which his situation and circumstances permitted. He placed his army on the front of a morass, and divided his infantry into four compact bodies of a circular form. In these masses, composed of his spearmen, and called *shiltrens*,¹ consisted the strength of the Scottish army; for they were linked together so closely that it was extremely difficult to break them.² In the spaces between the shiltrens were placed the archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, and at some distance in the rear was drawn up the cavalry, amounting to no more than 1000. When he had thus drawn up his little army, and the enemy appeared in view, Wallace said pleasantly to his men, "I have brought you to the ring; let me see how you can dance."³

The English monarch arranged his army into three divisions; the first headed by Bigot, earl-marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; the second by the Bishop of Durham and Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton; and the third by Edward himself, who, although wounded on the previous night by a kick

from his horse, was yet able to mingle in the engagement. The first division led on the attack; but was checked by the morass that stretched along the front of the Scottish position, and obliged to make a circuit to the west. Meanwhile the second line, under the command of the Bishop of Durham and Basset, inclined to the right, turned the morass, and advanced towards the left flank of the Scottish army. The bishop proposed to defer the attack till the rest of the army should advance. "Return to thy mass, bishop," said Basset, sneeringly. "Not so," answered the bishop, "we are all soldiers to-day; lead on!" At the same moment the first division made its appearance, having extricated itself from the morass; and they both attacked the Scottish shiltrens simultaneously. The shock was tremendous. The English cavalry was fully caparisoned and armed, and made desperate endeavours to break through the columns of the Scottish infantry; but were gallantly withstood. "They could not penetrate that wood of spears," says one of their historians. Their charges were repeatedly repulsed, notwithstanding that the Scottish horse, commanded by some of the nobles at variance with Wallace, either from mean jealousy towards him or fear at the number and force of the English, did not come to the assistance of the infantry, but left the field without striking a blow. Edward then brought forward his numerous body of archers, a class of soldiers for which England was long celebrated, and who, as a proverbial illustration of the accuracy of their aim, were said to carry each twelve Scotsmen's lives under their girdle, because they generally bore twelve arrows in their belt. These by thick and incessant volleys dreadfully galled the Scottish columns. The archers on the Scottish side were a small but select body from the forest of Selkirk,⁴ under the command of Sir John Stewart. In one of the charges Sir John was thrown from his horse. His faithful bowmen crowded around him, and tried to rescue him; but in vain. They all perished; and their bodies were afterwards recognized by the English as being the tallest and handsomest on the field. Still the infantry under Wallace did not give way, and still his sword flashed with terrific effect, amidst the throng of the English cavalry, and the unceasing shower of the English arrows. But the firm columns of the Scots were at length disunited by dreadful gaps of slain, and they could no longer withstand the overpowering numbers borne against them. Macduff and all his vassals from Fife were killed, and at last Sir John the Graham fell by the side of Wallace. To him, of all others, Wallace was particularly attached; and when he saw him fall he plunged with tenfold fury into the thickest of his enemies, dealing death and destruction around him. It was impossible, however, that with the handful of men to which his army was now reduced, he could for any length of time successfully oppose the strength brought against him. He was obliged at last to make good his retreat, and gained a neighbouring wood, leaving 15,000 of his followers dead on the field.⁵

¹ This word is used by Barbour in his description of the battle of Bannockburn:—

"For Scotsmen that them hard essayed,
That then were in a shiltren all."

² "Ther formost coureyr ther bakkis togidere sette,
Ther speres, point over point, so sare, and so thikke
And fast togidere joynit, to se, it was ferlike,
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wende no man of blode thourgh them suld haf gone."
Langtoft's *Chronicle*, book ii.

³ The words of Wallace were, "I haif brocht you to the ring; hap, gif you can." The ring means the *dansé à la ronde*. *Hap* is an old word for dance.

"The dansand priestis, clepit Salii,
Happand and singand."

Douglas' *Æneid*, viii. 21.

Lord Hailes supposes *cun* to be an obsolete verb of the noun and adjective *cunning*, still used, as, "Let my right hand forget its *cunning*," &c.; and translates "gif you cun," if you have skill. But we should imagine *cun* to be simply *can*, corruptly spelled:—"Gif you cun,"—if you can.

⁴ The *Foreste of Selkyrke* in those days comprehended not only the tract now known by that name, but also the upper parts of Clydesdale and Ayrshire.

⁵ The accounts of the loss on the Scottish side at the battle of Falkirk are extremely various. Fifteen thousand is stated above, on the authority of two English chronicles, viz. the *Norwich Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of John Eversden*. It seems nearer probability than any other account. Some of the English historians make it more than the actual amount of Wallace's army; Walsingham, 60,000; and Hemingford, 50,000. Trivet makes it 20,000; and Buchanan 10,000. From these accounts we may, at all events, conclude with certainty, that the Scots suffered severely. There is no account of the English loss. Only two men of note are mentioned as having fallen on their side: Sir Brian de Jaye and the prior of Torphichen.

According to Blind Harry, Wallace, when the English had removed to Linlithgow, returned to the field of battle, in order to obtain the body of his friend, Sir John the Graham. This is somewhat countenanced by the fact, that Sir John lies buried in the churchyard of Falkirk, having the following inscription on his gravestone, which has been several times renewed:—

"MENTE MANUQUE POTENS ET VALLAE FIDVS ACHATES,
CONDITOR HIC GRAMVS, BELLO IMPERFECTVS AB ANGLIS,
XXII JVLII ANNO 1295.

"Here lies Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wise,
Ane of the cheefis who rescowit Scotland thryse;
Ane better knight not to the world was lent
Nor was gude Grame of truth and hardiment." 1

Blind Harry's description of the distress of Wallace when he saw the body of his beloved friend and brother in arms, is touching in the extreme:—

"The corse of Graym, for whom he mured maist,
When thae him fand, and Gude Wallace him saw,
He lychtyt down, and hynt him frae thame aw
In armys up. Behaldand his pale face,
He kyssyt him, and cryt full oft, 'Alace!
My best brothir in warld that evir I had!
My afald freynd quhen I was hardest staid!
My hope, my heill!—thow was in maist honour!
My faith, my help, my strenghthener in stour!
In thee was wit, freedom, and hardiness;
In thee was treuth, manhood, and nobleness;
In thee was rewl; in thee was governans;
In thee was virtue, withouten varians;
In thee lawty; in thee was gret largeness;
In thee gentrice; in thee was stedfastness.
Thow was gret cause off winning off Scotland,
Thoch I began, and tok the war on hand,
I vow to God, that has the warld in wauld,
Thy dead sall be to Southerne full dear said!
Martyr thow art for Scotlandis rycht and me!
I sall thee venge, or els therefor sall dee!"

The remains of the Scottish army, in their retreat, burned the town and castle of Stirling. Edward, who had not recovered from the kick he received from his horse, took up his quarters for some time in the convent of the Dominicans there, which had escaped the flames; and sent a division of his army into Clackmannanshire, Monteith, and Fifeshire, who laid waste the country. He then marched to the west, through the district of Clydesdale to Lanark, and afterwards to Ayr, where he found the castle forsaken and burned by Robert Bruce. A want of provisions prevented Edward from pursuing Bruce into Galloway, as he intended. After capturing Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, he was constrained to march through Annandale into England, leaving Scotland only partially subdued, and ready to rise into a new revolt against him.

Wallace, after the defeat of Falkirk, feeling how little he was supported by the nobility, and how much jealousy and envy his elevation had occasioned, resigned the office of governor of Scotland, reserving to himself no other privilege than that of fighting against the enemies of his country, at the head of such friends as might be inclined to adhere to him. His resignation was followed by the election of a regency, consisting at first of John Comyn of Badenoch, the younger, and John de Soulis; to whom were afterwards added, as partners in administration, Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews.

The first enterprise of the new governors was against the castle of Stirling, which Edward had left garrisoned. To preserve that important place from falling into their hands, Edward determined upon

another expedition into Scotland, and with that purpose assembled his army at Berwick; but the English barons, to whom he had not confirmed certain privileges as he had promised, refused to go farther, urging the inclemency of the season and the danger of a winter campaign. He was therefore obliged to abandon his design, and to allow the English who were beleaguered in Stirling to capitulate.

In the course of the following year (1300) Edward, by confirming the charters of the barons, was enabled once more to prosecute his great object, the invasion and subjugation of Scotland. At the head of a great army he entered the country by the western marches, and penetrated into Galloway. He was here met by a petition from the governors and community of Scotland, requesting that John Baliol, their lawful king, should be permitted to reign peaceably over them; but he rejected it with disdain. The Scottish army, now profiting by experience, confined itself to cutting off the supplies of the enemy; and Edward, after spending five months in the southern part of the country, without effecting anything material, found himself compelled, by the approach of winter and the scarcity of provisions, to return to England. Before leaving Scotland, when no other alternative remained, he affected to listen to the mediation of France, and concluded a truce with the Scots at Dumfries, 30th October, 1300, to endure till Whitsunday, 1301.

Meanwhile a new competitor to the crown of Scotland arose in the person of his holiness Pope Boniface VIII. This singular claim had been suggested to the Roman see by certain Scottish commissioners, who wished his holiness to interpose in behalf of their distracted country. The arguments upon which it was founded were altogether absurd (such as, "that Scotland has been miraculously converted to the Christian faith by the relics of St. Andrew," &c.); but Edward's own pretensions were clearly and justly refuted. As it was dangerous for the English monarch to break with the pope at this time, owing to several continental arrangements, Edward laid the affair before his barons, who protested, with much spirit, that they would not allow the rights of their sovereign to be interfered with by any foreign potentate; and to soothe his holiness, he sent him a long letter in his own name, "not in the form (as he says) of an answer to a plea, but altogether extrajudicially;" wherein he enumerated all his claims to the superiority of Scotland, from the days of his "famous predecessor Brutus the Trojan," to his own.

In the ensuing summer, as soon as the truce had expired, Edward, accompanied by his son, the Prince of Wales, and a great army, marched again into Scotland, and spent the winter at Linlithgow, where he ratified another truce with the Scots, to endure until St. Andrew's day, 1302, and soon afterwards returned to London. On the expiry of this second truce, having gained Pope Boniface over to his interest, he sent Sir John de Segrave, a celebrated warrior, into Scotland, with an army of 20,000 men, chiefly consisting of cavalry. Segrave, when near Roslin, on his march to Edinburgh, separated his army into three divisions; the first led by himself, the second by Ralph de Manton, called from his office of paymaster the Cofferer, and the third by Robert de Neville. These divisions, having no communication established between them, were successively attacked and defeated at Roslin, on the 24th February, 1303, by a small body of 8000 horse, under the command of Sir John Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser. Ralph the Cofferer and Neville were slain. Segrave escaped, and fled, with the remains of his army, to England, leaving behind an immense booty.

¹ His grace the Duke of Montrose possesses an antique sword, on which is the following inscription:—

"Sir Ione ye Grame, verry vicht and wyse,
One of ye cheefis relievit Scotland thryse,
Favght vith ys svord, and ner thot schame,
Commandit nane to beir it bot his name."

Nimmo's *History of Stirlingshire*.

But while the Scots thus persevered in defence of their country, Philip le Bel, King of France, upon whose alliance they had confided, concluded a treaty of peace with Edward (20th May, 1303), in which they were not included; and the English monarch, being now freed from foreign wars, bent his whole force to make a complete conquest of Scotland, which had long been the ruling object of his ambition and exertions. His passions were now exasperated to the utmost by the repeated failures of his attempts, and he declared his determination either to subjugate it entirely, or to raze it utterly with fire and sword, and blot it out from existence in the list of nations. With this purpose he marched into Scotland at the head of an army too powerful to be resisted by an unfortunate people, already broken down by the accumulated miseries that attended their long-continued conflict with an unequal enemy. The inhabitants fled before him or submitted to his power, and his whole course was marked by scenes of slaughter, devastation, and ruin. The governor, Comyn, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir William Wallace, with their followers, were driven into the fields and fastnesses of the country, from which they only issued in irregular predatory expeditions against detachments of the English. Edward continued his victorious progress as far as the extremity of the province of Moray, and the only fortress that opposed his course was the castle of Brechin, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered on the death of Sir Thomas Maule, its gallant commander, who was killed by a stone discharged from one of the besieging engines. Edward then returned to Dunfermline, where he spent the winter in receiving the submission of those who had not made their peace with him during his progress through the kingdom. Almost all the nobles gave in submissions. Bruce surrendered himself to John de St. John, the English warden; and at last Comyn, the governor, and his followers, delivered themselves up to Edward, under a stipulation for their lives, liberties, and lands, and a subjection to certain pecuniary penalties. From this stipulation Edward excepted the following, as being more obstinate in their rebellion: Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, James, the Steward of Scotland, Sir John Soules, the late associate of Comyn in the government of the kingdom, David de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Bois, and William Wallace. The Bishop of Glasgow, the steward, and Soules, were to remain in exile for two years; Graham and Lindesay were to be banished from Scotland for six months; and Fraser and Bois for three years. "As for WILLIAM WALLACE," says the deed, "it is covenanted, that if he thinks proper to surrender himself, it must be unconditionally to the will and mercy of our lord the king."¹

¹ Langtoft, in his *Chronicle*, says that Wallace proposed, on certain terms, to surrender himself. These terms mark his bold and unsubdued spirit. Their effect upon Edward was to throw him into a fit of rage. The passage is as follows:—

"Turn we now other weyes, unto our owen geste,
And speke of the Waleys that lies in the foreste;
In the forest he lendes of Dounfermelyn,
He praised all his frendes, and other of his kyn,
After that Yole, thei wilde beseke Edward,
That he might yelde till him, in a forward
That were honorable to kepe wot or beste,
And with his scrite full stable, and seated at the least,
To him and all his to haf in heritage;
And none otherwise, als term tyme and stage
Bot als a propre thing that were conquest till him.
Whan thei brouht that tething Edward was fulle grim,
And bilaut him the fende, als traytoure in Lond
And ever-ilkon his frende that him susteyn'd or foud.
Three hundred marke he hette unto his warisoun,
That with him so mette, or bring his hede to toun.
Now flies William Waleis, of pres nouht he spedis,
In mores and marcis with robberie him fedis."

Soon after, an English parliament was held at St. Andrews, to which the king summoned all the Scottish barons and nobles. The summons were obeyed by all, except Sir William Oliphant, Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir William Wallace. Oliphant held the castle of Stirling, and refused to capitulate. It was the only stronghold of Scotland not in the hands of the English; and Edward brought all his force to besiege it. Every engine known in those days was employed in the attack. After an obstinate defence for three months, of which the English historians speak with admiration, Sir William Oliphant and his little garrison were compelled to surrender at discretion. Fraser, too, despairing of further resistance, at last accepted the conditions of Edward, and offered himself up to the conqueror. WALLACE ALONE remained unsubdued, amid this wreck of all that was free and noble, standing like a solitary monument among the ruins of an ancient dynasty—destined *then* to be the emblem of his country's independence; *now*, to be its watchword, its pride, and its praise.

Having gained the submission of the principal men of Scotland, and, in the capture of Stirling, reduced the last castle which had resisted his authority, Edward returned to England in the pleasing conviction that he had at length finally accomplished the object upon which so much of the blood and money of England had been expended. Yet, while Wallace still lived, he felt his possession insecure; and he used every possible means to obtain the person of this his first, most dangerous, and uncompromising opponent. After the battle of Falkirk, and his resignation of the governorship of Scotland, little is authentically known of the particular transactions of Wallace. Great part of the time between 1298 and 1305 was no doubt spent in desultory attempts to annoy the English garrisons and migratory parties. But that a portion was also devoted to a visit to France, as has been related by Blind Harry, and disputed by subsequent writers,² appears now to be equally certain, as a manuscript English chronicle, discovered some years ago by Mr. Stevenson in the British Museum, speaks of such a visit, without the intimation of any doubt upon the subject. Wallace was probably induced to visit the French court by a hope of obtaining some auxiliaries from Philip for the purpose of carrying on the war against Edward; or by a wish to urge the interests of Scotland in the treaty which that monarch formed in 1303 with the English king, and in which Scotland was overlooked. Finding no success in either of these objects, he seems to have returned to his native country, to renew that partisan warfare which was now the only method left to him of manifesting his patriotic feelings. That his deeds, however obscure, were of no small consequence, is shown by the eager solicitude which Edward evinced to secure his person, and the means which he took for effecting that end. Besides setting a great reward upon his head, he gave strict orders to his captains and governors in Scotland to use every endeavour to seize him, and sought out those Scotsmen who he had reason to think entertained a per-

² In the present narrative it has been our endeavour to go no further than the well-accredited histories of both countries warrant; and the numerous stories told by Blind Harry of the less conspicuous deeds of Wallace are completely overlooked. It is the opinion, however, of the celebrated historian of Scotland, Mr. P. F. Tytler, an opinion formed upon apparently the best grounds, that the Minstrel writes with a greater regard to the truth, and makes a much nearer approach to it, than has been generally supposed. We are indebted for the information, now given for the first time, in confirmation of the story of Wallace's French expedition, to the personal kindness of Mr. Tytler, who saw and copied the document alluded to in the text.

sonal pique at Wallace, in the hope of bribing them to discover and betray him. Sir John de Mowbray, a Scottish knight then at his court, was employed to carry into Scotland Ralph de Halibarton, one of the prisoners taken at Stirling Castle, with the view of discovering and seizing the deliverer and protector of his country. What these creatures did in this dishonourable affair, or with whom they co-operated, is not known; the lamentable fact alone remains, that Sir William Wallace was at last treacherously betrayed and taken, through the agency of one of his own countrymen, and one who had served under him against the English, Sir John Menteith, a baron of high rank, whose name, for this cause, is throughout Scotland, even unto this day, a by-word of scorn and detestation.¹ Wallace was made prisoner at Robroyston, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, on the 5th of August, 1305.

The fate of this great man was soon decided. He was first taken to Dumbarton Castle,² then under the command of Menteith, and afterwards carried to London, heavily fettered, and guarded by a powerful escort. The people in the northern counties of England are said to have exulted greatly at the news of his capture; and as the cavalcade advanced, multitudes flocked from all quarters to gaze at its illustrious prisoner. On reaching London he was lodged for the night in Fenchurch Street, in the house of a citizen, by name William Delect;³ and next day (23d August) carried to Westminster Hall, accompanied by the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city, and there arraigned of treason. A crown of laurel was in mockery placed on his head, because, as was alleged, he had been ambitious of the Scottish crown. The king's justice, Sir Peter Mallorie, then impeached him as a traitor to Edward, and as having burned villages, stormed castles, and slain many subjects of England. "I could not be a traitor to the King of England," said Wallace, "for I was never his subject, and never swore fealty to him. It is true I have slain many Englishmen; but it was in

the defence of the rights and liberties of my native country of Scotland." Notwithstanding the truth and justice of his plea, Wallace was found guilty, and condemned to a cruel death. It is a stain on the character of Edward, and a reproach to the spirit of his age and country, that while he pardoned, and even favoured many who had repeatedly violated their oaths of allegiance to him, he not only bestowed no mercy on this brave and true-hearted man, who had never professed allegiance, but, with an enmity which showed how little sympathy he had for his noble qualities, added insult to injustice, and endeavoured to heap indignity on the head of him whose name shall be through all ages honoured and revered by every generous breast. Sir William Wallace was dragged at the tails of horses through the streets of London to a gallows in Smithfield, where, after being hanged a short time, he was taken down, yet breathing, and his bowels torn out and burned. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen. "These," says an old English historian, "were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfalon, which they had once proudly followed." But he might have added, as is well remarked by Mr. Tytler, that "they were trophies more glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him; and if Wallace already had been the idol of the people—if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, throughout every change of circumstances, the independence of his country, now that his mutilated limbs were brought before them—it may well be conceived how deep and unextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge." Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonizing the memory of his enemy, and increasing the animosity of the Scottish people. Accordingly we find, although the execution of Wallace may be said to have completed that subjugation of the country which the English monarch had been straining for, by force and fraud, during a period of fifteen years—that in *less than six months* from the death of her great champion, Scotland, roused to the cause now sealed and made holy by her patriot's blood, shook off the yoke of England, and became once more a free kingdom.

¹ Some attempt has been made (especially by Lord Hailes, who seems to have sometimes opposed ordinary facts and notions, under the vulgar delusion of being philosophical and unprejudiced) to deny that Sir John Menteith was the captor of Wallace. But no circumstance in history could be better corroborated than this. All the English and Scottish writers agree on the subject. The *Chronicle of Lanercost Priory*, a MS. of the thirteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, has this passage: "Captus fuit Willelmus Waleis, per unum Scotum, scilicet per Dominum Johannem de Menteith, et isque London ad Regem adductus, et adjudicatum fuit quod traheretur, et suspenderetur, et decollaretur." Another ancient MS. (the *Scala Chronicle*), preserved at Cambridge, says, "H' ylliam Waleis was taken of the Counte of Menteith about Glasgow, and sent to King Edward, and after was hangid, drawin, and quarterid, at London." *Langtoft's Chronicle* (another English authority) is also conclusive:—

"Sir Jon of Meneteste served William so nehi,

He took him when he went lest, on nyght his leman bi;

That was throught treson of Jak Short his man;

He was the encheson, that Sir Jon so him nam."

From which it appears that Menteith prevailed on Jack Short, Wallace's servant, to betray him; and came under cover of night and seized him in bed, "his leman bi." Our Scottish historians, too, Fordun and Wynton, who flourished not a hundred years after Wallace, speak in an equally decisive manner of his capture. "Anno Domini MCCCv." says Fordun, "Willelmus Wallace per Johannem de Menteith fraudulenter et proditorialiter capitur, Regi Anglie traditur, Londinis demembratur." Wynton's chapter on the subject is headed thus:—

"*Quhen Jon of Menteith in his dayis
Dissavit gude Willame Waleis.*"

And, further, he says:—

"A thousand three hundyr and the fyft yere
After the byrth of our Lord dere,
Schyre Jon of Menteith in the dayis
Tuk in Glasco Willame Waleis."

That Menteith was at one time a fellow-soldier of Wallace is proved by the following passage from Bower, preserved in the

Relationes Arnaldi Blair:—"In hoc ipso anno (1298) viz. 28 die mensis Augusti, Dominus Wallas, Scotie custos, cum Johanne Grahame, et Johanne de Menteith, militibus; necnon, Alexandro Scrymgeour, constabulario villæ de Dundee et vexillario Scotie, cum quinquaginta militibus armatis, rebelles Gallovidenses punierunt, qui Regis Angliæ et Cuminum partibus sine aliquo jure steterunt." As to any further intimacy between Menteith and Wallace there is no evidence beyond Blind Harry and popular tradition.

² A sword and mail are still shown in Dumbarton Castle as having belonged to Wallace.

³ The following passage occurs in *Stow's Chronicle*: "William Wallace, which had oftentimes set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought to London, with great numbers of men and women wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch Street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster; John Seagrave and Geoffrey, knights, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London, and many others, both on horseback and on foot, accompanying him; and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported; and being approached for a traitour by Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's justice, he answered that he was never traitour to the King of England; but for other things whereof he was accused he confessed them; and was after headed and quartered."

WALLACE, WILLIAM, LL.D. This talented mathematician was born at Dysart, Fifeshire, on the 23d of September, 1768, and was the son of a manufacturer of leather in that town. After having been taught to read at a private school, kept by an old woman, he was sent to a public seminary, where he learned to write; but the still more important branch of education in his case—that of arithmetic—he learned at home from the instructions of his father. His father having been unsuccessful in business, removed to Edinburgh, where William was bound apprentice to a bookbinder; still, however, dwelling under the paternal roof, and availing himself of his father's course of instruction. Besides this he was wont, when opportunity offered, to read such books as were placed under his charge for binding. His mind having been thus awoke to action, his favourite bias quickly took the lead: he purchased a few mathematical books, and pored over them till they could teach him nothing further. In this way, we are told, before he had reached his twentieth year he was a considerable proficient in elementary geometry and trigonometry, algebra with fluxions, conic sections, and astronomy. During this successful pursuit of scientific knowledge he was likewise so fortunate as to form an acquaintance with a man who assisted Dr. Robison in his class-room experiments, and who offered to introduce him to the professor. This offer Wallace, who had now finished his apprenticeship, gladly accepted. The doctor was not long in perceiving the earnest scientific zeal of the young man, and the proficiency he had made in mathematics, and therefore gave him permission to attend the course of lectures on natural philosophy gratuitously. To avail himself of such a welcome opportunity, Wallace, whose circumstances were those of a straitened journeyman, worked hard at his trade during a portion of the time that should have been devoted to sleep. Here, too, Dr. Robison's kind patronage did not terminate, for he introduced his protégé to Professor Playfair, who lent him scientific books, and gave him valuable suggestions for the study of the higher branches of mathematics. Dr. Robison also intrusted him with the tuition of one of his own pupils in geometry—a useful training to William Wallace for the important charges as a public instructor which he afterwards occupied.

Finding that the trade to which he had served a regular apprenticeship afforded too little time for study, and that he might advance himself to something better, Wallace became a warehouseman in a printing-office, where his opportunities of acquiring knowledge were more abundant. Here he mastered the difficulties of the Latin language by his own industry, aided by a few lessons from a college student, and afterwards studied French. He then exchanged the printing-office for the situation of shopman to one of the principal booksellers of Edinburgh—and approaching still nearer to the ultimate mark, he devoted his evenings to the teaching of mathematics as a private tutor. As this last occupation was more congenial than the other, he devoted himself to it entirely, having abandoned the shop for that purpose; and a short time afterwards he was appointed assistant teacher of mathematics in the academy of Perth. This was in 1794, when he had attained his twenty-sixth year, and acquired such a reputation that the most scientific men in Edinburgh welcomed him as a brother. Soon after he had settled in Perth he married, and for nine years after there was a lull in his hitherto changeable course, during which he quietly discharged the duties of his somewhat obscure and humble calling. But the time thus spent was not spent in idleness, as he

evinced when the fitting season arrived; and among the fruits of his studies at Perth, were three articles, which successively appeared in the respective publications for which they were intended. The first, which was presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1796, was entitled "Geometrical Porisms, with Examples of their Applications to the Solution of Problems." About the same period he contributed the article "Porism" to the third edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. His third article, which he presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, contained a new method of expressing the co-efficients in the development of the formula that represents the mutual perturbation of two planets; to which was added an appendix, giving a quickly converging series for the rectification of an ellipse. The scientific men who were qualified to judge of these papers bore high testimony to their accuracy and originality.

The time at length arrived when Mr. Wallace was to be elevated to a more fitting sphere of action. From the obscurity of such a town as Perth, his reputation had so widely diffused itself, that in 1803 he was invited to stand as candidate for the office of mathematical master in the Royal Military College lately established at Great Marlow, in Buckinghamshire. He consented, moved to this by the advice of his venerated friend Professor Playfair; and in the examination of candidates, his qualifications were found so much superior, that he was immediately elected to the office. It is interesting to notice that, in the following year, his countryman, Mr. Ivory, who, like himself, had been the subject of struggle and change, and who had also fought his way to scientific reputation, was elected to the professorship of mathematics in the same college. On the removal of the institution to Sandhurst, in Berkshire, Mr. Wallace accompanied it, and continued to teach in a manner that secured the approbation of the directors. In 1818 his sphere of educational duty was extended, in consequence of a resolution of the directors of the college, that a half-yearly course of lectures on practical astronomy should be given to the students, and that Mr. Wallace should be the lecturer. As this course also was to be combined with instructions on the manner of making celestial observations, a small observatory was erected for the purpose, and furnished with the necessary instruments. This addition to the routine of a military education, has done much to remove the objections often brought against our bravest officers of the army, on account of their deficiency in the science of their profession.

Another movement was now to occur in the changeable career of Mr. Wallace. In 1819 Professor Playfair died; Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Leslie was appointed to succeed him; and by this transference the chair of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh became vacant, and open to competition. The height of Wallace's ambition was to obtain a Scottish professorship, and accordingly he threw himself into the contest with his whole heart and energy. In the trial of candidates, which was a keen one, he was successful; and he brought the maturity of his experience as a teacher, as well as his rich scientific acquirements as a mathematician, to a chair but too often filled with men unpractised in the common ways of life, and whose whole occupation is to muse and dream over a problem. Many of the scientific men of the present day can still remember, with gratitude, the efficiency with which Mr. Wallace discharged the duties of his professorship, and the impulse which his teaching imparted to their studies. He thus continued to labour till 1838, when he was obliged to retire from office in consequence of ill health;

and on his retirement government expressed its sense of the value of his services, both at Sandhurst and Edinburgh, by conferring on him a pension; and the university of Edinburgh, by making him a Doctor of Laws. Five years of private life succeeded, during which, however, his mind was not idle in his favourite pursuits, as was attested by his productions during this period, while he was unfitted by sickness for the usual intercourse of society. Having reached the age of seventy-five, he died at Edinburgh, on the 28th of April, 1843.

Besides those scientific articles which we have already mentioned, Professor Wallace, in the earlier part of his life, was a contributor to *Leybourne's Mathematical Repository* and the *Gentleman's Mathematical Companion*: he was also author of the principal mathematical articles in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* and the fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. To these productions the following may be added:—

In 1808 he presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh an article entitled “New Series for the Quadrature of the Conic Sections, and the Computation of Logarithms.”—In 1823 he presented another, entitled “Investigation of Formulæ for finding the Logarithms of Trigonometrical Quantities from one another.”—In 1831 he presented another, entitled “Account of the Invention of the Pantograph, and a Description of the Eidograph.” Of this instrument called the eidograph—from *εἶδος*, a form, and *γράφειν*, to draw—he was himself the inventor; and, like the pantograph, it is used for the purpose of copying plans or other drawings, on the same or on different scales. Professor Wallace was also the inventor of the chorograph, an instrument for describing on paper any triangle having one side and all its angles given, and also for constructing two similar triangles on two given straight lines, having the angles given.—In 1836 he contributed a paper to the *Transactions of the Royal Astronomical Society*, entitled “Two Elementary Solutions of Kepler's Problem by the Angular Calculus.” He also contributed another, under the title of “Geometrical Theorems and Formulæ, particularly applicable to some Geodetical Problems,” to the Cambridge Philosophical Society, which was published in the sixth volume of their *Transactions*.—In 1838, when laid aside by sickness, he also composed a work upon the same subject, which he dedicated to his friend Colonel Colby.—In 1839 Professor Wallace gave his last contribution to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, under the title of “Solution of a Functional Equation, with its Application to the Parallelogram of Forces, and the Curve of Equilibrium,” which was published in the fourteenth volume of their *Transactions*.

WARDLAW, HENRY, Bishop of St. Andrews, and founder of the university there, was descended from the Wardlaws of Torry in Fife, and was nephew to Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, who was created a cardinal by Pope Urban VI. in the year 1381. The subject of this memoir, having received the usual education of a churchman, was appointed, not improbably through the interest of his uncle, to the office of precentor in the cathedral church of Glasgow. He afterwards went to Avignon, probably on some mission from his dignified relative. While residing at the papal court there, Thomas Stewart, son to Robert II., King of Scotland, who had been elected Bishop of St. Andrews, died, and the subject of this memoir was preferred to the vacant see by Pope Benedict XIII. in the year 1404. He returned to Scotland shortly after,

bearing the additional title and office of pope's legate for Scotland. Being a man of strict morals, his first care was to reform the lives of the clergy, which had become profligate to an extreme degree. In the meantime, King Robert III., having lost his eldest son David by the treacherous cruelty of his brother the Duke of Albany, to secure the life of his son James, sent him to the care of Bishop Wardlaw, who dreading the power and the cruelty of Albany, advised his father to send him to France to the care of Charles VI., on whose friendly dispositions he assured him he might confidently rely. On the seizure of James in 1404 by Henry IV. of England, the bishop was left at liberty to pursue his plans of improvement at his leisure; but from the unsettled state of the country, and the deplorable ignorance which prevailed among all classes of the community, with very little success. With the view of surmounting these obstacles he erected a college at St. Andrews in 1411, for which he procured a confirmation from Pope Benedict in the year following. His agent on this occasion was Alexander Ogilvy. On the return of this missionary in the year 1412 with the bull of confirmation, bouffres were kindled, bells were rung, and the night spent with every demonstration of joy. The next day was devoted to a solemn religious procession, in which there were 400 clergymen, besides novices of various orders and degrees. The model upon which the bishop formed this university was that of Paris, where it is probable he had received his own education; and he nominated Mr. John Shevez, his first official, Mr. William Stephen, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, and Sir John Leister, a canon of the abbey, readers of divinity; Mr. Lawrence Lindores, reader of the canon, and Mr. Richard Cornwall of the civil law; and Messrs. John Gow, William Foulis, and William Croisier, professors of philosophy—“persons,” says Spotswood, “worthy of being remembered for being the first instruments that were employed in that service, and for the attendance they gave upon it, having no allowance for their labour.” Buchanan has not recorded their names, but he alludes to them when he says, “The university of St. Andrews was founded through the efforts of learned men, who gratuitously offered their services as professors, rather than from any stipendiary patronage either of a public or private character.” For sixty-four years after its foundation the lectures were read in a wooden building called the pedagogy, erected on the spot where St. Mary's now stands, the number of students amounting, if we may credit some authors, to several thousands. The professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees.¹

The bishop, though remarkable for the great simplicity of his character, for his piety and well meaning, was yet a greater enemy to what he believed to be heresy than to immorality. In 1422 John Resby, an Englishman, was apprehended by Lawrence Lindores, professor of common law in the newly-erected university of St. Andrews, who accused him in the ecclesiastical court of having denied the pope's vicar-

¹ Forty-four years after this, viz. 1455, while the pedagogy was yet standing, Archbishop Kennedy founded St. Salvador's College; and in 1512, 101 years after the foundation of the pedagogy, Prior Hepburn founded St. Leonard's. The pedagogy being taken down, St. Mary's or Divinity College was erected in its stead. Towards this erection the two Beaton's, David and James, contributed considerable sums, and lectures on theology were there first introduced by Cardinal Beaton's successor, Archbishop Hamilton, about the year 1557. St. Salvador's and St. Leonard's were in comparatively recent times conjoined, and go by the name of the United College. St. Mary's is still distinct, and by the favour of different individuals all of them have been pretty liberally endowed.

ship, &c. &c. For this Resby was condemned to be burned alive, and suffered accordingly. In the year 1432 Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was also apprehended in the university of St. Andrews, and accused before the bishops' court of following Wickliffe and Huss; of denying that the substance of bread and wine in the sacrament was changed by virtue of any words; of denying that confession should be made to priests, or that prayer should be offered up to saints. He likewise was condemned and burned alive at the instigation of the bishop. Notwithstanding this, Wardlaw was celebrated for his charity; and though he laboured to suppress the riotous living which had become so general in the kingdom, he was yet a man of boundless hospitality. It is recorded of him that the stewards of his household on one occasion complained to him of the numbers that resorted to his table to share in the good things which it afforded, and requested that out of compassion for his servants, who were often quite worn out with their labours, he would furnish them with a list of his intended guests, that they might know how many they should have to serve. To this he readily assented, and sent for his secretary to prepare the required document. The latter having arranged his writing materials, inquired who was to be put down. "Put down first," replied the bishop, "Fife and Angus" (two large counties). This was enough: his servants, appalled by anticipations of a list which began so formidably, instantly relinquished their design of limiting the hospitality of their generous master. For the benefit of his diocese the bishop built a bridge over the Eden near its mouth. Dempster charges him with having written a book, *De Reformatione Cleri et Oratio pro Reformatione conviviorum et luxus*; but this seems to have been simply a speech which he delivered in parliament on the sumptuary laws, and which by some miracle similar to that so often employed by Livy, has found its way into the Scottish histories.

Wardlaw departed this life in his castle of St. Andrews, on the 6th day of April, 1440, and was buried in the church of that city with great pomp and splendour, having held his dignified situation for nearly forty years.

WARDLAW, REV. RALPH, D.D. This able controversialist, eloquent preacher, and graceful popular writer, was born in the small but ancient and historical town of Dalkeith, on the 22d of December, 1779. It is not known whether his parents had been settled residents in that locality at the period of his birth, or merely temporary sojourners. Six months after that event they removed to Glasgow, and there his father was long known and honoured, not only as a prosperous merchant and civic magistrate, but an amiable, upright, consistent Christian. By his mother Ralph possessed a quartering in his escutcheon of which he was justly proud, for she was a descendant of Ebenezer Erskine, the father of the Scottish Secession Church. This ancestry, independently of his own personal worth and reputation, greatly endeared Dr. Wardlaw to the clergy and laity of that denomination. When he had nearly reached his eighth year, Dr. Wardlaw was sent to the grammar or high school of Glasgow, where he continued for four years. On finishing this preliminary course of scholarship he entered the university of Glasgow.

As the great-grandson of Ebenezer Erskine, and grandson of Mr. James Fisher, who succeeded Erskine, his father-in-law, as professor of theology to the Burgher or Secession Synod, it was natural that Ralph Wardlaw in early life should have directed

his wishes to the work of the ministry. Accordingly, when his academical curriculum at the college of Glasgow was finished, he entered the theological hall of the Secession Church, at that time under the superintendence of Dr. Lawson of Selkirk. But strong and unwavering though his adherence had hitherto been to the church of his fathers, events soon occurred by which the young student's views on the subject of ecclesiastical polity were completely changed. This was the new movement in favour of Independency, which the Haldanes had introduced from England, and were now supporting in their own country with such success that numerous conversions were the fruits. One of those who underwent this change was Ralph Wardlaw; and such was the effect upon his convictions, that when his course of study at the theological hall was ended, instead of taking license as a Secession preacher, he gave himself to the Independents, and joined their church in Glasgow, under the pastoral superintendence of Mr. Greville Ewing. It was certainly a most disinterested choice; for little indeed did it offer him either in the way of emolument or distinction, and as little could he calculate upon the future growth of Scottish Congregationalism, or the eminence which himself would obtain as the most influential of its ministers.

After having made so decisive a choice, Mr. Wardlaw was soon called to that sacred office for which he had hitherto been in training. A chapel was erected for him in Albion Street, Glasgow, chiefly through the exertions of his personal friends, and to the pastoral charge of the congregation assembling in that building he was inducted by Mr. Ewing, on the 16th of February, 1803. Soon after his ordination he married Miss Jane Smith, his cousin, who was his comforter and helpmate from youth to old age. As a child she had sat with him on the same form at school, where they mastered together their perplexing lessons in English reading and spelling. Nearly seventy years after, it was her mournful task to close his lifeless eyelids, and bewail his departure.

In Glasgow the cause of Congregationalism continued to grow so rapidly, under the care of Mr. Ewing and Mr. Wardlaw, that it was found necessary in 1811 to institute a theological academy in that city, for the regular training of an efficient ministry. Over this important charge these two were appointed as professors; and it would be difficult to tell whether the institution was most benefited by the biblical scholarship and profound exegetical theology of Mr. Ewing, or the clear logic, graceful eloquence, and critical tact of Mr. Wardlaw. The latter continued to discharge the duties of this important office till the close of his life, and for the greater part of that time wholly without remuneration. At length, when a salary was attached to it, the amount was so small as scarcely to defray the mere expenses involved in the labour. This parsimony was thought strange, considering how many wealthy members belonged to his flock; but, on the other hand, the numerous exigencies of a new and rising cause, and the expensive missionary enterprises in which it was engaged, may account for this stinted liberality to the professor of theology. In the enthusiastic affection of his pupils, however, who were proud of the growing fame of their teacher, as if it had been their own; in the proficiency they made under his charge, in consequence of which many of them took the highest prizes in the university of Glasgow; and in the eminence which several of them reached as ministers, both in Scotland and England, Mr. Wardlaw enjoyed a requital which no salary, however liberal, could have equalled. After Mr.

Wardlaw had continued for sixteen years to officiate as the minister of Albion Street Chapel, his congregation had increased so greatly that the building, though not a small one, was insufficient for their accommodation. They therefore erected a larger edifice in West George Street, where he continued to officiate till the close of his life. Soon after, his widely-spread reputation procured for him the degree of D. D. from one of the principal colleges in America, and this too at a time when literary degrees from that quarter were more rarely given than now, and therefore more worth having.

Allusion has already been made to the popularity of Dr. Wardlaw's ministry, and the steadiness with which this went onward to the end. And yet he was not a Boanerges, to take the popular mind by storm—a preacher that could strike, rouse, or astonish. His pulpit excellences, indeed, were of a far less obtrusive, but on that account of a more sure and permanent, character: he was contented to succeed by gentle persuasion and slow deliberate conviction. The following sketch from a biographical notice will give a full and accurate idea of the nature of his preaching:—"His main strength lies in his extensive acquaintance with Scripture, his argumentative distinctness and dexterity, his refined taste, his unimpeachable good sense, and the felicity with which he connects his subject with the personal interests and responsibilities of his audience. He seldom indulges in any ornament, or in any play of fancy, beyond the occasional introduction of some select figure or comparison for the sake of illustration. He is never dull or common-place; but his vivacity is that of the understanding rather than of the imagination. At times, and when handling suitable themes, a burst of feeling escapes him which is felt to be perfectly genuine, and which seldom fails to communicate its contagion to the hearers; but he spends no time on mere sentimentalities, and shows no ambition whatever to provoke a tear, except as that may be the sign of his arrow having touched the heart. His chief aim seems always to be, to convey fully and clearly to the mind of his hearers the truth presented by the part of Scripture from which he is discoursing. Hence he is eminently textual as a preacher, eminently faithful as an expositor. Hence, also, the practical character of all his discourses. With all his closeness of reasoning and nicety of discrimination, he never indulges in mere abstract speculation—never verges into the regions of transcendentalism—never amuses his audience by adroit defences of fanciful hypotheses, or by gymnastic displays of dialectical subtlety. All is serious, solid, earnest, practical; and though an effort of continuous attention is required on the part of the hearer, in order fully to apprehend the train of his reasoning and illustrations, such an effort will seldom be put forth without being rewarded by a large accession of valuable and sound scriptural knowledge."

From the foregoing account of the nature of his sermons, the diligence of Dr. Wardlaw in his pulpit preparations may be easily surmised. It was laborious investigation and careful well-weighed thought, expressed in apposite words and polished sentences; and when these extended, as they often did, to three discourses each Sabbath, instead of two, they constituted an amount of weekly study sufficient to establish the character of a truly painstaking divine. To this also must be added his duties as a theological professor, which occupied much of his time and attention, and were most diligently discharged. But our idea of his industry is wonderfully heightened by the recollection that he was also a voluminous author;

so that, during a course of forty years, his appeals to the public through the press were never intermitted for any great length of time. A separate enumeration of these would be difficult, and therefore we can only refer to them under their general classification, as it was given in the funeral sermon preached by Dr. Alexander:—"His writings may be classed under three heads—theological, homiletical, and biographical. To the first belong his *Discourses on the Socinian Controversy*, his *Christian Ethics*, his volume on the *Atonement*, his *Letters to the Society of Friends*, his *Treatises on Baptism and Congregationalism*, his *Lectures on Ecclesiastical Establishments*, and his *Essay on Miracles*, the latest but not the least important of his published writings. Under the second head may be ranked his sermons, of which, besides a connected series in a volume, a great number were published separately; his *Expository Lectures on Ecclesiastes*, his *Lectures on Prostitution*, and his *Exposition of the Narrative of the Last Days of Jacob, and the Life of Joseph*. To the third class belong his *Memoir of Dr. McAll of Manchester*, prefixed to the collected discourses of that eminent pulpit orator; his Introductory Essay to an edition of *Bishop Hall's Contemplations*, and his *Memoir of his Son-in-law*, the Rev. John Reid, late of Bellary. Besides these he contributed many articles to religious periodicals, chiefly of a practical kind. He was the author also of several hymns, which, in correctness of sentiment, beauty of expression, and sweetness of rhythm, have few to equal them in our language, and will long hold a primary place in our collections of sacred verse."

In this enumeration it is to be observed that the greater part of Dr. Wardlaw's writings were of a controversial nature. For this his peculiar intellectual character especially fitted him, as well as his devotedness to pure abstract truth, which he thought should be defended at all points, and against every gainsayer. His productions of this nature, therefore, may be divided into two classes—those which dealt with avowed opinions hostile to every, or some, important point of Christian doctrine, such as the Socinian controversy, which was one of his earliest appearances on the field; his *Discourses on Man's Responsibility to God for his Religious Belief*, and his *Letters on the Errors of Quakerism*, addressed to the Society of Friends. The other class comprised those doctrines upon which the different bodies of Christians are at variance, such as the nature and extent of the atonement, in which he strenuously opposed the views of a new party, headed by Mr. Marshall; his defence of infant baptism, and his series of lectures calling in question the necessity and propriety of national church establishments. In this way, as a Christian against unbelievers, as an orthodox Christian against those of a mixed creed, and as an Independent zealous for his own church, and ready to answer all or any other party that might attack it, he may be said to have fought his way, during nearly forty years, over the whole round of theological polemics. All this seems to constitute an amount of pugnacity not easily reconcilable with a meek and gentle spirit. But it must be remembered that Dr. Wardlaw did not step out of his way in quest of disputations; on the contrary, they met him in every street, and even knocked at his door, to call him out to fresh contest. Besides, in such a life of controversy no one perhaps has ever better shown the courtesy of a thoroughly refined gentleman, blended with the meekness and tolerance of the Christian. He writes not in hatred but in love; to convince and win, not to irritate and defeat; he writes to show the greatness and the excellence of

the truth he advocates, and not his own; and even when he runs most keenly upon his adversary it is to extinguish his garments that have caught fire, where another would have thrown him into the kennel. And thus, although he had assailed so many parties in turn, yet all united in esteeming or loving him, because all had experienced his warm-hearted catholic philanthropy, as well as been convinced of his sincerity. By such gentleness, too, he was no loser, for he was one of the most successful of disputants. Only on one of these occasions he suffered a signal defeat; this was in the well-known Apocrypha controversy, waged with such keenness nearly forty years ago, and which so completely divided the Christian world, that the wise, the learned, and the good were parted from each other, and only brought together for mutual conflict. In this terrible discussion—which was waged with a fervour, and even with a rancour, up to the fighting point of which Dr. Wardlaw could never, by any possibility, have been fully kindled—it is not wonderful that he should have failed, more especially when he adopted what is now recognized as the wrong side of the question, and had Dr. Andrew Thomson for his antagonist.

We must now hasten to the closing period of Dr. Wardlaw's uneventful but most useful and well-spent life. A rapid review of it was thus briefly but correctly given at the beginning of 1850, by the Rev. Dr. Alexander of Edinburgh:—"As a minister of the gospel, he has, for nearly half a century, laboured in connection with the same church with the most honourable diligence, the most judicious and blameless deportment, and the most gratifying success. As a theological professor, he has devoted the energies of his remarkable mind, and the resources of his extensive reading and thinking, to the education of the rising ministry in his own denomination, and that for more than a quarter of a century, without any remuneration from man, than the gratitude of his pupils and the thanks of the churches. As an author, he has long held the first rank among theological polemics, and no mean place in other departments of religious literature. Unrivalled as a master of logic, he has shown himself also possessed of eloquence of the purest order, and of a breadth and practicability of view which are often denied to great dialecticians. And as a man, he has passed through a long life, in a position where many eyes were upon him, with an unblemished reputation, and has descended into the vale of years surrounded by the love, the respect, and the confidence of all good and generous men." Will it be believed, however, that the occasion which called forth such an honourable and truthful testimony was an aspersion of the worst kind which was attempted to be fastened upon the character of Dr. Wardlaw. After having lived and laboured so well from youth to old age, an accusation was raised against him, more fit to be hurled against a sordid money-broker or fraudulent shop-keeper than a man of such high and well-tried excellence. But it fared as it deserved: it was met with universal scorn; and the answer everywhere was—"Dr. Wardlaw?—impossible!" The principal Congregational churches of Scotland held meetings on the occasion, to express their firm conviction in his integrity; the leading ministers of English Independency, to the number of sixty-six, signed a joint address to him to the same effect; while—what was perhaps more gratifying to his feelings—a meeting of the members of his own congregation was held in their chapel of West George Street, to testify their assurance of his innocence, and admiration of his worth. It was held on the 16th of January, and

was joined by ministers from far and near, as well as of almost every denomination, while the presentation of a rich and beautiful silver tea-service graced the occasion. In his address to the meeting he thus adverted to the stigma that had been cast upon him: "I have felt it not a little hard—I am far from meaning on the part of God, who has his own ways and his own instruments of trial to his servants and people, and who does all things well, but on the part of man—at this advanced period of my life and ministry, to be assailed as I have been. When a young man's character is maligned, he has time, as the phrase is, to live it down; but when one has come to be a septuagenarian, such a process of self-vindication seems next to hopeless, unless, indeed (if we may borrow a figure from our neighbours of the Emerald Isle), he may be so happy as to have lived it down before it came—by anticipation." This, indeed, was exactly his own case, notwithstanding the oddity of the expression, and his character only shone out the brighter from the cloud that had attempted to obscure it. In February, 1853, when he had completed the fiftieth year of his ministry, and when a great anniversary was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the occasion, he was thus enabled to advert to the harassing incident:—"It is just three years since I was called to pass through the heaviest trial of my life, and it is just three years since, mercifully to myself, and to others marvelously, that my strength for official duty was renewed. He whose it is to turn the shadow of death into the morning, has dispelled the darkness, and has made it only to contribute to augment the serenity and cheerfulness of the light which has succeeded."

It was with this renewed frame, and in this cheerful spirit, that he was visited only ten months after by his last sickness. That sickness was also of brief continuance, for only three weeks before his death he was able to discharge his usual pulpit duties, and administer the sacred rite of the Lord's supper to the members of his flock. He died on the 17th of December, 1853, at the age of seventy-four. A public funeral, attended by thousands, repaired to the Necropolis, where his remains were interred; while the harmonizing of all denominations of Christians in this last solemn duty, and the deep sorrow that was settled on every countenance, proclaimed that every heart felt the loss they had sustained—that a father in Israel had departed.

WATSON, DR. ROBERT, author of the *History of the Reign of Philip II. of Spain*, was born at St. Andrews about the year 1730. He was the son of an apothecary of that city, who was also a brewer. He studied successively at the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, with a view to the ministry, availing himself of the leisure which a course of theology leaves to the student to cultivate English literature and rhetoric, upon which subjects he delivered a series of lectures in Edinburgh to an audience comprising the principal literary and philosophical men of the day.

Soon after he had been licensed to preach, a vacancy occurred in one of the churches of his native city, and for this he became a candidate, but was disappointed. About this time, however, Mr. Rymer, the professor of logic in St. Salvador's College, feeling the infirmities of old age advancing upon him, was inclined to enter into a negotiation for retiring, and, according to a prevailing though not a laudable custom, Watson obtained his chair for the payment of a small sum of money, and on the condition that the retiring professor should continue to enjoy his salary. The subject of our memoir obtained at the

same time a patent from the crown, constituting him professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres. The study of logic in St. Andrews, as in most other places, was confined to syllogisms, modes, and figures. Watson, whose mind had been expanded by intercourse with the most enlightened men of his day, and by the study of the best modern literature, prepared and read to his students a course of metaphysics and logic on an improved plan; in which he analyzed the powers of the mind, and entered deeply into the nature of the different species of evidence of truth or knowledge.

After having fully arranged the course of his professional duties, Watson was induced by the success of Robertson and Hume in the composition of history, as well as by the natural tendencies of his mind, to attempt a work emulating theirs in labour and utility. The reign of Philip II. of Spain presented itself to him as a proper subject, not only on account of its intrinsic interest, but as a continuation of the admired work of Robertson on the preceding reign. Having therefore prepared this composition with all due care, it was published at London in 1777, in two volumes quarto. A periodical critic thus characterizes the work: "The style and narration of this history deserve much praise; it is easy, flowing, and natural, always correct, and well adapted to the different subjects which come under review; it possesses, however, more of the dignified simplicity and strength of the philosopher than the flowing embellishments of the poet. Watson rests none of his merit upon external ornament; he is chiefly anxious to relate facts clearly and completely in their due proportion and proper connection, and to please and interest rather by what he has to tell than by any adventitious colouring. But though he does not seem solicitous to decorate his narrative with beauty or sublimity of diction, we feel no want of it; we meet with nothing harsh, redundant, or inelegant; we can on no occasion say that he has not done justice to his subject, that his conceptions are ever inadequate, his views deficient, or his description feeble. . . . The whole series of events lies full and clear before us as they actually existed; nothing is heightened beyond truth by the false colourings of imagination, nor does anything appear without suitable dignity. The principal circumstances are selected with judgment, and displayed with the utmost perspicuity and order. On no occasion are we at a loss to apprehend his meaning, or follow the thread of his narrative; we are never fatigued with minute attentions, nor distracted with a multiplicity of things at once."¹

On the death of Principal Tullidolph, November, 1777, Watson, now graced with the degree of Doctor of Laws, was, through the influence of the Earl of Kinnoul, appointed to that respectable situation, and at the same time presented to the church and parish of St. Leonard, in St. Andrews, which had previously been enjoyed by Tullidolph. Dr. Watson died March 31st, 1781, leaving by his lady, who was a daughter of Mr. Shaw, professor of divinity in St. Mary's College, five daughters. He also left the first four books of a history of the reign of Philip III., being a continuation of his former work. The task of completing this by the addition of two books having been confided to Dr. William Thomson (see the life of that gentleman), the work was published at London in 1783, in one volume quarto. Both of this and of the history of Philip II. there were subsequent editions in octavo.

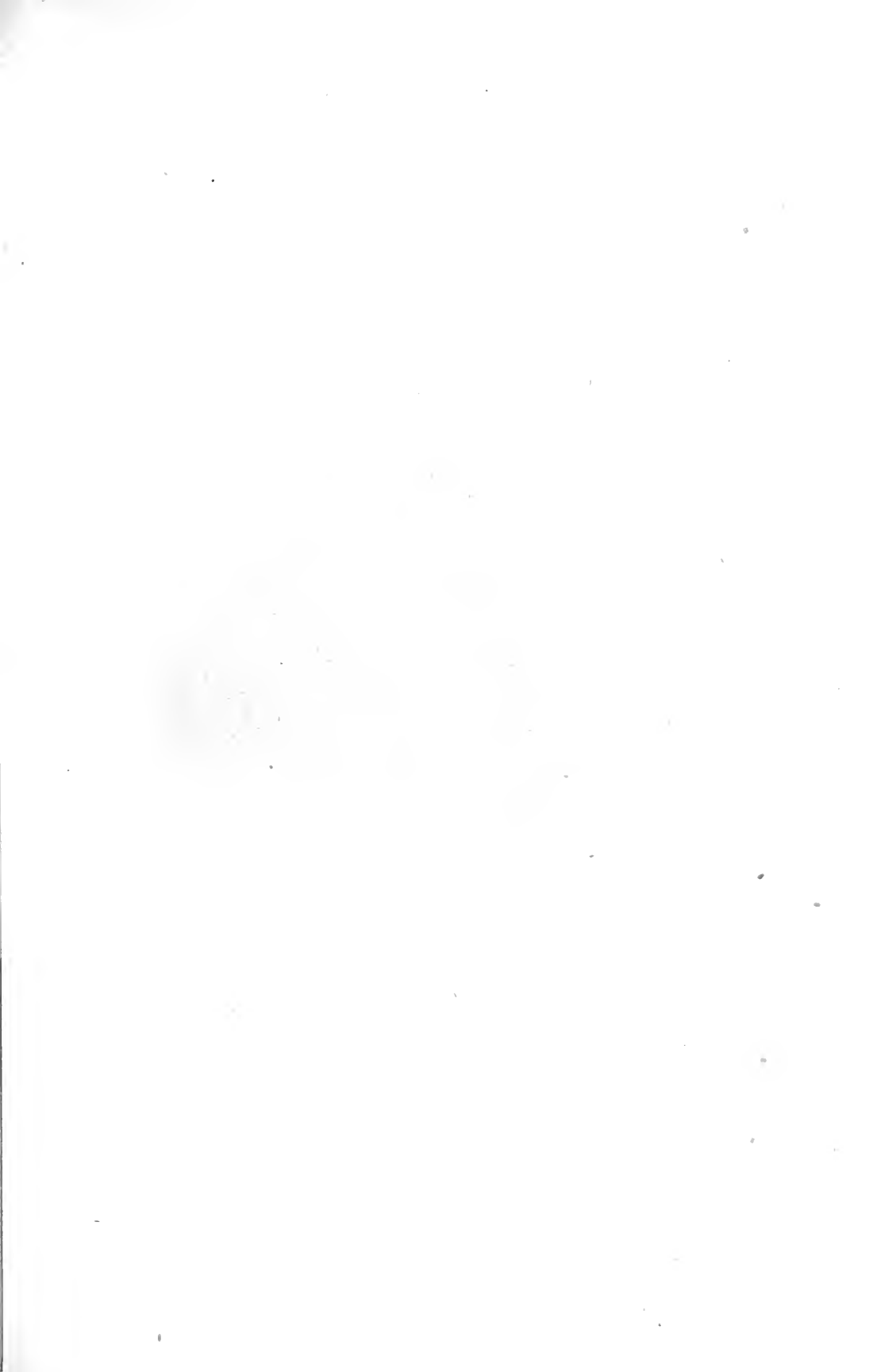
WATT, GREGORY. This specimen of early excellence too soon extinguished, was the son of the

illustrious James Watt, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Mr. M'Gregor, Glasgow. He was born in 1777, and being distinguished even in childhood by great intellectual powers, the fostering care of such parents gave every promise of their development into a rich maturity. He was educated at the university of Glasgow; but while a student, and when he had only reached the early age of seventeen, he was adopted as a partner in the house of Boulton and Watt, along with his brother James. Still, however, he continued his studies in the university of Glasgow, and did not leave it until 1797, when he retired with the character of a student of the highest promise both in science and literature. On leaving the university he did not abandon the pursuit of knowledge, which, on the contrary, he continued to prosecute as ardently as ever. But being in a declining state of health, and recommended by his physician to take up his residence for some time in the west of England, he proceeded in the winter of 1797 to Penzance, and became a lodger in the house of Mrs. Davy, a widow, the mother of Humphry, afterwards the illustrious Sir Humphry Davy. It was impossible that an acquaintanceship at least should not originate between two such geniuses devoted to congenial scientific pursuits; but the commencement was somewhat ludicrous. Davy sought to make himself agreeable to his mother's lodger by addressing him on subjects connected with metaphysics and poetry; but these advances were met with cold indifference. In the course of conversation, however, an allusion was made to chemistry, when Davy boastfully asserted that he would undertake to demolish the French theory in half an hour. The right chord was struck at last; the subject was one in which they were both in unison; and Watt, in conversing with the other upon the science, was astonished and delighted at his sagacity. A warm friendship was the consequence, which continued to increase between them until it was terminated by the death of Watt; and one happy result of this friendship was the improvement of Humphry Davy in chemical science from the increasing facilities which he obtained for the study of it. The two friends were daily associated together in their rambles; they explored the adjacent country, and investigated its remarkable rocks and mines; and an introduction of Davy by Watt to Dr. Beddoes was one of the steps that led the future Sir Humphry to the appointment of chemical superintendent of the Pneumatic Institution for the preparation of gases used in the cure of consumption—an important step in the career of the great chemist towards the high distinction which he afterwards attained.

In 1800, when the venerable Mr. Watt retired from business, and resigned his shares in the manufactory of Soho to his two sons, James and Gregory, it was an appointment for which the latter had neither taste nor inclination. Instead of mechanical science he had devoted his rich intellect to the cultivation of literature and the study of chemistry and geology, which had no connection, however remote, with the construction of steam-engines. He also still continued to be a victim to that incipient consumption under which he was prematurely to succumb. In this case it was fortunate that the energy of James was sufficient for the management of the Soho establishment, and he generously allowed Gregory to follow his own intellectual bent, but still to retain his share in the profits of the steam-engine manufactory. Thus encouraged, Gregory resumed his favourite studies with fresh ardour, but especially his researches in science; and in 1804 he addressed to the Right. Hon. Charles Grenville, V.P.R.S., a paper

¹ *Bee*, vol. vii. viii.





1904

entitled *Observations on Basalt, and on the Transition from the Vitreous to the Stony Texture, which occurs in the gradual Refrigeration of Melted Basalt; with some Geological Remarks.* It is upon this single production that the high reputation of young Watt was founded, and it was a brilliant commencement of the distinction he might have won had his life been continued. Only a month after it was written it was read before the Royal Society, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

In this remarkable paper Mr. Gregory Watt announces that having repeatedly tried the experiments of Sir James Hall on the regulated cooling of melted basalt, it had occurred to him that more might be learned by exposing a much larger mass of basaltic matter to the action of heat than had ever yet been subjected to experiment. It was successful, and the results constitute the foundation of nearly all that has as yet been known on the subjects to which it relates. Of the experiment itself and its author Sir Humphry Davy thus spoke in a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution in 1811, while explaining the phenomena and causes of volcanoes:—"Mr. Gregory Watt fused some [seven] hundred-weight of basalt; and suffering it to cool in a mass, examined the results by breaking it into pieces. The largest crystals were found in the interior, where the congelation must have been comparatively slow. His paper on this subject . . . abounds in acute observations and sagacious inferences. It was the first and only production of a mind full of talent and enthusiasm for scientific pursuits—of a mind which promised much for the philosophy of this subject; but death cut off the bloom and promise of this hope for the scientific world at the moment when it was brightest. No person attached to truth can read this paper without a feeling of regret; and I hope I may be excused for the strong expression of this regret—for whilst I admired him as a philosopher, I loved him as a man. He was the earliest and one of the dearest of my scientific friends."

Only six months after he had written this remarkable essay, Gregory Watt died at the early age of twenty-seven. This bereavement, so deeply deplored by the most distinguished leaders in science, occurred on the 15th of October, 1804.

WATT, JAMES, one of the most illustrious men of his time as a natural philosopher, chemist, and civil engineer, was born at Greenock, on the 19th of January, 1736. His father, James Watt, was a block-maker and ship-chandler, and for some time one of the magistrates of Greenock; and his mother, Agnes Muirhead, was descended from a respectable family. During boyhood his health was very delicate, so that his attendance at school was by no means regular; nevertheless, by assiduous application at home he soon attained great proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and by the perusal of books that came within his command he extended his knowledge beyond the circle of elementary instruction of the public schools, and cherished that thirst for information for which he was throughout life remarkable. An anecdote of his boyhood has been preserved, showing the early bent of his mind. His aunt, Mrs. Muirhead, sitting with him one evening at the tea-table, said, "James, I never saw such an idle boy! Take a book, or employ yourself usefully; for the last half-hour you have not spoken a word, but taken off the lid of that kettle and put it on again." With the aid alternately of a cup and a silver spoon, he was observing how the steam rose from the spout and became condensed, and was counting the drops of water. But there is little incident in

his life until he reached his eighteenth year, excepting that he manifested a strong predilection for mechanical and mathematical pursuits. In accordance with this natural bent, he departed for London in 1754, in order to learn the profession of a mathematical instrument-maker. When he arrived in London he placed himself under the direction of one of this occupation, and applied himself with great assiduity, and with such success that, although he was obliged from want of health to return to his father's roof in little more than a year, yet he persevered, and soon attained proficiency in his business. He made occasional visits to his mother's relations in Glasgow, a city at that time considerably advanced in that career of manufacturing industry and opulence for which it has in more recent times been so eminently distinguished. In that city it was his intention to settle as a mathematical instrument maker; but he was violently opposed by some corporations of the trades, who viewed him as an intruder upon their privileges, although the business which he intended to follow was at that time little practised in Scotland. By this occurrence the hopes of Watt had been well-nigh frustrated, and the energies of his inventive mind had probably been turned into a different channel, had it not been for the kind and well-directed patronage of the professors of the university. In the year 1757 this learned body, who had at that time to reckon among their number some of the greatest men then living—Smith, the political economist; Black, the chemist; and Simson, the geometer—conferred upon Watt the title of Mathematical Instrument Maker to the University, with all the privileges of that office, and chambers within the walls of their venerable seminary, adjoining the apartments occupied by the celebrated printers, the Messrs. Foulis. He continued to prosecute his avocation in this place for about six years, during which time, so far as health and necessary employment would permit, he applied himself to the acquisition of scientific knowledge. It was during this period, also, that he contracted a lasting friendship with Dr. Black, whose name will ever be conspicuous in the history of philosophy, for his valuable additions to our knowledge of the doctrine of heat; and also with Robison, then a student in Glasgow college, and who afterwards filled the natural philosophy chair in the university of Edinburgh.

This period of Watt's life was marked by an incident which in itself might appear trifling, and not at all out of the course of his ordinary business, but which was nevertheless productive of results that not only gave immortality to his name, but impressed a great and lasting change on the commerce and manners of his own country, and also of a great portion of the world. We here allude to a circumstance that shall shortly be mentioned, that led to the improvements of Watt on the steam-engine; and the events of his life are so intimately interwoven with the history of the perfection of this extraordinary machine, that it will be necessary in a brief and popular way to describe the leading principles of its action.

The steam-engine, at the time of which we speak, was constructed after the plan invented by Newcomen. The chief use to which these engines were applied was the pumping of water from coal-mines, one end of the pump-rod being attached to a long lever or beam supported in the middle. To the other end of this lever was attached the rod of a piston, capable of moving up and down in a cylinder, after the manner of a common syringe. The weight of the pump-rod, &c., at the one end of the beam having caused that end to descend, the other end was neces-

sarily raised, and the piston rising in the cylinder, steam was admitted from the bottom to fill the vacuity. But when the piston arrived at the top cold water was injected at the bottom, and by reducing the temperature of the steam, condensed it, forming a vacuum. In this state of things, the atmosphere pressing on the top of the piston forced it down, and raised the pump-rod at the other end of the beam. This operation being continued, the pumping of the mine was carried on. Such was the form of the steam-engine when Watt first found it; and such is its construction at many coal-mines even in our own day, where the economy of fuel is not a matter of any importance.

Anderson, the professor of natural philosophy, in the course of the winter of 1763, sent a model of Newcomen's engine to Mr. Watt, in order to be repaired. This was accordingly done, and the model set in operation, and with this an ordinary mechanic would have been satisfied. But the mind of the young engineer had, two years before this time, been occupied in researches into the properties of steam. During the winter of 1761 he made several very simple yet decisive experiments, for the most part with apothecaries' phials, by which he found that a cubic inch of water will form a cubic foot of steam, equal in elasticity to the pressure of the atmosphere; and also that when a cubic foot of steam is condensed by injecting cold water, as much heat is given out as would raise six cubic inches of water to the boiling point. To these important discoveries in the theory of steam he subsequently added a third, beautifully simple, as all philosophical truths are, and valuable from its extensive application to practical purposes: he found that the latent heat of steam decreases as the sensible heat increases, and that universally these two added together make a constant quantity, which is the same for all temperatures. This matter is commonly misrepresented, and it is stated not only in accounts of the steam-engine, but also in memoirs of Mr. Watt, that the discoveries of Dr. Black regarding the properties of heat and steam laid the foundation of all Watt's inventions. Dr. Black himself gave a correct statement of the matter, and frequently mentioned with great candour that Mr. Watt discovered, unaided, the latent heat of steam, and having communicated this to the doctor that great chemist was agreeably surprised at this confirmation of the theory he had already formed, and explained that theory to Mr. Watt; a theory which was not made public before the year 1762. During the same year Watt made some experiments with a Papin's digester, causing the piston of a syringe to move up and down by the force of steam of high temperature, on the principle of the high-pressure engine now employed for various purposes. But he gave up the idea from fear of bursting the boiler, and the difficulty of making tight joints. These facts are sufficient to prove that he had at this time some idea of improving the steam-engine; and he himself modestly says, "My attention was first directed in 1759 to the subject of steam-engines by Dr. Robison, then a student in the university of Glasgow, and nearly of my own age. Robison at that time threw out the idea of applying the power of the steam-engine to the moving of wheel-carriages and to other purposes; but the scheme was not matured, and was soon abandoned on his going abroad." His active mind, thus prepared, was not likely to allow the defects of the model which was put in his hands to pass unobserved. This interesting model, which is still preserved among the apparatus of the Glasgow university, has a cylinder whose diameter is two inches, the length of stroke being six. Having re-

paired it, he tried to set it agoing, the steam being formed in a spherical boiler, whose diameter was about nine inches. In the course of these trials he found the quantity of steam, as likewise that of the cold injection water, to be far greater in proportion than what he understood was required for engines of a larger size. This great waste of steam, and consequently fuel, he endeavoured to remedy by forming cylinders of bad conductors of heat, such as wood saturated with oil, but this had not the desired effect. At last the fact occurred to him, that the cylinder was never sufficiently cooled down in order to obtain a complete vacuum. For some time before this it had been found by Dr. Cullen that under diminished pressure there is a corresponding fall of the boiling point. It now became necessary to ascertain the relation which the boiling point bears to the pressure on the surface of the water. He was not possessed of the necessary instruments to try the boiling points under pressures less than that of the atmosphere; but having tried numerous points under increased pressures, he laid down a curve whose ordinates represented the pressures and abscissas the corresponding boiling points, and thus discovered the equation of the boiling point. These considerations led Watt, after much reflection, to the true method of overcoming the difficulties in the operation of Newcomen's engine. The two things to be effected were, first, to keep the cylinder always as hot as the steam to be admitted into it, and secondly, to cool down the condensed steam and the injection water used for condensation to a temperature not exceeding 100 degrees. It was early in the summer of 1765 that the method of accomplishing these two objects was first matured in his mind. It then occurred to him that if a communication were opened between a cylinder containing steam and another vessel exhausted of air and other fluids, the steam would immediately rush into the empty vessel, and continue so to do until an equilibrium was established, and by keeping that vessel very cool the steam would continue to enter and be condensed. A difficulty still remained to be overcome: how was the condensed steam and injection water, together with the air, which must necessarily accompany, to be withdrawn from the condensing vessel? Watt thought of two methods: one by a long pipe sunk into the earth, and the other by employing a pump wrought by the engine itself; the latter was adopted. Thus was laid open the leading principle of a machine the most powerful, the most regular, and the most ingenious ever invented by man.

Watt constructed a model, the cylinder of which was nine inches diameter, making several improvements besides those above alluded to. He surrounded the cylinder with a casing, the intervening space being filled with steam to keep the cylinder warm. He also put a cover on the top, causing the piston-rod to move through a hole in it, and the piston was rendered air-tight by being lubricated with wax and tallow, instead of water as formerly. The model answered the expectations of the inventor, but in the course of his trials the beam broke, and he set it aside for some time.

In tracing the progress of improvement in the steam-engine, we have been obliged to pass over some incidents in his life which took place during the same period, and which we now proceed to notice. In the course of the year 1763 Mr. Watt married his cousin Miss Miller, daughter of the chief magistrate of Calton, Glasgow; previously to which he removed from his apartments in the college, and opened a shop in the Saltmarket, opposite St. Andrew's Square, for the purpose of carrying on his

business as mathematical and philosophical instrument maker. Here he applied himself occasionally in making and repairing musical instruments, and made several improvements on the organ. He afterwards removed to Buchanan's Land in the Tron-gate, a little west of the Tontine; and in 1768 he shut shop, and removed to a private house in King Street, nearly opposite to the Green-market. It was not, however, in any of these residences that the interesting experiments and valuable discoveries connected with the steam-engine were made; the experiments were performed, and the model erected in the delft work at the Broomielaw quay, in which concern Watt soon after became a partner, and continued so to the end of his life.

In 1765 Dr. Lind brought from India a perspective machine, invented there by a Mr. Hurst, and showed it to his friend Mr. Watt, who, by an ingenious application of the principle of the parallel ruler, contrived a machine much lighter, and of more easy application. Many of these machines were made and sent to various parts of the world; and Adams, the eminent philosophical instrument maker, copied one of those sent to London, and made them for sale.

Mr. Watt, having relinquished the business of mathematical instrument maker, commenced that of civil engineer, and in the course of 1767 he surveyed the Forth and Clyde Canal; but the bill for carrying on this great and beneficial public work being lost in parliament, his attention was directed to the superintendence of the Monkland Canal, for which he had previously prepared the estimates and a survey. He likewise surveyed for the projected canal between Perth and Forfar, as also for the Crinan Canal, which was subsequently executed under the superintendence of Rennie.

In 1773 the importance of an inland navigation in the northern part of Scotland between the eastern and western seas became so great, that Mr. Watt was employed to make a survey of the Caledonian Canal, and to report on the practicability of connecting that remarkable chain of lakes and valleys. These surveys he made, and reported so favourably of the practicability of the undertaking, that it would have been immediately executed, had not the forfeited lands, from which the funds were to be derived, been restored to their former proprietors. This great national work was afterwards executed by Mr. Telford on a more magnificent scale than had originally been intended.

What Johnson said of Goldsmith may with equal justice be applied to Watt, "he touched not that which he did not adorn." In the course of his surveys his mind was ever bent on improving the instruments he employed, or in inventing others to facilitate or correct his operations. During the period of which we have been speaking he invented two micrometers for measuring distances not easily accessible, such as arms of the sea. Five years after the invention of these ingenious instruments, one Mr. Green obtained a premium for an invention similar to one of them from the Society of Arts, notwithstanding the evidence of Smeaton and other proofs that Watt was the original contriver.

Mr. Watt applied for letters-patent in 1768 for "methods of lessening the consumption of steam, and consequently of fuel, in the steam-engine," which passed the seals in January, 1769. Besides the improvements, or rather inventions, already alluded to, this patent contained in its specification methods to employ the steam expansively upon the piston, and, where water was not plentiful, to work the engine by this force of steam only, by discharging the steam into the open air after it has done its

office; and also methods of forming a rotatory steam-engine. Thus was completed Watt's single reciprocating engine; and while the patent was passing through the different stages, an engagement was entered into between the inventor and Dr. Roebuck of the Carron iron-works—a man equally eminent for kindness of heart, ability, and enterprise. The terms of this agreement were, that Dr. Roebuck, in consideration of his risk of capital, should receive two-thirds of the clear profits of the sale of the engines which they manufactured. Dr. Roebuck at this time rented the large coal-mines at Kinneil, near Borrowstounness, and under the superintendence of Mr. Watt an engine was erected at Kinneil House, the cylinder of which was made of block-tin, being eighteen inches diameter. The action of this engine far surpassed even the sanguine expectations of the proprietors. Preparations were accordingly made for the manufacture of the new steam-engine; but the pecuniary difficulties in which Dr. Roebuck became at this time involved threw a check on the proceedings. From this period till the end of 1773, during which time, as we have seen, Mr. Watt was employed in surveys, &c., little was done with the patent-right obtained in 1769. About the end of the year 1773, while Mr. Watt was engaged in his survey of the Caledonian Canal, he received intimation from Glasgow of the death of his wife, who left him a son and a daughter.

His fame as an engineer had now become generally known, and about the commencement of 1774 he received an invitation from Mr. Matthew Boulton, of the Soho foundry, near Birmingham, to enter into copartnership, for the manufacture of the steam-engine. Mr. Watt prevailed upon Dr. Roebuck to sell his share of the patent-right to Mr. Boulton, and immediately proceeded to Birmingham and entered on business with his new partner. This new alliance was not only exceedingly fortunate for the parties themselves, but forms an important era in the history of the manufactures of Great Britain. Few men were so well qualified as Boulton to appreciate the merits of Watt's inventions, or possessed of so much enterprise and capital to put them into operation. He had already established the foundry at Soho on a scale of magnificence and extent not at that time elsewhere to be found; and the introduction of Watt made an incalculable addition to the extent and regularity of its operation.

The length of time and great outlay necessary for bringing the manufacture of steam-engines to such a state as would yield a remuneration was now apparent to Mr. Watt, and he clearly saw that the few years of his patent which had yet to run would not be by any means sufficient to yield an adequate return. Early therefore in 1774 he applied for an extension of his patent-right, and by the zealous assistance of Drs. Roebuck and Robison he obtained this four years afterwards, the extension being granted for twenty-five years. The year following the first application for the extension of the patent the manufacture of steam-engines was commenced at Soho, under the firm Boulton, Watt, & Co. Many engines were made at this foundry, and licenses granted to miners in various parts of the country to use their engines on condition that the patentees should receive a third part of the saving of coals of the new engine compared with one of the same power on Newcomen's construction. An idea may be formed of the profits arising by this arrangement when we know that from the proprietors of three large engines erected at Chacewater in Cornwall, Watt and Boulton received £800 annually.

John Smeaton had for many years been employed

in erecting and improving the steam-engine on Newcomen's principle, and did as much for its perfection as beauty and proportion of mechanical construction could effect. The fame of Smeaton does not rest on his improvements on the steam-engine. What he has done in other departments of engineering is amply sufficient to rank him as one of the most ingenious men England ever produced. Yet even what he has left behind him in the improvement of Newcomen's engine is well worthy the study, and will ever elicit the admiration, of the practical mechanic. To a man of weaker mind than Smeaton it must have been galling to see all the ingenuity and application which he had bestowed on the subject of steam-power rendered almost useless by the discovery of a younger man. Yet when he saw Watt's improvement he was struck with its excellence and simplicity, and with that readiness and candour which are ever the associates of true genius, he communicated to Mr. Watt, by a complimentary letter, the high opinion he held of his invention; admitting that "the old engine, even when made to do its best, was now driven from every place where fuel could be considered of any value." How different this from the treatment he received from inferior individuals labouring in the same field! His right to the invention of a separate condenser was disputed by several, whose claims were publicly and satisfactorily refuted. Among others he was attacked in a strain of vulgar abuse, and a tissue of arrant falsehoods, by a Mr. Hornblower, who wrote the article "Steam Engine" in the first and second editions of Gregory's *Mechanics*. This Mr. Hornblower, not contented with giving his own shallow evidence against Watt, has, with the characteristic grovelling which pervades the whole of his article, endeavoured to give weight to his assertions by associating with himself a respectable man. Mr. Hornblower states that, in a conversation with Mr. S. Moor, secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, that gentleman had stated that Mr. Gainsborough was the true inventor of the separate condenser. Mr. Moor had doubtless an intimate knowledge of the true state of the matter; and fortunately for his reputation as a sincere and candid man, we find him controvert this upon oath at his examination in the case Watt and Boulton *versus* Bull, in 1792.

In 1775 Mr. Watt married for the second time. The lady, Miss M'Gregor, was the daughter of Mr. M'Gregor, a wealthy merchant of Glasgow, who, as will be seen hereafter, was the first in Britain, in conjunction with Mr. Watt, to apply chlorine in the process of bleaching. From this time Watt applied himself assiduously to the improvement of that powerful machine for which he had already done so much. In 1781 he took out a patent for the regulating motion, and that beautiful contrivance the sun-and-planet wheel. The short history of this latter invention gives an apt illustration of his exhaustless powers of contrivance. For the purpose of converting the reciprocating motion of the large beam into a rotatory movement for driving machinery, he had recourse to that simple contrivance the crank; but while it was preparing at Soho, one of the workmen communicated it to Mr. Steed, who immediately took out a patent, and thus frustrated Watt's views. Mr. Watt bethought himself of a substitute, and hit upon the happy idea of the sun-and-planet wheel. This and the like occurrences may have given him that fondness for patents with which he has frequently been charged.

During the course of the following year two distinct patents were granted to Mr. Watt, one in February, and the other in July, for an expansive

engine—six contrivances for regulating the motion—double-acting engine—two cylinders—parallel motion, by rack and sector—semi-rotative engine—and steam wheel. A third was granted in 1784 for a rotative engine—parallel motions—portable engine and steam-carriage—working hammers—improved hand gear—and new method of working the valves. The most important of these inventions are the double-acting engine, in which steam is admitted both below and above the piston alternately, steam pressure being thus employed to press on each side of the piston, while a vacuum was formed over the other. By this contrivance he was enabled to double the power of the engine without increasing the dimensions of the cylinder. To the complete effecting of this he was obliged to cause the piston-rod to move through a stuffing-box at the top of the cylinder—a contrivance, it must be stated, which had been some years previous applied by Smeaton in the construction of pumps. Simple as these additions may at first appear, they were nevertheless followed by many great advantages. They increased the uniformity of motion, and at the same time diminished the extent of cooling surface, the size of boiler, and the weight and magnitude of the whole machinery. Another vast improvement involved in these patents is the expansive engine, in which the steam was let fully in at the beginning of the stroke, and the valves shut when the piston had advanced through a part of its progress, the rest being completed by the expansion of the steam, which arrangement greatly increases the power. This engine was included in the patent for 1782, though Mr. Hornblower had published something of the same nature the year before. But an engine on the expansive principle was erected by Watt at Shadwell iron-works in 1778, and even two years before expansive engines had been manufactured at Soho—facts which secure to Watt the honour of the priority of discovery. That ingenious combination of levers which guided the piston-rod, and is called the parallel motion, was secured by patent of 1784, and remains to this day unsurpassed as a beautifully simple mechanical contrivance.

In 1785 a patent was granted to Mr. Watt for a new method of constructing furnaces, and the consumption of smoke. He likewise applied to the steam-engine the governor, or conical pendulum, the steam and condensation gauges, and the indicator. About the same time, in consequence of the delay and expense attendant on the numerous experiments towards the perfection of this vast creator and distributor of power, he found it necessary to apply to parliament for an extension of his patent, which was granted to the end of the eighteenth century. By this grant the proprietors of the Soho foundry were enabled speedily to realize a great fortune.

In the winter of the year 1786 the subject of this memoir, together with his able and active partner, went to Paris, at the solicitation of the French government, in order to improve the method of raising water at Marley. Here Mr. Watt met with most of the eminent men of science who at that time adorned the French metropolis; and among the rest, the celebrated chemist Berthollet. The French philosopher had discovered in 1785 the bleaching properties of chlorine, and communicated the fact to Mr. Watt, with the power of patenting the invention in England. This Mr. Watt modestly declined doing, on the ground that he was not the author of the discovery. Mr. Watt saw the value of this new process, and communicated the matter, through the course of the following year, to his father-in-law, Mr. M'Gregor, who at that time carried on a large bleaching establishment in the vicinity of Glasgow.

He sent an account of the process, together with some of the bleaching liquor, in March, 1787; and the process of bleaching by the new method was immediately commenced at Mr. M'Gregor's field, and 500 pieces were speedily executed to entire satisfaction. Early in the following year two foreigners made an attempt to gain a patent for the new bleaching process; but they were opposed by Mr. Watt, and Messrs. Cooper and Henry of Manchester, all of whom had already bleached by Berthollet's method. Notwithstanding the misrepresentations in several histories of bleaching, it is manifest from these facts, as well as from the dates of several letters of Mr. Watt and Mr. Henry, that the great improver of the steam-engine had also the honour of introducing the process of bleaching by chlorine into Great Britain; and though he was not the original discoverer, yet he greatly simplified and economized the process of obtaining the discharging agent employed, and the vessels and other arrangements used in the art of bleaching. Among other improvements may be mentioned his method of testing the strength of the chlorine liquor, by ascertaining how much of it is necessary to discharge the colour of a given quantity of infusion of cochineal. The benefits which Mr. Watt conferred on chemical science did not terminate here. From a letter written to Dr. Priestley in 1783, and in another to M. de Luc in the same year, he communicated his important discovery of the composition of water. But in the beginning of the following year Mr. Cavendish read a paper on the same subject, claiming to himself the honour of discovery; and in the histories of chemistry the claims of Cavendish are silently admitted. There is a confusion of dates in the documents on this subject, which at the present day it is impossible to reconcile; but from the characters of the two men, we are inclined to think that each made the discovery independently of the other, and that therefore the credit is due to both. Mr. Watt's letter to M. de Luc was read before the Royal Society, and published in their *Transactions* for 1784, under the title of "Thoughts on the Constituent Parts of Water, and of Dephlogisticated Air; with an Account of some Experiments on that Subject." Mr. Watt also contributed a paper on the medical properties and application of the factitious airs to the treatise of Dr. Beddoes on pneumatic medicine, and continued during the latter period of his life deeply to engage himself in chemical pursuits.

A patent was granted to Mr. Watt in 1780, for a machine for copying letters and drawings. This machine, which soon became well known and extensively used, was manufactured by Messrs. Boulton and Kier, under the firm of James Watt and Company. He was led to this invention from a desire to abridge the time necessarily spent in taking copies of the numerous letters he was obliged to write. It was constructed in two forms, on the principle of the rolling press, one of them being large, and fitted for offices; the other light and capable of being inclosed in a portable writing-desk. Through the course of the following year Mr. Watt invented a steam-drying apparatus for his friend Mr. M'Gregor, of Glasgow. For this machine he never took out a patent, although it was the first thing of the kind ever contrived; nor was there ever any drawing or description of it published during his lifetime.¹ During the winter of 1784 Mr. Watt made arrangements for heating his study by steam; which method has since been extensively applied to the heating of private houses, conservatories, hot-houses, and manufac-

tories. Concerning the history of this apparatus, it is but justice to state that Colonel Cook had, in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1745, described a method of "heating apartments by means of the steam of water conveyed along the walls by pipes;" but there is no proof that this was known to Mr. Watt.

In the year 1800 Mr. Watt withdrew from the concern at Soho, delivering his share of the business to his two sons, James and Gregory, the latter of whom died in the prime of life, much regretted by all who knew him. After having given ample proofs of great mental endowments, Mr. Watt thus retired from business, with a well-earned competency, which enabled him to enjoy the evening of a well-spent life with ease and comfort in the bosom of his family. At no time had he taken any active share in the management of the business of the Soho foundry, nor were his visits to it, even while he was a partner, by any means frequent. Mr. Boulton was a man of excellent address, great wealth, of business habits, and full of enterprise, and contributed greatly to the improvement of the steam-engine, by taking upon himself the entire management of the works at Soho: he thus relieved from all worldly concern the mind of his illustrious partner, which was much more profitably employed on those profound and valuable researches by which he has added so largely to the field of science. As Dupin well observes, "Men who devote themselves entirely to the improvement of industry will feel in all their force the services that Boulton has rendered to the arts and mechanical sciences, by freeing the genius of Watt from a crowd of extraneous difficulties which would have consumed those days that were far better dedicated to the improvement of the useful arts."

Although Mr. Watt retired from public business, he did not relax in his ardour for scientific pursuits and new inventions. Towards the end of the year 1809 he was applied to by the Glasgow Water Company to assist them in pointing out a method of leading water across the river, from a well on the south side, which afforded a natural filter. From a consideration of the structure of the lobster's tail, he formed the idea of a flexible main, with ball-and-socket joints, to be laid across the bed of the river, and which was constructed according to his plan in the summer of 1810. This ingenious contrivance gave such satisfaction, that another precisely similar was added a short time afterwards. Two years subsequent to this he received the thanks of the Board of Admiralty for his opinion and advice regarding the formation of the docks then carrying on at Sheerness.

About the year 1813 it was proposed to publish a complete edition of Dr. Robison's works, and the materials were delivered, for the purpose of editing, into the hands of his able friend Playfair, who, not having sufficient leisure for such an undertaking, transmitted them to Sir D. Brewster. The latter gentleman applied to Mr. Watt for his assistance in the revision of the article "Steam Engine," for which article he had originally furnished some materials, when it first appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and to the article in its new form he furnished many valuable corrections and additions.

In 1817 Mr. Watt paid a visit to his native country; and it surprised and delighted his friends to find that he enjoyed good health, his mind possessed its wonted vigour, and his conversation its wonted charms. During the last years of his life he employed himself in contriving a machine for taking copies of pieces of sculpture. This machine never received the finishing touch of its inventor's hand; but it was

¹ See *Edinburgh Ency.* xviii. "Steam Drying."

brought to such perfection that seven specimens were executed by it in a very creditable manner. Some of these he distributed among his friends, "as the productions of a young artist, just entering his eighty-third year." When this machine was considerably advanced in construction, Mr. Watt learned that a neighbouring gentleman had been for some time engaged in a similar undertaking; and a proposal was made to Mr. Watt that they should jointly take out a patent, which he declined, on the ground that from his advanced age it would be unwise for him to enter upon any new speculation. It was always Mr. Watt's opinion that this gentleman had no knowledge whatever of the construction of the machine.

The health of Mr. Watt, which was naturally delicate, became gradually better towards the latter period of his long and useful life. Intense headaches, arising from an organic defect in the digestive system, often afflicted him. These were often aggravated and induced by the severe study to which he commonly subjected himself, and the perplexity arising from the frequent lawsuits in which he had been engaged towards the close of the eighteenth century. It must not be inferred from this last statement that this great man, whose discoveries we have been recounting, was by any means litigiously inclined. His quiet and peaceful mind was ever disposed to shrink from the agitations of paper wars and law pleas, and to repose in the quiet retreats of science. Many attempts were made to pirate his inventions, and to encroach upon his patent-rights, against which he never made any other defence than that which becomes an honest man, *i.e.* an appeal for the protection of the law of the land. He lived to see all these attempts to rob him of the profits of his inventions, as well as the envy and detraction which are ever the followers of merit, silenced for ever, and terminated a long, useful, and honourable life in the full possession of his mental faculties, at his residence at Heathfield in Staffordshire, on the 25th of August, 1819, having reached his eighty-fourth year.

The fame of Watt will in future ages rest secure upon the imperishable basis of his many discoveries, and he will ever be ranked in the first class of those great men who have benefited the human race by the improvement of the arts of industry and peace. Even during his lifetime this was known and recognized, and he received several honorary distinctions. In 1784 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the year following he became fellow of the Royal Society of London. In 1787 he was chosen corresponding member of the Batavian Society; in 1806 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the university of Glasgow; and ten years later he was made a member of the National Institute of France.

Respecting the private character of Watt it would be difficult to communicate an adequate idea of its excellence. Those who knew him will ever remember that in his private intercourse with society he elicited from them more love and admiration than they can ever express. He was benevolent and kind to all those who came about him, or solicited either his patronage or advice. His conversation was easy, fluent, and devoid of all formality; replete with profound and accurate information on all subjects, blended with pertinent and amusing anecdote—such that, when combined with his plain unaffected language, the mellow tones of his manly voice, his natural good humour and expressive countenance, produced an effect on those around him which will hardly ever fade from memory. He read much,

and could easily remember and readily apply all that was valuable of what he read. He was versed in several of the modern languages, antiquities, law, and the fine arts, and was largely read in light literature. His character was drawn up by his friend Francis Jeffrey with a fidelity and eloquence that has made it known to almost every one. We will, therefore, forbear to quote it here, and bring this memoir to a conclusion by placing before the reader what has been said of Watt by his illustrious countryman and friend, the author of *Waverley*. In the playful letter to Captain Clutterbuck in the introduction to the *Monastery*, Sir Walter Scott gives the following lively description of his meeting in Edinburgh with this remarkable man:—"Did you know the celebrated Watt of Birmingham, Captain Clutterbuck? I believe not, though from what I am about to state he would not have failed to have sought an acquaintance with you. It was only once my fortune to meet him, whether in body or in spirit it matters not. There were assembled about half a score of our northern lights, who had amongst them, Heaven knows how, a well-known character of your country, Jedediah Cleishbotham. This worthy person having come to Edinburgh during the Christmas vacation, had become a sort of lion in the place, and was led in leash from house to house along with the guizzards, the stone-eater, and other amusements of the season, which 'exhibit their unparalleled feats to private family parties if required.' Amidst this company stood Mr. Watt, the man whose genius discovered the means of multiplying our national resources to a degree perhaps even beyond his own stupendous powers of calculation and combination, bringing the treasures of the abyss to the summit of the earth; giving the feeble arm of man the momentum of an Afrite; commanding manufactures to arise, as the rod of the prophet produced water in the desert; affording the means of dispensing with that time and tide which wait for no man, and of sailing without that wind which defied the commands and threats of Xerxes himself. This potent commander of the elements—this abridger of time and space—this magician, whose cloudy machinery has produced a change on the world, the effects of which, extraordinary as they are, are perhaps only now beginning to be felt—was not only the most profound man of science, the most successful combiner of powers and calculator of numbers, as adapted to practical purposes—was not only one of the most generally well-informed, but one of the best and kindest of human beings.

"There he stood, surrounded by the little band I have mentioned of northern literati, men not less tenacious, generally speaking, of their own fame and their own opinions than the national regiments are supposed to be jealous of the high character which they have gained upon service. Methinks I yet see and hear what I shall never see and hear again. In his eighty-fifth year, the alert, kind, benevolent old man had his attention at every one's question, his information at every one's command. His talents and fancy overflowed on every subject. One gentleman was a deep philologist; he talked with him on the origin of the alphabet as if he had been coeval with Cadmus; another was a celebrated critic; you would have said the old man had studied political economy and belles-lettres all his life; of science it is unnecessary to speak, it was his own distinguished walk. And yet, Captain Clutterbuck, when he spoke with your countryman Jedediah Cleishbotham, you would have sworn he had been coeval with Clavense and Burley, with the persecutors and persecuted, and could number every shot the dragoons had fired at the fugi-

tive Covenanters. In fact, we discovered that no novel of the least celebrity escaped his perusal, and that the gifted man of science was as much addicted to the productions of your native country (the land of Utopia aforesaid); in other words, as shameless and obstinate a peruser of novels as if he had been a very milliner's apprentice of eighteen."

A highly characteristic statue of Watt, by Chantrey, adorns a Gothic monument reared to his memory by his son, Mr. James Watt, a sketch of whose life is given below. Three other statues of him by Chantrey have been erected—one of them, of colossal size, stands in Westminster Abbey, and bears an elegant inscription by Lord Brougham. The countenance of this statue has been characterized as the personification of abstract thought. Glasgow possesses the other two—one of marble, in the museum of the university, and the other of bronze, in George's Square. His native town of Greenock has also rendered appropriate homage to his genius, by erecting not only his statue, but a public library which bears his name. An admirable "éloge" on Watt and his inventions was pronounced before the National Institute of France by the late M. Arago. Lord Brougham has also celebrated his merits in his "Historical Account of the Composition of Water," which is published as an appendix to the *Eloge*.

WATT, JAMES. It is by no means a natural sequence that talented men should also be the fathers of talented sons. The contrary is perhaps more frequently the case, to the general surprise or disappointment of those who hope that moral worth and intellectual power must be as transmissible as ordinary chattels and movables. A happy exception, however, was afforded in the case of that illustrious personage whom we have just commemorated, by his being the parent of two sons who showed themselves worthy of such a father.

James Watt was the eldest son of him who discovered the vast and varied powers of the steam-engine. He was born on the 5th of February, 1769, and in his education his attention was early directed by his father to natural philosophy and chemistry. With these the younger Watt combined the practical study of mineralogy, and showed even in early life how well he was qualified to excel in this department of science. The Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester having been newly founded, James Watt, although only in his twentieth year, was appointed one of the secretaries; and in 1789 he communicated to its *Memoirs* two important and talented papers—one on the mine at Anglezark, near Chorley, Lancashire, in which the aérate carbonate of barytes is found; the other on the effects produced by different combinations of the *terra ponderosa* [barytes] given to animals. Although he was not the discoverer of the carbonate, he was the first to describe the circumstances under which the discovery occurred, and to show how the muriate used in medicine had been obtained from it. He also made some of the earliest experiments on the poisonous effects of the combinations of barytes.

In consequence of the wish of his father that he should study science on the Continent, James Watt went to Paris, accompanied by his friend Thomas Cooper, one of the vice-presidents of the Manchester Society. But here other pursuits than those of science offered themselves to his notice. Although a philosopher he was also an enthusiastic young man, and the millennium of universal liberty in which the French revolution had commenced its career was so alluring, that the wisest heads were for a time unable to withstand the seduction. It is no wonder therefore

that young Watt was drawn within the vortex, and made giddy in its circumvolutions. He took part with the Girondists and Jacobins, attended their inflammable meetings along with his friend Cooper, and subsequently with Wordsworth the poet, and became so influential with the French leaders of the movement, that it is said he prevented a duel from taking place between Robespierre and Danton. The increasing frenzy of the revolution soon opened the eyes of the scientific young Scot to its tendencies, and his sympathies were now exerted in behalf of those who were likely to suffer as its victims. This was a change not likely to escape detection, and Robespierre denounced him and his friend Cooper in the Jacobin club as emissaries of Pitt, and in the pay of the British government; but Watt indignantly repelled this charge from the tribune in a speech delivered in excellent French, and so convincing that it was satisfactory to the audience. France, however, could no longer be a safe home for him; and on being warned that his life was not secure for a single day, he abruptly left Paris, and after considerable difficulty made his way to Italy.

Having thus escaped from such a deleterious political atmosphere, James Watt soon afterwards returned to England. In 1794 the sons of Messrs. Boulton and Watt were admitted to a partnership in their large and lucrative establishment; and in 1800, when the patent of Mr. Watt had expired, he resigned his share of the business to his two sons, James and Gregory. This change obliged James to relinquish his scientific pursuits for the management and direction of the steam-engine manufactory at Soho, and amidst its practical operations he had neither time to follow out his chemical and geological investigations, nor inclination to resume his political theories. The improvement of the steam-engine was now the chief subject of his thoughts, and especially in its application to steam navigation; and as the leading partner of the firm, he produced several engines adapted to this important purpose, by which his manufactory was increased in reputation, and the art of steam navigation improved. Henry Bell had already tried his bold and successful experiments in steamboats, and in these he was successfully aided and seconded by James Watt. Not content also with the mere navigation of rivers, the latter conceived the daring attempt of extending steam-power to sea navigation, for which trial an opportunity was not long in occurring. Among the steam-vessels which Henry Bell had started of his own construction was the *Caledonia*, of 102 tons burden, and thirty-two horse-power; but when launched in 1815, the vessel was found so defective in her engines as to be of little use. In 1817, however, the *Caledonia* was purchased by Mr. Watt, who after replacing the imperfect machinery by two engines from the Soho establishment, each of 14-horse power, ventured out in her to sea, and crossed the Channel to Holland, after which he directed her course to the Rhine, and ascended as far as Coblenz. The scientific world that was astonished at the hazardous nature of such a voyage was triumphant at its success, and the hope became prevalent that steam-navigation might be made as safe and as common by sea as it was upon rivers. On her return from Coblenz, the *Caledonia* entered the Scheldt and visited Antwerp, and was laid up for part of the winter to undergo repairs and alterations in the harbour of Rotterdam. The importance of the voyage is thus stated by Mr. Muirhead in his *History of Steam Navigation in Great Britain*:—"After her [the *Caledonia*]'s return to the Thames in the spring of 1818, Mr. James Watt made no fewer than thirty-one series of experiments with

her on the river (the whole number of those experiments amounting to 250), which resulted in the adoption of many most material improvements in the construction and adaptation of marine engines, and in an immense though gradual extension of that branch of the manufacture at Soho. The marine engines manufactured there down to the year 1854 were in number 319, of 17,438 *nominal*, or 52,314 *real* horse-power.³³

In this manner was James Watt, senior, the discoverer of the power of steam and its application, ably followed and successfully seconded by his eldest son and representative. The rest of the biography of the latter is to be found in his active career as managing partner of the Soho establishment, and the increasing facilities he continued to afford in the machinery for steam navigation. Amidst such an active and practical life he had little time for authorship, and his only publications were a life of his father written in 1823, which was published in Macvey Napier's *Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica*; and a letter in 1846 on his father's claims as to the composition of water, which is published in Muirhead's *Correspondence*. He died unmarried at his seat, Aston Hall, in Warwickshire, near Birmingham, on the 2d of June, 1848.

WATT, ROBERT, M.D., the author of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and of several medical treatises, was born in May, 1774. His father, John Watt, possessed a small farm called Muirhead, in the parish of Stewarton, Ayrshire, which had belonged to the family for several generations, but which was sold shortly after his death in 1810. Robert was the youngest of three sons; and, with his elder brothers, was employed during his boyhood in attending school, and in assisting his father in the management of the farm. His early life, it would seem, was subject to considerable hardships, and afforded few opportunities for cultivating his mind. Such however as he had he used so diligently, that he not only acquired a large fund of miscellaneous knowledge, but that eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge which was his characteristic through life. It was natural that such a mind should long for the advantages of a university education, and devise the means by which such a wish should be fulfilled. To prepare himself for its accomplishment he laid aside as much of his earnings as he could spare, and applied himself in the intervals of manual occupation to the Latin and Greek languages. It was not long ere he thus qualified himself for beginning his course at the university. In 1793, at the age of eighteen, he matriculated in the Glasgow College, under Professor Richardson; and from that period went regularly through the successive classes in the university, up to the year 1797. During the summer recesses he supported himself by teaching, at first as a private tutor, but latterly he took up a small public school in the village of Symington, in Ayrshire. It was his first determination to follow the clerical profession; but after he had attended two sessions at the divinity hall of Glasgow, he turned himself to the study of medicine; and in order to have every advantage towards acquiring a proficiency in that branch of knowledge, he removed to Edinburgh, which has been so long celebrated as a medical school. Here he remained until he had gone through the usual studies of the science.

In 1799 he returned to Glasgow, and after an examination by the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons there, he was found "a fit and capable person to exercise the arts of surgery and pharmacy." In the same year he set up as surgeon in the town of Pais-

ley, and soon began to attain great popularity in his profession, and to reap the reward of his talents and perseverance. In a short time he had engrossed so much practice as to find it necessary to take in as partner and assistant Mr. James Muir, who had been his fellow-student at Edinburgh. This gentleman possessed considerable literary abilities, and was author of various pieces of a didactic character which appeared in the periodicals of the day. He was in particular greatly attached to painting, and spent much of his time and money upon that art. Dr. Watt, on the other hand, was chiefly attached to that department of human inquiry which comes under the denomination of experimental philosophy—particularly chemistry, to which science he for a considerable time devoted his leisure hours almost exclusively. Yet with these differences of pursuits, they lived in good harmony during a partnership of nearly ten years, each following his own course, and both holding the most respectable station of their profession in the place where they resided.

The period of Dr. Watt's residence in Paisley was perhaps the busiest in his life. He enjoyed during it a better state of health than he ever did afterwards; and had, besides, all the ardour and enterprise of one newly entered into a sphere for which he had long panted. The number and variety of manuscripts which he has left sufficiently attest the persevering activity of his mind during this period. The most important, perhaps, of these is one in quarto, entitled "*An Abstract of Philosophical Conjectures; or an Attempt to Explain the Principal Phenomena of Light, Heat, and Cold, by a few simple and obvious Laws.*" This volume contains some curious and interesting experiments; but, of course, since the date of its composition (1805) many new lights have been thrown on the subjects it embraces, which in a great measure diminish its importance, and render its publication unadvisable. The only work which he ventured to publish while at Paisley, amid the many he composed and contemplated, was one entitled "*Cases of Diabetes, Consumption, &c.; with Observations on the History and Treatment of Disease in General.*" This appeared in 1803, and excited considerable interest at the time among the learned of the profession. The method which the author adopted in treating diabetes was venesection, blistering, and an abstemious diet; and the various cases which he records were considered at the time as tending to establish the propriety of this mode of treatment. At the end of the volume observations are given upon different diseases, as asthma, English cholera, colic, &c.; and these are also illustrated by cases which came under his own observation.

Soon after the publication of this volume he felt a desire to remove to another quarter, and commence business for himself on a higher scale than he had hitherto done. There was no place, however, which he had particularly fixed upon; and before coming to any decision on this point he determined to make a tour through England, with the view of ascertaining whether that country might not afford an eligible spot. The journey would, at the same time, be favourable to his health, which was beginning to be impaired. In 1809, having furnished himself with letters of recommendation to many eminent in his profession throughout England, he went to London by a circuitous route, embracing on his way most of the principal towns in the country. It does not appear, however, that he found any situation there agreeable to his wishes; for on his return home, after an absence of several months, he determined on settling at Glasgow: and accordingly, in 1810,

as soon as matters could properly be arranged, he removed to that city. Previously to this he had received from the university of Aberdeen the title of Doctor in Medicine, and had been elected member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. He had also become pretty well known in the neighbourhood as an eminent practitioner, and had every reason to calculate upon success, whatever rank of his profession he should assume. He therefore commenced upon the highest scale, took a large house in Queen Street, and confined his profession to that of physician and accoucheur. In the same winter he began his lectures on the theory and practice of medicine; and thus at once placed himself in that station of life for which he was so eminently qualified.

His success in Glasgow was complete and immediate. As a physician he suddenly acquired a most respectable and extensive practice, and as a lecturer his popularity was equally gratifying. The continental war which was then raging, occasioned a great demand for surgeons, and increased the number of students much above the ordinary average. Dr. Watt's lecture-room was numerously attended; and he spared no pains or expense that might conduce to the advantage of his pupils. His lectures were formed on the best models and from the most extensive sources, and his manner of delivering them was easy and engaging. During the first course he read them from his MSS.; but he afterwards abandoned that method for extemporaneous delivery, assisting his memory merely by brief memorandums of the chief heads of discourse. He used to say that this method, by keeping his mind in a state of activity, fatigued him less than the dull rehearsal of what lay before him. With a view to the advantage of his students he formed a library of medical books, which was very complete and valuable, containing, besides all the popular works on medicine, many scarce and high-priced volumes. Of this library he published a catalogue in 1812; to which he appended an "Address to Medical Students on the Best Method of Prosecuting their Studies."

The *Bibliotheca Britannica* may be said to have originated with the formation of this library. Besides the catalogue of it, which was printed in the usual form, having the works arranged under their respective authors in alphabetical order, he drew out an index of the various *subjects* which the volumes embraced, making references to the place which each held upon the shelf; and thus brought before his eye, at one view, all the books in his possession that treated on any particular point. The utility of this index to himself and his students soon turned his mind to the consideration of one upon a more comprehensive scale, that would embrace all the medical works which had been printed in the British dominions. This he immediately set about drawing out, and devoted much of his time to it. After he had nearly completed his object he extended the original plan by introducing works on law, and latterly works on divinity and miscellaneous subjects. This more than tripled his labours; but it proportionably made them more useful. The extent of the design, however, was not yet completed. Hitherto all foreign publications had been excluded from it; and although a prospectus of the work had been published, containing very copious explanations and specimens, which might be supposed to have determined its nature and bounds, he resolved, when it was on the eve of going to press, to make the work still further useful by introducing the more popular and important of foreign authors and their productions; embracing at the same time the various continental editions of the classics. Thus was another mighty

addition made to the original plan; and it is thus that many of the most splendid monuments of human intellect and industry originate in trifling or small beginnings.

In 1813 he published a *Treatise on the History, Nature, and Treatment of Chincough*. He was led to investigate particularly this disease, by a severe visitation of it in his own family, in which four of his children were affected at the same time, the two eldest of whom died. The treatise contains not only the author's own observation and experience, but also that of the best medical writers on the subject. To the volume is subjoined, "An Inquiry into the Relative Mortality of the Principal Diseases of Children, and the numbers who have died under ten years of age, in Glasgow, during the last thirty years." In this inquiry the author was at infinite pains in comparing and digesting the registers of the various burying-grounds in the city and suburbs; and of these he gives numerous tables, so arranged as to enable the reader to draw some very important conclusions regarding the diseases of children, and their respective mortalities.

In 1814 he issued anonymously a small volume, entitled *Rules of Life, with Reflections on the Manners and Dispositions of Mankind*. The volume was published by Constable of Edinburgh, and consisted of a great number of apophthegms and short sentences, many of them original, and the others selected from the best English writers.

About this time his health began rapidly to decline. From his youth he had been troubled with a stomatic disorder, which attacked him at times very severely, and kept him always under great restrictions in his diet and general regimen. The disease had gained ground with time, and perhaps was accelerated by the laborious life which he led. He nevertheless continued to struggle against it, maintained his usual good spirits, and went through the various arduous duties of his profession. His duties, indeed, had increased upon him. He had become a member of various literary and medical societies, of several of which he was president, and had been elected physician to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, and president of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. These two latter situations involved a great deal of trouble and attention. He held them both for two successive years; the former he was obliged to resign on account of the state of his health, just at the period when a handsome compensation would have followed his holding it; the latter was resigned at the expiry of the usual term of its continuance.

Although he had long laboured under that painful disease which we have spoken of, and of which he eventually died, it was not until the year 1817 that he totally discontinued his professional pursuits. Nor would perhaps his active spirit have so soon submitted to this resignation, had not another employment engaged his attention. He had by this time brought his great work, the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, to a very considerable state of forwardness; had become interested in it, and anxious for its completion. He probably saw that from the state of his health the duration of his life must be but limited, and was desirous, while yet some strength and vigour remained, to place the work in such a state that even his death would not prevent its publication. He retired, therefore, with his family to a small country-house about two miles from Glasgow, engaged several young men as amanuenses,¹ and devoted himself exclusively to the compilation.

¹ Among those so engaged were Mr. William Motherwell, who distinguished himself by his beautiful ballads; and Mr. Alexander Whitelaw, editor of the *Casquet*, *Republic of Letters*, &c.

In this literary seclusion Dr. Watt was for some time able to make great progress in his undertaking; but though freed from worldly interruptions, he had to combat with a disease which was every day becoming more formidable, and which at last obliged him to discontinue all personal labour. He still, however, continued to oversee and direct his amanuenses; and nothing could exceed the kind attention which he paid to their comforts, even when suffering under his fatal malady. In his own retirement he practised every method which his knowledge or experience could suggest to stem the progress of the disease, but they were all unavailing. In the hope that travel and a sea-voyage might benefit him, he went in one of the Leith smacks to London, made a considerable tour through England, and returned more exhausted and emaciated than before. From that period until his death he was scarcely out of bed, but underwent with wonderful fortitude an afflicting and uninterrupted illness of several months. He died upon the 12th of March, 1819, aged only forty-five, and was interred in the Glasgow High Church burying-ground.

Dr. Watt's personal appearance was prepossessing. He was tall in stature, and in early life, before his health declined, robust. His countenance displayed great intelligence. In private life he was universally esteemed. His character was formed on the strictest principles of morality, with which was blended a general urbanity of manners that won at once the good-will of whoever he addressed. His conversation was communicative and engaging, apart equally from dulness and tediousness, as from what is quite as intolerable, a continued study at effect. In his habits he was extremely regular and persevering. There was nothing from which he shrunk, if usefulness recommended it and exertion made it attainable. This is particularly exemplified in his undertaking and executing such a work as the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the bare conception of which would, to an ordinary or less active mind, have been appalling; but which, beset as he was by professional duties and a daily increasing malady, he undertook and accomplished. But laborious as the work is—beyond even what the most intelligent reader can imagine—it is not alone to industry and perseverance that Dr. Watt has a claim upon our notice. He was ingenious and original-minded in all his schemes; and while his great ambition was that his labours might be useful, he was careful that they should not interfere with those of others. His various works, both published and unpublished, bear this distinction. The whole plan of the *Bibliotheca* is new; and few compilations of similar magnitude and variety ever presented, in a first edition, a more complete design and execution. It is divided into two parts; the first part containing an alphabetical list of authors to the amount of above forty thousand, and under each a chronological list of his works, their various editions, sizes, price, &c., and also of the papers he may have contributed to the more celebrated journals of art and science. This division differs little in its construction from that of a common catalogue, only that it is universal in its character, and in many instances gives short biographical notices of the author, and critical opinions of his works. It also gives most ample lists of the various editions of the Greek and Roman classics, &c., and under the names of the early printers, lists of the various books which they printed. In the second part all the titles of works recorded in the first part, and also anonymous works, are arranged alphabetically under their principal subjects. This part forms a minute index to the first, and upon it the chief claim of the *Bibliotheca* to novelty and value rests; for it lays be-

fore the reader at a glance a chronological list of all the works that have been published on any particular subject that he may wish to consult, with references to their respective authors, or with the publisher's name, if anonymous. While, in short, the first part forms a full and comprehensive catalogue of authors and their works, the second forms an equally complete and extensive encyclopedia of all manner of subjects on which books have been written. The utility of such a work to the student and author in particular must be obvious; for, with the facility with which he can ascertain in a dictionary the meaning of a word, can he here ascertain all that has been written on any branch of human knowledge. Whatever may be its omissions and inaccuracies (and these were unavoidable in a compilation so extensive), the plan of the work, we apprehend, cannot be improved; and amid the numerous and laborious methods that have been offered to the public for arranging libraries and catalogues, we are ignorant of any system that could be adopted with greater advantage, both as to convenience and completeness of reference, without at the same time affecting the elegant disposal of the books upon the shelves, than the one upon which the *Bibliotheca Britannica* is founded.

Dr. Watt married, while in Paisley, Miss Burns, the daughter of a farmer in his father's neighbourhood, by whom he had nine children. At his death the publication of the *Bibliotheca* devolved upon his two eldest sons, who devoted themselves to its completion with filial enthusiasm. They were both young men of the most promising abilities; and it is to be feared that their lives were shortened by the assiduity with which they applied themselves to the important charge that was so prematurely laid upon them. John, the elder of the two, died in 1821, at the early age of twenty; James, his brother, lived to see the work completed, but died in 1829, leaving behind him the deep regrets of all who knew and could appreciate his high character and brilliant talents.

The printing of the *Bibliotheca* was completed in 1824, in four large quarto volumes. The first division or portion of it was printed in Glasgow, and the second in Edinburgh. Messrs. Archibald Constable and Company, of Edinburgh, purchased the whole for about £2000, giving bills to that amount, but before any of the bills were honoured the house failed, and thus the family of Dr. Watt was prevented from receiving any benefit from a work to which so many sacrifices had been made, and upon which all their hopes depended.¹

WAUGH, DR. ALEXANDER, an eminent divine of the United Secession Church, was born on the 16th August, 1754, at East Gordon, in the parish of Gordon, Berwickshire, where his father followed the occupation of a farmer.

The subject of this memoir, who was devoted by his parents from his infancy to the church, was put

¹ In connection with the misfortunes attendant upon the work we may mention here, in a note, one fortunately in this country of singular occurrence. Not long after Dr. Watt's death his country-house was broken into in the middle of the night by a band of ruffians, disguised with blackened faces, and armed with guns, swords, &c. While one party held their fire-arms over the unhappy inmates, another ransacked the house and packed up everything valuable of a portable nature, which they carried off, and which were never recovered. They even took the rings from Mrs. Watt's fingers. Among their ravages they unfortunately laid their hands on a portion of the unprinted MS. of the *Bibliotheca*, which they thrust into the fire with the purpose of lighting the apartment. It took nearly a year's labour to remedy the destruction of this MS. Four of the robbers were afterwards taken and executed for the crime at Glasgow in 1820.

to the parish school of Gordon, at which he remained till he had attained his twelfth year, when he was removed to that of the neighbouring parish of Earlstoun, where the schoolmaster was celebrated as a teacher of Latin and Greek. Here he remained till 1770, when he entered the university of Edinburgh, leaving behind him at Earlstoun a reputation for talents and piety which, young as he then was, made a deep impression on all who knew him, and led them to anticipate for him the celebrity he afterwards attained as a preacher.

Mr. Waugh continued at the university throughout four sessions prior to his entering on his theological studies, during which he attended the Latin, Greek, and natural and moral philosophy classes. He subsequently studied and acquired a competent knowledge of Hebrew. At the end of this period he was examined by the presbytery regarding his proficiency in philosophy and the learned languages, and having been found qualified, was admitted to the study of divinity, which he commenced in August, 1774, under the tuition of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington. Three years afterwards he repaired to the university of Aberdeen, and attended for one session the lectures of Dr. Beattie, professor of moral philosophy, and of Dr. Campbell, professor of divinity in the Marischal College. In the following year, having been found amply qualified by prior attainments, he received his degree of M.A. On the completion of his studies Mr. Waugh was licensed to preach the gospel by the presbytery of Edinburgh at Dunse, June 28, 1779, and in two months afterwards was appointed by the presbytery to supply the Secession congregation of Wells Street, London, left vacant by the death of the Rev. Archibald Hall. On this occasion he remained in London for about ten weeks, when he returned to Scotland, and soon after received a unanimous call from the congregation of Newton, which was sustained by the presbytery at their meeting on December 21, 1779, and on the 30th of August, 1780, he was formally inducted to this charge.

The effects of the favourable impression, however, which he had made upon his hearers in London reached him even in the retired and obscure situation in which he was now placed. A call to him from the Wells Street congregation was brought before the synod which met at Edinburgh in May, 1781, but he was continued in Newton by a large majority. He himself had declined this call previously to its being brought before the synod, and that for reasons which strikingly exhibit the benevolence of his disposition and the uprightness of his character. Amongst these were the unsettled state of his congregation, which was yet but in its infancy; the strong attachment which they had manifested to him; and the struggles which they had made for the settlement of a minister among them. But so desirous were the Wells Street congregation to secure his services, that, undeterred by the result of their first application, they forwarded another call to him, which was brought before the synod on the 27th November, 1781, when it was again decided that he should continue at Newton. The second call, however, was followed by a third from the same congregation, and on this occasion the call was sustained by the presbytery on the 19th March, 1782. Mr. Waugh received at the same time a call from the Bristo Street congregation of Edinburgh, but owing to some informality it did not come into direct competition with the former, and therefore was not discussed.

The presbytery of Edinburgh having been appointed to admit him to his new charge, this ceremony took place at Dalkeith on the 30th May, 1782;

and in June following he set out for London, where he arrived on the 14th of that month, and immediately commenced his ministry in the Secession Church, Wells Street. He soon extended the reputation which he had already acquired amongst the body of Christians in London to which he belonged, and became exceedingly popular at once by his singularly amiable character, his unwearied activity and unremitting zeal in the discharge of his ministerial duties, and by his fervid and impressive eloquence in the pulpit. He also took an active part in promoting the interests of the London Missionary and Bible societies; and even extended his benevolent exertions to many other religious and charitable institutions in the metropolis.

In 1815 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Marischal College of Aberdeen, and was much gratified by this mark of distinction from that learned body, which he did not deem the less flattering, that, although he had studied there in his youth, he was, when it was conferred, almost an entire stranger, personally, to all of them. Previously to this Dr. Waugh had been seized with a serious illness, which had compelled him to revisit his native country, with the view of benefiting by the change of air. From this illness he finally recovered; but in May, 1823, he received an injury by the fall of some scaffolding at the laying the foundation-stone of the orphan asylum at Clapton, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. He, however, continued to preach with unremitting zeal till the beginning of 1827, when increasing infirmities, particularly an inability to make himself audible in the pulpit, rendered it necessary to procure an assistant to aid him in his labours, as well on his own account as on account of the spiritual interests of his congregation. In this year, therefore, he was relieved from a large portion of the laborious duties which had before devolved upon him. But this excellent man was not destined long to enjoy the ease which his affectionate congregation had kindly secured for him. In the last week of November he caught a severe cold, which finally terminated his useful and active life on the 14th of December, 1827, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his ministry in London.

The remains of Dr. Waugh were attended to the grave by an immense concourse of people, drawn together on that melancholy occasion by the celebrity and popularity of his character; and his congregation, as a testimony of their affection for his memory, erected an elegant tablet of marble, with a suitable inscription, in their chapel in Wells Street. They also claimed it as a privilege to defray the funeral expenses. But they did much more than all this: they secured an annuity for his widow, and expressed their sympathy in her bereavement by many other acts of generosity and kindness.

Dr. Waugh, in all the relations of life, was perhaps one of the most amiable men that ever existed. His character was pure and spotless; his benevolence unbounded; his philanthropy unqualified. His manners were mild, gentle, and highly prepossessing, and his piety sincere and ardent, and wholly without any portion of that gloominess which has been erroneously believed to belong to heart-felt religious feeling. So far from this, he was lively, cheerful, and humorous, and delighted in innocent mirth and railery. To those of his countrymen who came to London his house and table were ever open; and his advice, counsel, and assistance in furthering their views, always at their service. His kindness in this way, indeed, he carried to an almost blamable extent.

His talents, too, generally, and particularly as a preacher of the gospel, were of a very high order; and of this the London Missionary Society, in common with others, was so sensible that he was employed in frequent missions by that body, and always with eminent success. His whole life in London was one of continued and unremitting activity. He laboured early and late in the discharge of the important duties intrusted to him, and willingly undertook at all times, in addition to these, any others which had from their nature a claim upon his exertions.

WEBSTER, DR. ALEXANDER, an eminent divine and statistical inquirer, was born in Edinburgh about the year 1707, being the son of a clergyman of the same name, who, after suffering persecution under the reigns of the latter Stuarts, had become minister of the Tolbooth parish in that city, in which charge he acquired considerable celebrity as a preacher of the orthodox school. The subject of this memoir studied for the church, and after being duly licensed, was ordained minister of Culross, where he soon became noted for his eloquence in the pulpit, and the laborious zeal with which he discharged every duty of his office. The congregation of the Tolbooth Church, who had lost his father in the year 1720, formed the wish to have the son set over them, and accordingly in 1737 he received a unanimous call from them, and thus was restored to the society of his native city. Previously to this event he had obtained the affections of Miss Mary Erskine, a young lady of fortune, and nearly related to the family of Dundonald. He had been employed to bespeak the favour of Miss Erskine for a friend, and for this purpose paid frequent visits to Valleyfield, a house within the parish of Culross, where she resided. The suit of his friend he is said to have urged with equal eloquence and sincerity; but whether his own figure and accomplishments, which were highly elegant, had prepossessed the young lady, or she despised a suitor who could not make love on his own account, his efforts were attended with no success. At length Miss Erskine naively remarked to him that, had he spoken as well for himself, he might have succeeded better. The hint was too obvious to be overlooked, and its promise too agreeable to be neglected. Webster spoke for himself, and was readily accepted. They were married a few days after his accession to the pulpit of the Tolbooth Church. Though the reverend gentleman was thus prompted by the lady, it does not appear that he was in the least degree deficient in that affection which ought always to be the motive of the nuptial connection. On the contrary, he seems, from some verses composed by himself upon the occasion, to have been one of the most ardent of lovers, and also one of the most eloquent of amatory poets; witness the following admirable stanza:—

"When I see thee, I love thee, but hearing adore,
I wonder, and think you a woman no more;
Till, mad with admiring, I cannot contain,
And, kissing those lips, find you woman again."¹

With the fire of a profane poet, and the manners and accomplishments of a man of the world, Webster possessed the unction and fervour of a purely evangelical divine. The awakenings which occurred at Cambuslang in consequence of the preaching of Whitefield, he attributed in a pamphlet to the direct influence of the Holy Spirit; while the Seceders imputed the whole to sorcery and the direct influence of the devil. In the pulpit both his matter and his

manner gave the highest satisfaction. His voice was harmonious, his figure noble; the dignity of his look, the rapture of his eye, conveyed an electric impression of the fervent devotion which engrossed his soul. In prayer and in sacramental addresses his manner was particularly noble and august. The diction of his sermons was strong and animated, rather than polished, and somewhat lowered to the capacity of his hearers, to whose situation in life he was always attentive. To the best qualities of a clergyman he added an ardent but enlightened zeal for the external interests of the church, a jealousy of corruption, a hatred of false politics and tyrannical measures which sometimes exposed him to calumny from the guilty, but secured him unbounded esteem from all who could value independence of soul and integrity of heart. His sentiments respecting the affairs of both church and state were those of what may now be called an *old Whig*; he stood upon the revolution establishment, alike anxious to realize the advantages of that transaction and to prevent further and needless or dangerous changes. "Nature," says an anonymous biographer, "had endowed him with strong faculties, which a very considerable share of learning had matured and improved. For extent of comprehension, depth of thinking, and accuracy in the profoundest researches, he stood unrivalled. In the knowledge of the world and of human nature he was a master. It is not wonderful that the best societies in the kingdom were perpetually anxious to possess a man who knew how to soften the rancour of public theological contest with the liberality and manners of a gentleman. His address was engaging; his wit strong as his mind; his convivial powers, as they are called, enchanting. He had a constitutional strength against intoxication, which made it dangerous in most men to attempt bringing him to such a state: often when they were unfit for sitting at table he remained clear, regular, and unaffected."

Among the gifts of Dr. Webster was an extraordinary power of arithmetical calculation. This he began soon after his settlement in Edinburgh to turn to account in the formation, in company with Dr. Robert Wallace, of the scheme for annuities to the widows of the Scottish clergy.² From an accurate list of the ministers of the church, and the members of the three southern universities, compared with the ordinary ratio of births, marriages, and deaths in this and other kingdoms, he was enabled to fix on a series of rates to be paid annually by the members of these two departments, the amount of which rates was to supply a specific annuity to every widow whose husband should be a contributor, and a proportional sum for the children of the same. To forward this scheme he opened a correspondence with the different presbyteries in the kingdom; and in the year 1742 received for it the sanction of the General Assembly of the church, which, after suitable examination, approved of the whole plan, with the exception of a few immaterial particulars. Accordingly, the several presbyteries and universities concurred with the Assembly in petitioning parliament for an act enabling them to raise and establish a fund, and obliging the ministers of the church, with the heads, principals, and masters of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, to pay annually, each according to his option, one of the following rates, viz. either £2, 12s. 6d., £3, 18s. 9d., £5, 5s., or £6, 11s. 3d., to be repaid in proportional annuities of £10, £15, £20, or £25

¹ "Webster's Lines," *Scottish Songs*, ii. 337. This fine lyric seems to have been first published in the *Scots Magazine*, 1747.

² The ensuing account of the Clergy's Widows' Scheme is taken from a memoir of Dr. Webster in the *Scots Magazine* for 1802. Some further particulars are given in the article DR. ROBERT WALLACE.

to their widows, or in similar provisions of £100, £150, £200, or £250 to their children. The act was obtained in terms of the petition (17 Geo. II.), with liberty to employ the surplus of the annual payments and expenses in loans of £30 apiece among the contributors, and to put out the remainder at interest, on proper security. A second act, amending the former, was procured in the twenty-second year of the same reign (1748), regulating the several parts of the management, and granting liberty to raise the capital to £80,000, including the sums lent to contributors.¹ The commencement of the fund is reckoned from the 25th of March, 1744, the whole trouble of planning, arranging, and collecting the revenues, and applying them to their immediate purposes, devolving on the original proposer, who, with a patience and perseverance nearly equal to the extreme accuracy of his calculations, at last completed the scheme. In the year 1770 a new act of parliament, procured by advice of Dr. Webster, prescribed the full form in which the fund is at present conducted. The loans granted to contributors were discontinued, as prejudicial to the parties concerned; liberty was granted to extend the capital to £100,000; the methods of recovering payments; the nomination and duties of trustees; the salaries of the collector and clerk; in short, the whole economy of the institution, were fixed and determined. A tax on the marriage of each contributor, amounting to one year's annual rate of his particular option; and if he were forty years of age at his accession to his benefice, and had children, the sum of two years and a half of his rate, besides his ordinary dues and marriage, were added to the revenue. Further, a sum of half his usual rate was declared due to the fund, out of the *ann*; or, in case of its not falling, out of his real or personal estate, on the death of a minister; and patrons were assessed in the sum of £3, 2s. for every half year's vacancy.

A report of the state of the fund was ordered to be made annually to the General Assembly by the trustees, and this afterwards to be printed. Dr. Webster, in the year 1748, had finished a series of calculations, in which he not only ascertained the probable number of ministers that would die annually, of widows and children that would be left, of annuitants drawing whole or half annuities, and the medium of the annuities and annual rates, but also the different annual states of the fund, in its progress to completing the capital stock. These calculations have approached the fact with astonishing precision. It would exceed our limits to insert the comparison between the calculations and the facts stated in the reports for the years 1762, 1765, and 1779, and printed again in those for 1790, &c.; but we shall only mention that in the second of these statements the comparison ran as follows: thirty ministers were calculated to die annually; *inde* for twenty-one years, from 1744 to 1765, the number by calculation is 630, the fact was 615, being only 15 of total difference. Twenty widows were calculated to be left annually in the forementioned period; there were left 411: the calculation was 420, and the difference 9. It was calculated that six families of children without a widow would be left annually; the calculated amount for the above period was 126, the fact 124, the difference 2. Four ministers or professors were calculated to die annually without either widows or children; the calculated number for the first twenty-one years was 84, the fact was 82. The differences for that period between the calculated mediums of the whole

number of annuities and of annual rates, compared each with its respective fact, was, for the number of annuities, 1s. 2d. $\frac{6}{13}$, and for the rates, 3s. 0d. $\frac{6}{13}$. On the 22d of November, 1799, in the fifty-sixth year of the fund, and the year which completed the capital stock fixed by act of parliament, Dr. Webster's calculations, after having approached the truth for a long series of years with surprising accuracy, stood in the following manner: the stock and surplus for that year were £105,504, 2s. 11d. $\frac{3}{13}$, and the calculated stock was £86,448, 12s. 10d. $\frac{3}{13}$; consequently the difference was £19,055, 10s. 0d. $\frac{17}{13}$.

In the year 1745, when the Highland army under Prince Charles Stuart took possession of Edinburgh, Dr. Webster manifested the sincerity and firmness of his principles, as well as his general vigour of character, by remaining in the city, and exerting his eloquence to support the people in their attachment to the house of Hanover. On the day afterwards appointed by the General Assembly for a thanksgiving for the victory of Culloden (June 23, 1746), he preached a sermon, afterwards printed, in which he made a masterly exposure of the new-born affection then manifested by the Tory party for the existing dynasty. This composition, however, is degraded by a panegyric on the infamous Cumberland, and a number of other allusions to secular persons and affairs, more consistent perhaps with the manners of the times than with the immutable principles of taste in pulpit oratory. It has only the negative merit of being less fulsome in its respect for the hero of the day than a similar composition by Dr. Hugh Blair, which contained the following passage:—"When the proper season was come for God to assert his own cause, then he raised up an illustrious deliverer, whom, for a blessing to his country, he had prepared against this time of need. HIM he crowned with the graces of his right hand; to the conspicuous bravery of early youth he added the conduct and wisdom which in others is the fruit only of long experience; and distinguished him with those qualities which render the man amiable, as well as the HERO great. He sent him forth to be the terror to his foes, and in the day of death commanded the shields of angels to be spread around him." At the time when this and similar eulogia were in the course of being pronounced, the subject of them was wreaking upon a defeated party the vengeance of a mean and brutal mind. He whom the shields of angels had protected on a day when superior strength rendered danger impossible, was now battenning with savage relish on the fruits of an easy conquest. Cottages were smoking in every direction for a hundred miles around him, a prey to conflagration, their tenants either murdered by cold steel or starved to death; while the dictates of law, of humanity, of religion were all alike unheard. Nor could these circumstances be unknown to the courtly preachers.

Dr. Webster had now become a conspicuous public character, and the utility of his talents and dignity of his character were universally acknowledged. The comprehensiveness of his mind, and the accuracy of his calculating powers, rendered him a desirable and most useful ally in almost all kinds of schemes of public improvement, of which, at that period of nascent prosperity, a great number were set in motion. As the friend of Provost Drummond, he aided much in the plan of the new town of Edinburgh, not scrupling even to devise plans for those public places of amusement which, as a minister of the Church of Scotland, he was forbidden by public opinion to enter. He was a most zealous encourager of the plan of civilizing and propagating religion in the Highlands; and in 1753 published a

¹ By this act the university of Aberdeen was included on request.

sermon on that subject, entitled *Zeal for the Civil and Religious Interests of Mankind recommended*. In the year 1755 he drew up, at the desire of Lord-president Dundas, for the information and service of government, an account of the number of people in Scotland, being the first attempt at a census ever made in the kingdom. His researches on this occasion were greatly facilitated by a general correspondence which he had opened in 1743, both with the clergy and laity, for the purposes of the Clergy's Widows' Fund. "Dr. Webster's well-known character for accuracy," says Sir John Sinclair, "and the success with which his calculations have been uniformly attended, ought to satisfy every one that the report he drew up may be safely relied on." Yet, as the means employed on the occasion were only calculated to produce an approximation to correctness, it must not be disguised that the census of 1755, as it is sometimes called, was in no respect comparable to those which actual survey has since effected.

Our limits will not allow us, nor our information suffice, to enumerate all the charitable institutions or projects of public welfare, temporary or lasting, in which Dr. Webster was engaged. As he lived to an advanced age, he had the pleasure of seeing many of them arrive at their maturity of usefulness—the best reward, perhaps, which merit ever enjoys. He preserved to the latest period of his course that activity both of mind and body which distinguished him in the prime of life; and, ripe like a sheaf in autumn, obtained his frequent wish and prayer, an easy and peaceful death, after a very short indisposition, on Sunday, the 25th of January, 1784. By his lady, who died November 28, 1766, he had six sons and a daughter: one of the former, Colonel Webster, fell in the American contest. The person of Dr. Webster was, as already mentioned, dignified and commanding. In latter life it became somewhat attenuated and bent. His countenance, of which a good memorial, by David Martin, is in the office of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, was of an elevated and striking cast, and highly characteristic of his mind. It is related to his honour, that the superior income which his wife's fortune placed at his command was employed with unusual bountifulness in behalf of the poor, to whom he thus proved himself a practical as well as theoretic friend.

WEDDERBURN, ALEXANDER, first Earl of Rosslyn, was born February 13, 1733, in the city of Edinburgh. His father was Peter Wedderburn, of Chesterhall, Esquire, an eminent advocate, who became in 1755 a judge of the Court of Session, with the designation of Lord Chesterhall. The grandfather of the latter was Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, an eminent lawyer, and subsequently a judge, during the reign of Charles II., of whom Sir George Mackenzie speaks in terms of the highest panegyric in his *Characters of Scottish Lawyers*.¹ Sir Peter was descended from an old landed family in Forfarshire, which had produced several learned persons of considerable eminence.

The subject of this memoir was bred to the profession in which his father and great-grandfather had so highly distinguished themselves; and so soon were his natural and acquired powers brought into exercise, that he was admitted to the bar at the unusually

early age of nineteen. He was rapidly gaining ground as a junior counsel, when an accident put a sudden stop to his practice in his native courts. He had gained the cause of a client in opposition to the celebrated Lockhart, when the defeated veteran, unable to conceal his chagrin, took occasion from something in the manner of Mr. Wedderburn to call him "a presumptuous boy." The sarcastic severity of the young barrister's reply drew upon him so illiberal a rebuke from one of the judges, that he immediately unrobed, and, bowing to the court, declared that he would never more plead where he was subjected to insult, but would seek a wider field for his professional exertions. He accordingly removed to London, in May, 1753, and enrolled himself a member of the Inner Temple. A love of letters, which distinguished him at this early period of life, placed him (1754) in the chair at the first meeting of a literary society of which Hume, Smith, and other eminent men greatly his seniors, were members. Professional pursuits, however, left him little leisure for the exercise of his pen, which is to be the more regretted, as the few specimens of his composition which have reached us display a distinctness of conception, and a nervous precision of language, such as might have secured the public approbation for much more elaborate efforts. It is related, to his honour, that he retained to the close of his life, amidst the dignities and cares of his elevated station, a most affectionate attachment to all the literary friends of his youth.

Mr. Wedderburn was called to the English bar in 1757, and became a bencher of Lincoln's Inn in 1763. He early acquired considerable reputation and practice, which he greatly increased by becoming the advocate of Lord Clive, in whose cause he was triumphantly successful. He pleaded on the great Douglas case in 1768-9, when his acute reasoning, his deep reading, and his irresistible eloquence attracted the favourable notice of Lord Camden, and secured him ever after the protection and friendship of Lords Bute and Mansfield. If the squibs of his political opponents in after-life are to be trusted, his endeavours at the commencement of his career to forget his national accent were not very successful; while his friends asserted, perhaps truly, that he only retained enough of it to give increased effect to his oratory.

After having been called to the degree of serjeant-at-law, with the rank of king's counsel, he was promoted in January, 1771, to the office of solicitor-general, and in June, 1773, to that of attorney-general: the duties of these posts he is said to have discharged with a mildness and moderation which procured him universal approbation, though his inveterate hostility to Franklin, and the overwhelming bitterness of his language before the privy-council in 1774, are justly held to detract considerably from his merit. Mr. Wedderburn first sat in parliament for the Inverary district of burghs, and in 1774, being chosen simultaneously for Castle Rising and Oakhampton, made his election for the latter; in 1778 he was elected for Bishop's Castle. Throughout his career in the House of Commons he was a powerful support to the ministry of Lord North, not only by his eloquence, but by the great extent of his legal, jurisprudential, and parliamentary knowledge. His merits as a statesman are of course estimated very differently by contemporary party writers. Churchill has embalmed him in the well-known quatrain:—

"Mute at the bar, and in the senate loud,
Dull 'mongst the dullest, proudest of the proud,
A pert, prim prater, of the northern race,
Guilt in his heart, and famine in his face."

¹ "Wedderburnus morum probitate iudices, iudices clienti conciliabat, dicendum suavitatem eos corrumpere potuisset si voluisset; nihil autem ille in facto nisi quod verum, nec in iure nisi quod iustum, patheticè, urgebat; Cicerois lectioni semper incumbere; unde illi dicendi genus uniforme et flexanimum; ex junioribus tamen nullum illum eloquium decorabat, famaue fugientem prosequatur."

Yet even Junius has allowed that his character was respected, and that he possessed the esteem of society. Sir Egerton Brydges says: "Lord Rosslyn appeared to be a man of subtle and plausible, rather than solid talents. His ambition was great, and his desire of office unlimited. He could argue with great ingenuity on either side, so that it was difficult to anticipate his future by his past opinions. These qualities made him a valuable partisan, and a useful and efficient member of any administration." One public service of high value is always allowed to Mr. Wedderburn. During the celebrated metropolitan riots in 1780, when the municipal power had proved so inadequate to the occasion, and the conflagration of the whole capital seemed to be threatened, a privy-council was held by the king, who asked Mr. Wedderburn for his official opinion. Mr. Wedderburn stated in the most precise terms that any such assemblage of depredators might be dispersed by military force without waiting for forms or reading the riot-act. "Is that your declaration of the law as attorney-general?" asked the king; Mr. Wedderburn answering directly in the affirmative, "Then let it so be done," replied his majesty; and the attorney-general immediately drew up the order by which the rioters were in a few hours dispersed, and the metropolis saved.

In June of the year last mentioned Mr. Wedderburn was called to the privy-council, raised to the bench as lord chief-justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and to the peerage as Lord Loughborough, Baron of Loughborough, in the county of Leicester. He had occasion in his judicial character to charge the jury sitting under the commission for the trial of the rioters; and it is allowed that the address was one of the finest specimens of reasoned eloquence that had ever been delivered in that situation, though some have objected that, both on this and on other occasions, his Scottish education inclined him too much towards the principles and modes of the civil law, inculcating greater latitude than by the precision of the English law was warranted.

In April, 1783, Lord Loughborough united with his friend Lord North in forming the celebrated coalition ministry, in which he held the appointment of first commissioner for keeping the great seal; but the reflections so justly levelled at many of the coalesced leaders did not apply to the "wary Wedderburn," for he had never uttered any opinion depreciatory of the talents or character of Mr. Fox. From the breaking up of this ministry his lordship remained out of office till the alarm of the French revolution separated the heterogeneous opposition which its remnants had formed for nearly ten years against Mr. Pitt, under whom he accepted office, January 27, 1793, as lord high-chancellor. He filled that important station for eight years, "not perhaps," says Brydges, "in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the suitors of his court, nor always with the highest degree of dignity as speaker of the upper house, but always with that pliancy, readiness, ingenuity, and knowledge, of which political leaders must have felt the convenience, and the public duly appreciated the talent. Yet his slender and flexible eloquence," continues this elegant writer, "his minuter person, and the comparative feebleness of his bodily organs, were by no means a match for the direct, sonorous, and energetic oratory, the powerful voice, dignified figure, and bold manner of Thurlow, of whom he always seemed to stand in awe, and to whose superior judgment he often bowed against his will."

Lord Loughborough having been twice married without issue, and his first patent having been

limited to heirs-male, a new patent was granted to him in 1795, by which his nephew, Sir James Sinclair Erskine of Alva, was entitled to succeed him. On resigning the chancellorship in April, 1801, his lordship was created Earl of Rosslyn, in the county of Mid-Lothian, with the same remainders. He now retired from public life, but continued to be a frequent guest of his sovereign, who never ceased to regard him with the highest esteem. During the brief interval allowed to him between the theatre of public business and the grave, he paid a visit to Edinburgh, from which he had been habitually absent for nearly fifty years. With a feeling quite natural, perhaps, but yet hardly to be expected in one who had passed through so many of the more elevated of the artificial scenes of life, he caused himself to be carried in a chair to an obscure part of the Old Town, where he had resided during the most of his early years. He expressed a particular anxiety to know if a set of holes in the paved court before his father's house, which he had used for some youthful sport, continued in existence, and on finding them still there, it is said that the aged statesman was moved almost to tears.¹ The Earl of Rosslyn died at Bayles in Berkshire, January 3, 1805, and was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. A portrait of his lordship, painted by Reynolds, was engraved by Bartolozzi. He wrote, in early life, critiques on Barclay's *Greek Grammar*, the *Decisions of the Supreme Court*, and the *Abridgment of the Public Statutes*, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1755. In 1793 he published a treatise on the management of prisons, and subsequently a treatise on the English poor-laws, addressed to a clergyman in Yorkshire.

WEDDERBURN, DAVID, a poet of considerable eminence, was born probably about the year 1570. Neither the place of his birth nor his parentage has been ascertained. Of the latter all that is known is that his mother was buried in St. Nicholas Church at Aberdeen in 1635.² It is highly probable from various circumstances that Wedderburn was educated in the city just named, and that he studied either in King's, or in the newer institution, Marischal College. In 1602 a vacancy occurred in the grammar-school of Aberdeen, by the death of Thomas Cargill, a grammarian of great reputation, and author of a treatise on the Gowrie conspiracy, now apparently lost. After an examination which lasted four days and extended to "oratorie, poesie, and composition in prois and verss," Wedderburn and Mr. Thomas Reid, afterwards the well-known Latin secretary to James VI., were appointed "co-equal and conjunct masters" of the institution, with salaries of £40 yearly, and the quarterly fees of the scholars limited to ten shillings. They were inducted into this office by "delivery to thame of ane grammar buke."³ Early in 1603 Wedderburn appeared before the town-council, and stated, that being "urgit and burdenit be the lait provincially assamblee of ministers, hauldin at this burgh, to accept upon him the function of ane minister of Goddis word, he wes resolvit to enter in the said function and obey God, calling him thairto be the said assamblee, and to leave and desert the said schooll," and concluded by craving leave to demit his office. This the council granted, and accompanied it with a testimonial of his faithful discharge of his duty; but, from what cause is now unknown, Wedderburn in the same year resumed his

¹ The house was situated in Gray's Close, opposite to the ancient mint.

² *Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts of Aberdeen*, 1634-35.

³ *Council Register of Aberdeen*, xl. 409, 410.

office. Before he had retained it twelve months, a complaint was lodged against him for making exorbitant claims on the scholars for fees, charity on Sundays, "candle and bent siller." These exactions were repressed by the magistrates, and in 1619 the quarterly fees were advanced from ten shillings to thirteen shillings and fourpence. Several years before this, in 1612, his scholars distinguished themselves by an act of mutiny of the boldest nature. In conjunction with the other scholars of the town, they took possession of the song or music school, and fortified themselves within it. Being armed with guns, hagbutts, and pistols, they boldly sallied forth as occasion required, and, attacking the houses of the citizens, broke open the doors and windows, "and maisterfullie away took their foulis, pultrie, breid, and vivaris." They also intercepted the supplies of fuel and provisions intended for the city markets, and continued in this state of open insurrection for two days, when they submitted to the authority of the magistrates, who punished the ring-leaders by imprisonment, and banished twenty-one of their associates from all the city schools.¹

In 1614, on the death of Gilbert Gray, principal of Marischal College, Wedderburn was appointed to teach "the high class" of the university, probably meaning the class then usually taught by the principal. In 1617 appeared the first of his publications, two poems on the king's visit to Scotland in that year, the one entitled *Syncephranterion in Reditu Regis in Scotiam*, 1617, and the other *Propempticon Caritatum Abredonensium*. Both these poems (along with five others by the author) were reprinted in the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, and the last of these, composed at the request of the magistrates, procured him a donation of fifty merks. In 1619 he was appointed to teach a lesson in humanity once a week to the students of Marischal College, from such authors as the magistrates might select, and also to compose in Latin, both in prose and verse, an essay on the common affairs of the city. For this he was to receive a salary of eighty merks per annum. In 1625 he wrote a poem on the death of James VI., which was printed at Aberdeen by Edward Raban, under the title of "*Abredonia Atrata sub Obitum Scruississimi et Potentissimi Monarchæ Jacobi VI.*, Abredoniae, 1625," 4to, pp. 12. This was dedicated "Ad Amplissimos Curie Abredonensis Primatus," and is now so rare as to be priced at two guineas. In 1630 he completed the writing of a new grammar for the use of his pupils, and received from the magistrates a reward of £100 Scots. It was found, however, that this work could "neither be prentit nor publisht for the use of young schollaris, whome the same concernis, unto the tyme the same resaiue approbatione frome the lordis of counsall." In consequence of this, the magistrates "thocht meit and expede, that the said Mr. David address himself with the said wark to Edinburgh, in all convenient diligence, for procuring the saidis lordis their approbation thairto, and ordanis the soume of ane hundred pundis moe to be debursit to him be the tounis thesaurar for making of his expens in the sudeward."² It is unknown whether Wedderburn succeeded in procuring the license of the privy-council; but if published no copy of this "gramer newly reformed" seems to have been preserved. In 1635 Wedderburn lost a friend and patron in the learned Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen; and among the many distinguished contributors to that prelate's *Funerals* we find the name of "David Wedderburnus Latine

Scholæ in Urbe Nova Abredoniae Præfectus." In 1640 he was so borne down by bodily infirmity that he was allowed to retire from the rectorship of the grammar-school on a pension of 200 merks annually. The succeeding year he was called on to mourn the death of the celebrated Arthur Johnston, with whom he had lived in the closest friendship. One of the most beautiful of Johnston's minor poems was addressed "Ad Davidem Wedderburnum, amicum veterem," and drew forth a reply from Wedderburn of equal elegance. He thus speaks of their friendship:—

"Noster talis amor; quem non (pia numina testor)
Ulla procelloso turbine vincit hiems.
Absit! ut Æacides palmam vel fidus Achates
Hanc tibi præripiat, præripiatve mihi."

And Johnston dwells with much feeling on their early intimacy:—

"Aptius at vestræ, tu Wedderburne, senectæ
Consulis, et, quæ fert dura senectæ malis.
Dum mihi te sisto, dum, quos simul egimus annos,
Mente puto, mutor, nec mihi sum quod eram.
Æsona carminibus nutavit Colchis et herbis;
Hac juvenem tremulo de senec fecit opes.
Colchidis in morem, veteri tu reddes amico,
Qui pede veloci præteriere dies.
Tempora dum recole tecum simul acta juventæ
Me mihi restituens, ipsa juvenata redit.
Colchida tu vincis: longo molimine Colchis
Quod semel ausa fuit, tu mihi sæpè facis."

On the death of this valued friend, Wedderburn published six elegies, under the title of "*Sub Obitum Viri Clarissimi et Carissimi D. Arcturi Johnstoni, Medici Regii, Davidis Wedderburni Suspiria—Abredoniae, 1641.*" This tract has since been reprinted by Lauder in his *Postarum Scotorum Musæ Sacrae*, Edinburgh, 1731. Two years after the publication of his *Suspiria* he published, at Aberdeen, "*Meditationum Campestrium, seu Epigrammatum Moralium, Centuriæ Duæ;*" and in the following year, 1644, appeared *Centuria Tertia*. Both these works are from the press of Edward Raban, and are of great rarity. It is probable that they were the last compositions of their author which were printed in his lifetime, if we except some commendatory verses to a treatise *De Arte Conservandi Sanitatem*, published at Aberdeen in 1651. Though the precise year of Wedderburn's death has escaped our researches, it may be fixed within a few years from this last date. In 1664 his brother, Alexander, gave to the world "*Persius Enucleatus, sive Commentarius exactissimus et maxime perspicuus in Persium, Poetarum omnium difficillimum, Studio Davidis Wedderburni, Scoti Abredonensis—Opus Posthumum; Amstelodami,*" 12mo. Besides the works now enumerated, Wedderburn was the author of a great number of commendatory poems and elegiac verses. His learning has been celebrated by Vossius, who styles him "homo eruditissimus beneque promerens de studiis juventutis." His reputation is attested by the terms on which he lived with many of the most eminent persons of his time. His intimacy with Arthur Johnston and Bishop Patrick Forbes has been already mentioned; the well-known Secretary Reid was his coadjutor; and he counted among his friends Jameson the painter, William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, Gilbertus Jacobæus, Duncan Liddel, Baron Dun, Ramsay, Ross, and many other illustrious individuals. His poems show in every line an intimate acquaintance with the classic writers, and are filled with happy allusions to ancient history and fable. His verses, indeed, are more to be admired for their learning than for their feeling; he has nowhere succeeded in reaching the highest flights of poetry, and has frequently sunk into common-place and bathos. But it is impossible to withhold admiration from the ease and elegance of his Latinity, the

¹Council Register of Aberdeen, xlv. 858.

²Council Register, vol. lii. p. 3.

epigrammatic vivacity of his style, or the riches of classical lore with which he has adorned his pages.

WEDDERBURN, JAMES, a poet of the sixteenth century, was born in Dundee about the year 1500, and is supposed to have belonged to the family which afterwards produced the Earl of Rosslyn. He wrote three poems, beginning respectively with the following lines: "My love was fals and full of flatterie," "I think thir men are verie fals and vain," "O man, transformit and unnaturall," which are to be found with his name in the Bannatyne Manuscript. Wedderburn appears to have early espoused the cause of the Reformation. In two dramatic compositions, a tragedy on the beheading of John the Baptist, and a comedy called *Dionysius the Tyrant*, which were represented at Dundee about the year 1540, he exposed to ridicule and execration the corruptions of the Church of Rome; both compositions, however, are now lost. It seems to have been before 1549 that he composed his celebrated "*Buik of Godlie and Spiritual Sangs*, collected out of Sundrie Parts of Scripture, with Sundrie of uther Ballates, changed out of Profane Sangs for avoyding of Sinne and Harlotrie;" as though no edition of it before that of Smyth in 1599 is in the hands of modern antiquaries, it seems to be denounced in a canon of the provincial council of the clergy held in 1549, and for certain is alluded to in a manuscript *Historie of the Kirk*, dated in 1560. The *Buik of Godlie and Spiritual Sangs*, though allowed to have been a most effectual instrument in expelling the old and planting the new religion, appears to modern taste as only a tissue of blasphemy and absurdity, the *Sangs* being chiefly parodies of the coarse and indecent ballads of the common people, retaining the general structure and music, with much of the very language of the originals, and thus associating the most sacred and the most profane images.

That extraordinary book, the *Complaynt of Scotland*, which appeared at St. Andrews in 1548, without the name of either author or printer, has been ascribed to Wedderburn in the *Harleian Catalogue*; nor does it appear that the claims of Mackenzie for Sir James Inglis, or those of Leyden for Sir David Lindsay, can stand for a moment against the probabilities of this supposition. Inglis, it is hardly possible to deny, was murdered in 1530, eighteen years before the composition and publication of the *Complaynt*; and so little confidence had Leyden himself in the theory which he employed nearly 300 pages to support, that he candidly confesses, at the close of his dissertation, "he scarcely expects his remarks to produce conviction."

Previously to the introduction of the version of Sternhold and Hopkins into Scotland, in 1564, the reformed congregations sang versions of twenty-one psalms, and paraphrases of the Lord's prayer, creed, and commandments, which had been executed for that purpose by the subject of this memoir. Two verses of his translation of the 137th Psalm may be given as a specimen of his manner:—

"At the rivirs of Babylon,
Quhair we dwelt in captivite,
Quhen we rememberit on Syon,
We weipit al full sorrowfullie.
On the sauch tries our harpes we hang,
Quhen thay requirit us an sang.
They hald us into sic thraldome,
They bad us sing sum psalme or hymme,
That we in Syon sang sum tyme:
To quhome we answerit full sunne:

Nocht may we outhir play or sing,
The psalmis of our Lord sa sweit,
Intill an uncouth land or ring [kingdom],
My richt hand first sall that forleit,

Or Jerusalem foryettin be:
Fast to my chafis my tung sall be
Claspit, or that I lit forget.
In my maist gladnes and my game,
I sall remember Jerusalem,
And all my hart upon it set."

Wedderburn is said to have ultimately gone to England, where he died in 1564-5.

WELCH, JOHN, a celebrated divine of the seventeenth century, was born about the year 1570. His father was a gentleman of considerable note in Nithsdale, where he possessed a pretty extensive and valuable estate called Collieston. The outset of Mr. Welch's career was an extraordinary one, and presents one of the most striking and singular contrasts of conduct and disposition in one and the same person at different periods of life which can perhaps be found in the annals of biography. This faithful and exemplary minister of the church (for he became both in an eminent degree) began the world by associating himself with a band of border thieves. While at school he was remarkable for the unsteadiness of his habits, and an utter disregard of the benefits of instruction and the admonitions of his friends and preceptors. He was also in the practice of absenting himself, frequently and for long periods, from school, a habit in which he indulged until it finally terminated in his not only abandoning the latter entirely, but also his father's house, and betaking himself to the borders, where, as already noticed, he joined one of those numerous bands of freebooters with which those districts were then infested. Whether, however, it was that a better spirit came over the young prodigal, or that he found the life of a border marauder either not such as he had pictured it, or in itself not agreeable to him, he soon repented of the desperate step he had taken, and resolved on returning to his father's house.

In pursuance of this resolution he called, on his way homewards, on one of his aunts, who lived in Dumfries, with the view of making her a mediator between himself and his offended father, an office which she undertook and accomplished in the course of an accidental visit which young Welch's father paid her whilst his son was still under her roof. The former, however, had anticipated a very different issue to his son's profligate courses, for, on a sort of trial question being put to him by the young man's aunt, previously to her producing him, whether he had heard anything lately of John, he replied, "The first news I expect to hear of him is, that he is hanged for a thief." On the reconciliation with his father being effected, young Welch entreated him, with many protestations of future amendment, all of which he afterwards faithfully implemented, to send him to college. With this request his father complied, and the young convert gave him no reason to repent of his indulgence. He became a diligent student, and made such rapid progress in the learning of the times that he obtained a ministerial settlement at Selkirk before he had attained his twentieth year. His stay here, however, was but short, as, for some reason which has not been recorded, he seems to have been an object of dislike and jealousy both to the clergy and lay gentlemen of the district in which he resided. It is not improbable that his former life was recollected to his disadvantage, and that this was, at least in some measure, the cause of their enmity. But whatever the cause was, it is certain that it is not to be found in his conduct, which was now exemplary, both in a moral and religious point of view. The latter, indeed, was of an extraordinary character. It was marked by an intensity and fervour, an unremitting and indefatig-

gable zeal, which has been but rarely equalled in any other person, and never surpassed. He preached publicly once every day, prayed, besides, for seven or eight hours during the same period, and did not allow even the depth of the night to pass without witnessing the ardency and enthusiasm of his devotions. Every night before going to bed he threw a Scotch plaid above his bed-clothes, that, when he awoke to his midnight prayers, it might be in readiness to wrap around his shoulders. These devotional habits he commenced with his ministry at Selkirk, and continued to the end of his life. Finding his situation a very unpleasant one, Mr. Welch readily obeyed a call which had been made to him from Kirkcudbright, and lost no time in removing thither. On this occasion a remarkable instance occurred of that unaccountable dislike with which he was viewed, and which neither his exemplary piety nor upright conduct seems to have been capable of diminishing. He could not find any one person in the whole town excepting one poor young man of the name of Ewart, who would lend him any assistance in transporting his furniture to his new destination. Shortly after his settlement at Kirkcudbright Mr. Welch received a call from Ayr. This invitation he thought proper also to accept, and proceeded thither in 1590.

Some of the details of this period of Mr. Welch's life afford a remarkably striking evidence of the then rude and barbarous state of the country. On his arrival at Ayr, so great was the aversion of the inhabitants to the ministerial character, and to the wholesome restraints which it ought always to impose, that he could find no one in the town who would let him have a house to live in, and he was thus compelled to avail himself of the hospitality of a merchant of the name of Stewart, who offered him the shelter of his roof. At this period, too, it appears that the streets of Ayr were constantly converted into scenes of the most sanguinary combats between factious parties, and so frequent and to such an extent was this murderous turbulence carried that no man could walk through the town with safety.

Among the first duties which Mr. Welch imposed upon himself after his settlement at Ayr, was to correct this ruthless and ferocious spirit, and the method he took to accomplish his good work was a singular, but, as it proved, effectual one. Regardless of the consequences to himself, he rushed in between the infuriated combatants, wholly unarmed, and no otherwise protected from any accidental stroke of their weapons than by a steel cap which he previously placed on his head on such occasions. When he had, by this fearless and determined proceeding, succeeded in staying the strife, he ordered a table to be covered in the street, and prevailed upon the hostile parties to sit down and eat and drink together, and to profess themselves friends. This ceremony he concluded with prayer and a psalm, in which all joined. The novelty of this proceeding, the intrepidity of its originator, and above all the kind and Christian-like spirit which it breathed, soon had the most beneficial effects. The evil which Mr. Welch thus aimed at correcting gradually disappeared, and he himself was received into high favour by the inhabitants of the town, who now began to reverence his piety and respect his worth. While in Ayr Mr. Welch not only adhered to the arduous course of devotional exercise which he had laid down for himself at Selkirk, but increased its severity, by adopting a practice of spending whole nights in prayer in the church of Ayr, which was situated at some distance from the town, and to which he was in the habit of repairing alone for this pious purpose. Among the

other objects of pastoral solicitude which particularly engaged Mr. Welch's attention during his ministry at Ayr was the profanation of the Sabbath, one of the most prominent sins of the place. This he also succeeded in remedying to a great extent by a similarly judicious conduct with that he observed in the case of feuds and quarrels. This career of usefulness Mr. Welch pursued with unwearied diligence and unabated zeal till the year 1605, when on an attempt on the part of the king (James VI.) to suppress General Assemblies, and on that of the clergy to maintain them, he, with several more of his brethren, was thrown into prison for holding a diet in opposition to the wishes of the court of delegates of synods, of which Mr. Welch was one, at Aberdeen. For this offence they were summoned before the privy-council, but declining the jurisdiction of that court in their particular case, they were indicted to stand trial for high-treason at Linlithgow. By a series of the most unjust, illegal, and arbitrary proceedings on the part of the officers of the crown, a verdict of guilty was obtained against them, and they were sentenced to suffer the death of traitors. The conduct of the wives of the condemned clergymen, and amongst those of Mrs. Welch in particular, on this melancholy occasion, was worthy of the brightest page in Spartan story. They left their families and hastened to Linlithgow to be present at the trial of their husbands, that they might share in their joy if the result was favourable, and that they might inspire them with courage if it were otherwise. On being informed of the sentence of the court, "these heroines," says Dr. M'Crie, "instead of lamenting their fate, praised God, who had given their husbands courage to stand to the cause of their Master, adding, that like him, they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night." If spirit be hereditary, this magnanimous conduct, on the part of Mrs. Welch at any rate, may be considered accounted for by the circumstance of her having been the daughter of John Knox. She was the third daughter of that celebrated person. Either deterred by the popularity of the prisoners, and the cause for which they suffered, or satisfied with the power which the sentence of the court had given him over their persons, James, instead of bringing that sentence to a fatal issue, contented himself with commuting it into banishment; and on the 7th November, 1606, Mr. Welch, accompanied by his wife and his associates in misfortune, sailed from Leith for France, after an imprisonment of many months' duration in the castles of Edinburgh and Blackness. So great was the public sympathy for these persecuted men, that though the hour of their embarkation was as early as two o'clock of the morning, and that in the depth of winter, they were attended by a great number of persons who came to bid them an affectionate farewell. The parting of the expatriated men and their friends was solemn and characteristic, prayers were said, and a psalm (the 23d), in which all who were present joined, was sung.

On his arrival in France Mr. Welch immediately commenced the study of the language of the country, and such was his extraordinary diligence, and his anxiety to make himself again useful, that he acquired in the short space of fourteen weeks such a knowledge of French as enabled him to preach in it. This attainment was soon after followed by a call to the ministry from a Protestant congregation at Nerac. Here, however, he remained but for a short period, being translated to St. Jean d'Angely, a fortified town in Lower Charente, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his stay in France, which was upwards of fourteen years.

While living at St. Jean d'Angely, Mr. Welch evinced, on an occasion which called for it, a degree of courage in the field not less remarkable than that which distinguished him in the pulpit. A war having broken out between Louis XIII. and his Protestant subjects, the former besieged the town in person. During the siege Mr. Welch not only exhorted the inhabitants to make a determined and vigorous resistance, but took his place upon the walls of the city, and assisted in serving the guns. When the town capitulated, which it finally did, in terms of a treaty entered into with the besiegers, the French monarch ordered Mr. Welch, who, with characteristic intrepidity continued to preach, to be brought before him. The messenger whom he despatched for this purpose was the Duke d'Espernon, who entered the church in which Mr. Welch was at the moment preaching, with a party of soldiers to take him from the pulpit. On perceiving the duke enter, Mr. Welch called out to him in a loud and authoritative tone to sit down and hear the word of God. The duke instinctively or unconsciously obeyed, and not only quietly awaited the conclusion of the sermon, but listened to it throughout with the greatest attention, and afterwards declared himself to have been much edified by it. On being brought into the presence of the king, the latter angrily demanded of Mr. Welch how he had dared to preach, since it was contrary to the laws of the kingdom for such as he to officiate in places where the court resided. Mr. Welch's reply was bold and characteristic. "Sir," he said, "if your majesty knew what I preached, you would not only come and hear it yourself, but make all France hear it; for I preach not as those men you used to hear. First, I preach that you must be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own (and I am sure your conscience tells you that your good works will never merit heaven); next, I preach that, as you are king of France, there is no man on earth above you; but these men whom you hear subject you to the pope of Rome, which I will never do." This last remark was so exceedingly gratifying to the king, that it had the effect not only of disarming him of his wrath, but induced him to receive the speaker instantly into his royal favour. "Very well," replied Louis, "you shall be my minister;" and to these expressions of good-will he added an assurance of his protection, a pledge which he afterwards amply redeemed. When St. Jean D'Angely was again besieged by the French monarch in 1621, he ordered the captain of his guard to protect the house and property of "his minister," and afterwards supplied him with horses and waggons to transport his family to Rochelle, whither he removed on the capture of the town.

Mr. Welch was at this period seized with an illness which his physicians declared could be removed only by his returning to breathe the air of his native country. Under these circumstances he ventured, in 1622, to come to London, hoping that when there he should be able to obtain the king's permission to proceed to Scotland. This request, however, James, dreading Welch's influence, absolutely refused. Among those, and they were many, who interceded with the king in behalf of the dying divine, was his wife. On obtaining access to James the following extraordinary, but highly characteristic conversation, as recorded by Dr. M'Crie in his *Life of Knox*, took place between the intrepid daughter of the stern reformer and the eccentric monarch of England: His majesty asked her, who was her father. She replied, "Mr. Knox." "Knox and Welch," exclaimed he, "the devil never made such a match as that." "It's right like, sir," said she, "for we never spired his

advice." He asked her how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said three, and they were all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the king, lifting up both his hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruicked my three kingdoms in peace." She again urged her request that he would give her husband his native air. "Give him his native air!" replied the king. "Give him the devil!" a morsel which James had often in his mouth. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last, that if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, lifting up her apron and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, "Please your majesty, I'd rather keep his head there."

Although James would not permit Mr. Welch to return to Scotland, he was prevailed upon by the friends of the latter, though not without much importunity, to allow him to preach in London. They had entreated this as an alternative in the event of his refusing him permission to return to his native country, and they eventually succeeded in obtaining from James a reluctant consent. On learning that this indulgence had been granted him, the dying preacher, for his complaint was rapidly gaining ground upon him, hastened to avail himself of it. He appeared once more in the pulpit, preached a long and pathetic sermon; but it was his last. When he had concluded his discourse he returned to his lodging, and in two hours afterwards expired, in the 53d year of his age. It is said that Mr. Welch's death was occasioned by an ossification of the limbs, brought on by much kneeling in his frequent and long-protracted devotional exercises. Like many of the eminently pious and well-meaning men of the times in which he lived, Mr. Welch laid claim to the gift of prescience, and his life, as it appears in the *Scots Worthies*, compiled by Howie of Lochgoin, presents a number of instances of the successful exercise of this gift; but no one now who has any sincere respect for the memory of such truly worthy persons and sincere Christians as Mr. Welch, can feel much gratified by seeing him invested, by a mistaken veneration, with an attribute which does not belong to humanity.

WELLWOOD, SIR HENRY MONCRIEFF, BARONET, D.D., an eminent divine, was born at Blackford near Stirling, in February 1750. He was the eldest son of Sir William Moncrieff, Bart., minister of the parish just named; a man of singular merits and virtues, and who possessed an influence over his parishioners and in the surrounding country which these alone could bestow.

The subject of this memoir was destined from an early age, as well by his own choice as the desire of his father, to the clerical profession; and with this view he repaired to the university of Glasgow, after completing an initiatory course of education at the parochial school of Blackford. Having given a due attendance on the literary and philosophical classes in the university, Sir Henry entered on the study of theology, in which he made a progress that raised the highest hopes of his future eminence; and these hopes were not disappointed. About this period he had the misfortune to lose his venerable father, who sank into a premature grave: but the esteem in which that good man was held did not die with him. All those who had any influence in the appointment of a successor to his charge, unanimously resolved that his son should be that person; and further, that as he had not yet attained the age at which he could,

according to the rules of the church, be licensed and ordained, the vacancy should be supplied by an assistant, until that period arrived. On the completion of this arrangement, which took place in 1768, Sir Henry removed to Edinburgh, where he prosecuted his studies to their close, distinguishing himself among his fellow-students by the superiority of his talents, and continuing to inspire his friends with the most sanguine hopes of the success of his future ministry.

Having attained the prescribed age, he was licensed to preach the gospel, although he had not yet completed the required term of attendance at the divinity hall; and immediately after was ordained, 15th August, 1771, to the church of his native parish. The singular talents of the young preacher, however, did not permit of his remaining long in so obscure a charge as that of Blackford. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the extensive and populous parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, Sir Henry Moncrieff, whose personal worth and extraordinary abilities were already known and appreciated in the capital, was called upon to supply it. Into this charge he was inducted in October, 1775, about four years after his ordination and settlement at Blackford. The subsequent life of Sir Henry Moncrieff, though remarkable for an exemplary and unwearied diligence in the discharge of the laborious duties of his office, and for a continued display, on his part, of every excellence and virtue which can adorn the human character, presents little of which the biographer can avail himself. Holding on the "even tenor of his way," and neither turning to the right nor to the left, but still anxiously promoting the interests of religion by his eloquence, and of morality by his example, Sir Henry Moncrieff was one of those great and good men who are content to confine the exercise of their talents—of talents which, if they had been directed by ambition, might have procured them a more dazzling fame—to the immediate duties of their calling, and who think that the high intellectual powers with which they have been gifted cannot be more usefully or more appropriately employed than in extending the knowledge and promoting the happiness of those within the immediate sphere of their personal influence.

It was not inconsistent, however, with his duties as a minister of the Establishment, that he should take an active interest in the business of the church courts. At the period when he entered public life the Moderate party, headed by Drs. Robertson and Drysdale, had attained a complete and hardly resisted supremacy in the Scottish church. Sir Henry, however, instead of joining the party with which his secular rank might have been expected to connect him, took the opposite course, and soon rose, by the force of talent and character, assisted, but in no great degree, by his rank, to the situation of a leader in the more zealous party, over whom he ultimately acquired a control not more useful to their interests than it was honourable to himself. In 1780 he was proposed as moderator of the General Assembly, in opposition to Dr. Spens of Wemyss; the competition was keen, Dr. Spens being elected by a majority of only six votes: but in 1785 Sir Henry, being again a member of the General Assembly, was unanimously chosen moderator. Dr. Andrew Thomson, to whom in later life he yielded much of his influence in the church, has thus spoken, in his funeral sermon, of the public character of Sir Henry:—

"It was in early life that he began to take an active part in the government of our national church. The principles of ecclesiastical polity which he adopted as soon as he entered on his public career he adopted from full and firm conviction; and he

maintained, and cherished, and avowed them to the very last. They were the very same principles for which our forefathers had contended so nobly, which they at length succeeded in establishing, and which they bequeathed as a sacred and blood-bought legacy to their descendants. But though that circumstance gave a deep and solemn interest to them in his regard, he was attached to them on more rational and enlightened grounds. He viewed them as founded on the Word of God, as essential to the rights and liberties of the Christian people, as identified with the prosperity of genuine religion, and with the real welfare and efficiency of the Establishment. And therefore he embraced every opportunity of inculcating and upholding them; resisted all the attempts that were made to discredit them in theory, or to violate them in practice; rejoiced when they obtained even a partial triumph over the opposition they had to encounter; and clung to them, and struggled for them, long after they were borne down by a system of force and oppression; and when, instead of the numerous and determined host that fought by his side in happier times, few and feeble, comparatively, were those who seconded his manly efforts, and held fast their own confidence: but he lived to see a better spirit returning. This revival cheered and consoled him. Fervently did he long and pray for its continuance and its spread. Nor did he neglect to employ his influence in order to introduce pastors who would give themselves conscientiously to their Master's work, preaching to their flocks the truth as it is in Jesus, watching for souls as those that must give an account, and faithfully and fearlessly performing all the duties incumbent on them, both as ministers and as rulers in the church."

Sir Henry made a more successful opposition, especially towards the end of his life, to the dominant faction in the church than had been made for upwards of half a century before; and in more instances than one he left their leader, Principal Hill, in a minority. To his efforts, indeed, are to be ascribed, in a great measure, the introduction of evangelical doctrines into parts of the country from which they had for many years been excluded, the preponderance of evangelical ministers and elders in the church courts, and the consequent ascendancy of the popular party. Young men of piety and promise were always sure of his assistance and encouragement. In this respect many had reason to bless him; while the church at large has had reason to rejoice in his fidelity and wisdom. In the management of the Widow's Fund, established by act of parliament in the year 1744, Sir Henry took a deep interest, and acted as its collector for upwards of forty years. He was also one of the original members of the Society of the Sons of the Clergy, and by his influence and his exertions contributed largely to its success. He was, besides, a warm friend to every reasonably adjusted scheme that had for its object the amelioration of the moral and physical condition of mankind. In the year 1826 he was bereaved of his wife (Susan, daughter to Mr. James Robertson Barclay of Keavil, W.S., to whom he had been married in 1773, and who was his cousin); while his own health, which had been generally good, was also undergoing a decline. In the month of August of the following year (1827) Sir Henry himself died, after an illness of considerable duration. At the time of his death he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his ministry.

The personal character of Sir Henry Moncrieff was, in the highest degree, respectable, and his conduct, in every relation of life, most exemplary. He had thoroughly studied the whole scheme of the

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gospel; and from full and deliberate conviction, as well as from his experimental application to his own personal need, he threw himself, without pretension and without reserve, upon the peculiar doctrines of the church to which he belonged as those which could alone insure his eternal interests.

In his ministerial capacity he but rarely indulged in what is termed the pathetic; yet there was often, particularly towards the close of his life, a tenderness in his modes of expression, as well as in the accents of his voice, which came home to the heart with the energy of pathos itself. As an author Sir Henry was well known and highly esteemed. The works which give him a claim to this title are, a *Life of Dr. John Erskine*, three volumes of Sermons, and a small work on the *Constitution of the Church of Scotland*, which, as well as one of the volumes of sermons, was published posthumously. The first is an interesting record of the life of a most excellent and public-spirited minister, and contains much valuable information respecting ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. The sermons abound with luminous expositions and practical applications of divine truth. All of these publications were well received by the public.

The following estimate of Sir H. Moncrieff's public character, by the late Lord Cockburn, in the *Life of Francis Jeffrey*, is too just and eloquent to be omitted:—"This eminent person was not merely distinguished among his brethren of the Church of Scotland, all of whom leaned upon him, but was in other respects one of the most remarkable and admirable men of his age. Small gray eyes, an aquiline nose, vigorous lips, a noble head, and the air of a plain hereditary gentleman, marked the outward man. The prominent qualities of his mind were strong integrity and nervous sense. There never was a sounder understanding. Many men were more learned, many more cultivated, and some more able. But who could match him in sagacity and mental force? The opinions of Sir Harry Moncrieff might at any time have been adopted with perfect safety without knowing more about them than that they were his. And he was so experienced in the conduct of affairs, that he had acquired a power of forming his views with what seemed to be instinctive acuteness, and with a decisiveness which raised them above being slightly questioned. Nor was it the unerring judgment alone that the public admired. It venerated the honourable heart still more. A thorough gentleman in his feelings, and immovably honest in his principles, his whole character was elevated into moral majesty. He was sometimes described as overbearing. And in one sense, to the amusement of his friends, perhaps he was so. Consulted by everybody, and of course provoked by many, and with very undisciplined followers to lead, his superiority gave him the usual confidence of an oracle; and this operating on a little natural dogmatism, made him sometimes seem positive, and even hard—an impression strengthened by his manner. With a peremptory conclusiveness, a shrill defying voice, and a firm concentrated air, he appeared far more absolute than he really was, for he was ever candid and reasonable. But his real gentleness was often not seen; for if his first clear exposition did not convince, he was not unapt to take up a short disdainful refutation, which, however entertaining to the spectator, was not always comfortable to the adversary. But all this was mere manner. His opinions were uniformly liberal and charitable, and when not under the actual excitement of indignation at wickedness or dangerous folly, his feelings were mild and benignant; and he liberalized his mind by that respectable intercourse

with society which improves the good clergyman, and the rational man of the world. I was once walking with him in Queen Street, within the last three years of his life. A person approached who had long been an illiberal opponent of his, and for whom I understood that he had no great regard. I expected them to pass without recognition on either side. But instead of this, Sir Harry, apparently to the man's own surprise, stopped, and took him by the hand, and spoke kindly to him. When they separated I said to Sir Harry that I thought he had not liked that person. 'Oh no! he's a foolish intemperate creature. But to tell you the truth, I dislike a man fewer every day that I live now.'" Lord Cockburn adds that Sir Harry's "great instrument of usefulness was his public speaking;" that he often rose in the pulpit into "great views and powerful declamation;" was "the noblest deliverer of prayers at striking funerals;" and in debate "a fearful man to grapple with;" that "his writing, though respectable, was feeble;" and that "had he not preferred his church to every other object, there was no public honour to which he might not have fought his way," as counsel, judge, head of public department, or parliamentary leader.

WELSH, REV. DAVID, D.D.—This distinguished scholar and divine, whom a great national event made the mark of general attention, notwithstanding his reclusive studious habits and unobtrusive disposition, was born at Praefoot, in the parish of Moffat, Dumfriesshire, on the 11th of December, 1793. His father, a substantial farmer and small landholder, had a family of twelve children, of whom David was the youngest. Being at an early period intended for the ministry, David, after receiving the earlier part of his education at the parish school of Moffat, went to Edinburgh, where he attended the high-school for a year, and afterwards became a student at the university. Here his progress, though considerable, was silent and retired, so that at first he was little noticed among his ardent competitors in Latin and Greek; it was not words, but thoughts, that chiefly captivated his attention, and therefore it was not until he had entered the classes of logic and philosophy that he began to attract the notice of his class-fellows. In the latter he was so fortunate as to have for his teacher Dr. Thomas Brown, the most acute and eloquent of metaphysicians, of whom he became not only the pupil, but the friend, and finally the affectionate biographer. The ardent attachment of the young student to such a preceptor, the enthusiasm with which he received his instructions, and docility with which he placed himself under the guidance of such a mind, not only already evinced the intellectual bent of David Welsh, but predicted his future eminence, and this more especially as he had already only entered his fifteenth year.

On joining the divinity hall, which he did in 1811, he brought to the study of theology all the reading and research of his former years; and although in substantial acquirements he was already considerably in advance of most young students of his early standing, they were accompanied with a shrinking bashfulness that prevented his superiority from being generally recognized. At this period it was of more than usual importance that divinity students should study the great questions of church polity, in refer-

¹There was really great justice (observes Lord Cockburn) in the remark of a little old north-country minister, who, proud both of himself as a member, and of the reverend baronet who was predominating in the Assembly, said to his neighbour, "Preserve me, sir! hoo that man Sir Harry does go on! He puts me in mind o' Jupiter among the lesser gods."

ence to their connection between the civil and ecclesiastical powers; for upon them, in their future character as ministers, that uncompromising conflict was to depend which was finally to end in the Disruption. But David Welsh had already embraced that party in the church to which he adhered through life. He was the descendant of a church-honoured line of Tweedsmuir sheep-farmers, who had suffered in the days of the Covenant for their adherence to the spiritual independence of the kirk against the domination of Erastianism and the Stuarts, and these principles had descended to him not only with a sacred but hereditary claim. After having studied theology during the prescribed period of four years, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Lochmaben in May, 1816. As he was still young, having only reached his twenty-second year, he was in no haste to enter upon the important duties of the ministry; instead of this, he resumed the work of self-improvement, and continued to add to his store of knowledge as well as experience of the world. Among these studies the exact sciences held a conspicuous place—geometry, algebra, and natural philosophy. Nor among these should the study of phrenology be forgot, to which he had become a convert through the arguments of its talented apostle Mr. Combe. There was something in this fresh and tempting science so congenial to his own favourite study of the human mind—and it was so felicitous, as he judged, in its plan of decomposing so complex a thing as a human character into its simple primitive elements—that he soon became one of the most distinguished as well as enthusiastic students of phrenology, while his name, after he was noted as a learned, philosophical, and orthodox country minister, was a tower of strength to the science, under the charges of infidelity and materialism that were brought against it. These charges indeed became at last too serious to be disregarded, and Mr. Welsh, in after-life, became a less zealous and open advocate of the cause. Still, however, he was not to be shaken from his belief in phrenology in consequence of the injudicious uses that had been made of it, and therefore to the end he continued a firm believer at least in its general principles and application. These he used in his processes of self-examination, and doubtless derived much benefit from the practice. Not content with feeling himself weak or sinful in the gross, and condemning himself in wholesale terms, he tasked himself sternly in particulars, and for this purpose took himself to pieces, and examined bit by bit the origin of the offence or deficiency. Conscience presented to him his own likeness mapped all over like a phrenological cast; and thus, while recording in his private journal whatever was amiss, each fault is specified, not by its general name, but by its number. It would be well if phrenologists in general would turn the science to such a good account.

After having been nearly five years a licentiate, Mr. Welsh was ordained minister of the parish of Crossmichael, on the 22d of March, 1821. His presentation was highly honourable to the patron as well as himself; for while the latter was a Whig, the former was a Tory, and at this time political feeling was near its height; so that the young minister owed his promotion to that superiority of character which he had already acquired, and which the patron showed himself well fitted to appreciate. On entering upon the duties of a country minister, Mr. Welsh had two weighty obstacles to encounter, which would have marred the popularity of most persons thus circumstanced. The first arose from the state of his health, which was always delicate;

so that the task of public speaking, so easy to the robust, was with him a work of labour, and often of pain. The other originated in the studious reflective habits he had already found so congenial to his nature, and which could ill brook the daily and hourly demands of commonplace parochial business. But the physical obstacles and intellectual predilections were equally sacrificed upon the altar of duty, and he soon became a most popular and useful preacher, as well as a painstaking minister. Independently, too, of his ministerial duties, in which he was so zealous and successful, Mr. Welsh still continued to be a diligent student, and one of his first, as well as the most distinguished of his literary labours, was his *Life of Dr. Thomas Brown*, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, who had been the guide of his early studies, and friend of his more advanced years. This congenial task he undertook not only from grateful affection, but in consequence of the urgent request of Dr. Brown's friends, who thought that the office could not be intrusted to better hands. It is enough to state respecting the merits of this biographical work, that it was worthy of the man whom it commemorated, as well as a profound and luminous exposition of the ethical and metaphysical principles which he had so eloquently taught as a professor; "and in holding converse," it may be added, in the words of a competent critic—"in holding converse through his memoir with the biographer himself, as well as with its interesting subject, one cannot avoid being infected with a portion of the same earnest and beautiful enthusiasm which animates so evidently alike the silent inquiries of the master, and kindles the admiration of his accomplished disciple." While engaged in writing this work, the author also resolved, when it was finished, to produce a treatise on logic, a design, however, which was never executed. In the meantime his studies were continued, not only among his old, but among new fields of research; and in the latter was political economy, one of the most important, but withal most difficult of modern sciences. The subject of education, also, as a science, engaged at this time his close attention, from the accident of the well-known Dr. Bell having become one of his neighbours and acquaintances; and in consequence of these inquiries, Mr. Welsh was enabled to turn his knowledge to an excellent practical account in the superintendence of schools, when his sphere of operation was transferred from a small secluded parish to the educational wants of a crowded city.

And that period of transference was not long delayed. It was soon evident, from the superior talents of the minister of Crossmichael, that he was fitted for a still more important situation than that which he now occupied. Accordingly, a vacancy having occurred in the church of St. David's, Glasgow, Mr. Welsh, whose reputation was already known, was invited by the town-council of Glasgow to occupy the charge. He accepted the offer, and was inducted toward the close of 1827. In this new field he found full scope for his talents, and was quickly distinguished, not only as an eloquent and useful preacher, but a most effective promoter of the interests of education, now become of paramount importance in such an overcrowded manufacturing city. Here also he found that cheering and strengthening intercourse of mind with kindred mind, which forms only an occasional episode in a country manse. He likewise married Miss Hamilton, sister of the lord-provost, and to all appearance had reached that comfortable termination in which the rest of his days were to be spent in peace. But his health, which had been always delicate, and the weakness

of his chest, made the task of preaching to large audiences, and the week-day duties of his office, so laborious and oppressive, that in a few years he would have sunk under them. Happily however, his labours were not thus prematurely to terminate; and the offer of the chair of church history in the university of Edinburgh, which he received from government in 1831, came to his relief. This was the boundary to which unconsciously all his past studies had been tending, while the weakly state of his constitution only hastened the crisis. It was more in accordance with his feeling of duty to accept such a charge, for which he had strength enough, than to break down in an office which was growing too much for him. And even setting this aside, he felt that the great work of training up an efficient ministry was of still higher importance than the ministerial office itself. These inducements were obvious not only to himself, but to his attached congregation; and they freely acquiesced in the parting, although with much sorrow and regret. He therefore left Glasgow in November, 1831, for his new sphere of action, and received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the university at his departure.

The office into which Dr. Welsh was now inducted had hitherto in Scotland, for more than a century, been one of the least distinguished of all our university professorships. This was by no means owing either to the inferior importance of church history as a subject of study, or to any innate dryness and want of interest that belongs to it; on the contrary, we know that it embraces subjects of the highest import, and exhibits the development of the human mind in its strongest and most intense aspects—and is consequently of a more stirring and interesting character in itself, than either the rise and fall of empires, or the record of triumphs and defeats. But Scotland had been so exclusively occupied with her Solemn League and Covenant, that she had found little time to attend to the history of other churches; and even when better days succeeded, those classical and antiquarian studies upon which ecclesiastical history so much depends, had fallen so miserably into abeyance, that the evil seemed to have become incurable. What, indeed, could a student make of the history of the church for at least twelve centuries, when his “small Latin and less Greek” could scarcely suffice to make out the name of a bygone heresy, or decipher the text in the original upon which the controversy was founded? In this state any one or anything had sufficed as a stop-gap to fill the vacuum of such a professorship—and it had been filled accordingly. But now a new order of things had succeeded. A more ardent literary spirit had commenced among our students, a wider field of inquiry had been opened, and they could no longer submit to doze over a course of lectures as dark as the dark ages, among which they lingered for months, or listen to a teacher who perhaps knew less about the matter than themselves. It will be seen, therefore, that nothing could have been more opportune than the appointment of Dr. Welsh. His clear and vigorous mind, his varied acquirements and extensive reading, had not only furnished him with the requisite stores of knowledge, but given him the power of selecting what was fittest from the mass, arranging it in the most effective form, and expressing it in that perspicuous attractive style which insured attention and stimulated inquiry. And besides all this aptitude, he was so profoundly impressed with the importance of his charge, that he resolved to give himself wholly to its duties; and with this view he abstained from every engagement, either of literature or public business, that might in any way have

allured him from his work. The devout conscientious spirit, too, in which all this was undertaken and carried on, will be manifest from the following memorandum found among his papers. After mentioning what he regarded as shortcomings in the duties of his professorship, and confessing them penitently before the Lord, he adds: “In his strength I now bind myself, during the present session,—

“1. To set apart one hour *every Saturday* for prayer for my students, and for considering my failures and deficiencies in the past week, with corresponding resolutions of amendment in the succeeding week.

“2. To make it a distinct object *daily*, praying for assistance to supply the deficiencies and correct the errors mentioned in the preceding page.

“3. To make a study, as opportunity presents, of the passages in Scripture that relate to my duties as a teacher, and to the duties of the young.

“4. To add to my resolutions from time to time, as new light shines.

“5. To read the above at least once a-week—strictly examining myself how far my conduct corresponds, and praying that God may search and try me.

“In looking at a student, ask, How can I do him good, or have I ever done him good?”

In this spirit Dr. Welsh entered upon his duties; and perhaps it would be needless to add how distinguished he soon became as a professor of church history. In his hands, a course of teaching hitherto so uninteresting and unprofitable seemed to start into new life. At the close of each session he sat regularly in the General Assembly, as member for the presbytery of Lochcarron, but without taking an active part in its proceedings, as, from his delicate health, nervous temperament, and constitutional diffidence, he was neither a bold combatant in debate, nor a ready extemporaneous speaker. In the latter capacity, indeed, he jocularly compared himself to a narrow-necked bottle, from which the liquid is hurriedly discharged in jerks and gurgles. In the third session of his professorship (1834) he published a volume of *Sermons on Practical Subjects*, which he had preached during his ministry in Cross-michael and Glasgow; and although they were intended merely for private circulation among the two congregations, they at once went beyond these narrow bounds, and obtained a wide popularity. During the spring and summer of the same year he also went abroad, accompanied by his wife and two children, and resided at Bonn and Heidelberg, besides visiting other places in Germany. This trip, however, instead of being a mere pleasure tour, was undertaken by Dr. Welsh for the purpose of perfecting himself in German, in reference to the advancement of his studies in theology and church history; and to acquaint himself by personal examination with the educational system of Prussia, with a view to the introduction of its improvements into that of Scotland. Having now, by frequent rewriting and improvement, brought his course of college lectures to some conformity with his own rigid standard, and having become familiarized with the duties of his chair, Dr. Welsh at length ventured to take a larger share in the general business of the church than he had hitherto attempted. Accordingly, in 1838 he accepted the office of vice-convener of the Colonial Committee, and in 1841 that of convener. This situation, when conscientiously filled, involved an amount of study about the spiritual wants of our colonies, of extensive correspondence, and delicate influential management, as had hitherto daunted the

boldest, and made them pause perhaps too often; but in the case of Dr. Welsh these difficult duties were entered upon and discharged with the same unflinching zeal which he had so successfully brought to his professorship. He also took a very active and influential share in an important controversy of the day, regarding the monopoly in printing the Bible, which had so long prevailed in Scotland, but was now felt to be an intolerable religious grievance; and on the monopoly being abrogated, and a board of control and revision established for the new editions of the Scriptures, Dr. Welsh was ultimately appointed by government to be secretary of the board.

During this interval an under-current had been going on in the life of Dr. Welsh, that was soon to assume the entire predominance. We allude to those great church questions that had been agitated from year to year, and were now to end in the DISRUPTION. Upon these questions he had meditated deeply and conscientiously, at every step had gone along with the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, and at last had arrived with them at the conclusion, that further concession to the state was impossible; that all state advantages must be foregone by the church, in behalf of those principles that were part and parcel of her very existence. Such was the decision to which the controversy had come in 1842; and upon that memorable year the decision was to be announced, and the church committed on the issue. At such a solemn period of assize, the high estimation in which Dr. Welsh was held was fully shown by his election to the office of moderator of the General Assembly; and this office, now so fraught with difficulty and deep responsibility, he undertook with fear and trembling. The faithfulness and ability with which he discharged it is matter of history. Many important measures were passed at the sittings of this Assembly; but the most important of all was the "Claim, Declaration, and Protest," in which the spiritual rights of the church were announced, the assumptions of the civil courts abjured, and the resolution of foregoing all the benefits of an establishment distinctly declared, unless these rights were recognized, and the encroachments of the civil courts terminated.

Another year rolled on, and the General Assembly again met; but it could only meet for the final departure of such as still adhered to the protest of the former year—for the state had determined not to yield. All things were therefore in readiness for the meditated disruption, and nothing remained but to seize the proper moment to announce it. This was the trying duty of Dr. Welsh, as moderator of the former Assembly; and to be performed while he was labouring under the depression of that wasting disease which at no distant period brought him to the grave. But calmly and with an unaltered step he went through the preliminary duties of that great movement; and on Wednesday, the day previous to the opening of the Assembly, he signed the protest of his brethren, and afterwards dined, according to established rule, with the commissioner, to whom he announced the purposes of the morrow. On Thursday, he preached before the commissioner and a crowded auditory upon the text, "Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind;" and after this solemn note of preparation, he repaired with the brilliant cortege and throng of divines to St. Andrew's Church, and opened the Assembly with prayer. This duty ended, the promised moment had come. While all were hushed with painful expectation, the pale sickness-worn face of Dr. Welsh was for the last time turned to the commissioner's throne, and in a voice that was soft and slow, but firm and articulate,

he thus announced the final purpose of his brethren: "According to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but, in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her majesty's government, and by the legislature of the country; and more especially, in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." He then read the protest; and after bowing to the throne, he left the chair of office and proceeded to the door, followed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and the fathers of this momentous secession. Thus the departure commenced; a long array succeeded; and the procession slowly wound its way to Tanfield, where a large hall had been hastily fitted up in expectation of the emergency; and there a new General Assembly was constituted by the new—or shall we say—by the *old* and long-forgotten, but now regenerated Church of Scotland.

Amidst the many sacrifices that were made on this occasion by the ministers of the newly constituted Free Church of Scotland—sacrifices which even their enemies will acknowledge were neither few nor trivial—those of Dr. Welsh were of no ordinary importance. In attaining to the professorship of church history in the university of Edinburgh, he had reached an office all but the highest to which a Scottish ecclesiastic could aspire. It was besides so admirably suited to all his past acquirements, and now matured intellectual habits, that perhaps no other could have been found over the whole range of Scotland so completely adapted to his likings. And yet this he knew from the beginning that he must forego, as soon as he abandoned the state patronage of the Establishment. In addition to his chair, he held the office of secretary to the Board for the Publication of the Bible, an office that yielded him a revenue of £500 per annum; but this comfortable independence, so rare among the scanty endowments of our national church, must also be sacrificed as well as his professorship. Both offices were quickly reclaimed by the state, as he had anticipated from the beginning. All this would have been enough, and even more than enough, for a bold and brave man in the full strength of manhood, and still eager for enterprise: but in the case of Dr. Welsh the fire of life was well-nigh exhausted; a mortal disease was silently and slowly, but securely drying up the fountain-head of his existence; and he had arrived at that state in which every effort is weariness and pain, while tranquillity is prized as the greatest of blessings. And yet he abandoned all, and braced himself anew for fresh action, so that the rest of his brief life was full of exertion and bustle. The chief department that fell to his share was that of education in connection with the Free Church; and his valuable services in the erection of schools and the establishment of a college will continue of themselves to endear his memory to the scholars of future generations. Of this new college, which commenced its labours immediately after the Disruption, for the training of an efficient ministry, Dr. Welsh was professor in ecclesiastical history, while Dr. Chalmers held the office of principal. Dr. Welsh also became editor of the *North British Review*, and by his able management contributed to raise that periodical to

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the high literary standing which it quickly obtained. In 1844 he also published his *Elements of Church History*, in one volume, which was intended to be the first of a series extending to six or seven volumes, that should carry down the history of the church to the close of the sixteenth century. But his labours had already approached their close; and his inability to continue his college prelections at the close of the year was the last of many warnings which he had lately received that his departure was at hand, and might probably be in a single moment. The disease under which he laboured was one of those complaints of the heart now so prevalent, but still so little understood, that often make sickness so painful and death so sudden. And thus it was with Dr. Welsh. He had retired to Camis Eskin, on the banks of the Clyde, but without finding relief, and on the 24th of April, 1845, his troubles were closed. A passage of Scripture had been read to him, which he turned into a fervent prayer, and as soon as it was ended he stretched out his arms and expired.

Such was the departure of one of whom it was stated by Lord-advocate Rutherford, in his place in parliament, shortly after the event, that "within the last fortnight a gentleman had been carried to his grave, who had commanded more private affection and more public regard than perhaps any other man who had recently expired—a gentleman who had taken a high and prominent position in the great movement that had separated the Church of Scotland—a gentleman firm and determined in his line of action, but at the same time, of all the men concerned in that movement, the most moderate in counsel and the most temperate in language—a man who had never uttered a word or done a deed intended to give offence."

WILKIE, SIR DAVID. While the wondrous discovery of the power of steam was going on, and those experiments commencing by which our whole island was to be contracted into a day's journey, the doom of Scotland's nationality was sealed. It was evident that our country would soon be absorbed into England, and Edinburgh be converted into a suburban village of London. But while our distinctive national manners were thus about to pass away, and even our scenery to be moulded into new forms, three Scottish master-minds appeared, by whose genius the whole aspect of the country, as well as the character of the people, were to be electrotyped, before they had vanished for ever. Burns, Scott, Wilkie—these were the honoured three by whom the face and features, the life and expression of Scotland were limned at the best, and by whose portraits it will be known in future ages, however the original itself may change or wither. The strongly-marked and homely, but intellectual physiognomy of the Scot; his rural occupations and modes of life; his sports and pleasures, nay, even the Doric Saxon of his speech, will all continue as living realities, when the Scotchman himself will be as indiscernible as the native of Kent or Middlesex.

The third of this patriotic triumvirate, David Wilkie, was born at Cults, Fifeshire, on the 18th of November, 1785. His father, the Rev. David Wilkie, minister of the parish of Cults, was an amiable specimen of the Scottish divines of the old patriarchal school, who, besides attending to the duties of his sacred calling, was a most diligent student, as was shown by his *Theory of Interest*, a work which he published in 1794. As his stipend was one of the smallest in Scotland, amounting to only £113 per annum, out of which a family was to be maintained, as well as the hospitality of a country

manse supported, the painter learned from his earliest years those practices of honourable economy, self-denial, and independence that characterized the whole of his after-life. When his education had been continued for some time at home, David, at the age of seven, was sent to the parish school of Pitlessie, which was about a mile from the manse of Cults. But already he had found out more congenial occupations than learning the rules of grammar and arithmetic: even when a little child, his chief occupation was to sketch upon the floor with a piece of chalk such figures as struck his fancy; and when he went to school, his slate and paper were soon employed for other purposes than those of counting and penmanship. He became the portrait-painter of the school, and was usually surrounded by a group of boys and girls, all waiting to have their likenesses taken in turn. That which in others is a passing freak, a mere boyish love of imitation, was in him the commencement of the serious business of life: he was thus unconsciously training himself to his vocation while he was handling chalk, charcoal, keel, or ink, watching the effects of light and shade, or studying, with his hands in his pockets, the attitudes and expressions of his school-fellows when they were busy at their play. With this was combined that love of tale and history which characterizes the painter of life and action, while the narratives that most interested his fancy were those that related to Scotland. He thus showed that he was to be a national painter. In some cases enthusiastic young aspirants seem to start into excellence at a single bound, and produce works in their early boyhood which their more matured experience can scarcely amend. But with Wilkie the case was different. He was studying without a guide, while his standard was so high that every attempt was an effort which still fell short of the mark. In the meantime his memory and his scrap-book were gradually accumulating those germs which were afterwards to expand into such a rich harvest. From the school of Pitlessie Wilkie went to that of Kettle, and afterwards to the academy of Cupar; but his progress was still the same—a very *mediocre* proficiency in the ordinary departments of education, because they were held in check by one favourite pursuit. The minister of Cults at length perceived that his son would be a painter, and nothing else, and therefore yielded as to an unwelcome necessity; and therein he was right, as painting was a field new to Scottish enterprise, as well as of uncertain promise. But the chief difficulty was to find a school in which Wilkie should study his future profession, as the art academies of Rome and London were too expensive for his father's means. Fortunately, the Trustees' Academy of Edinburgh was accessible, and there he was admitted as a pupil at the age of fourteen, through the recommendation of the Earl of Leven, where he was so fortunate as to have John Graham for his teacher, and William Allan for his class-fellow. "The progress he [Wilkie] made in art," says the latter, "was marvellous. Everything he attempted indicated a knowledge far beyond his years, and he soon took up that position in art which he maintained to the last. He was always on the look-out for character; he frequented trystes, fairs, and market-places, where there is generally a large assemblage of the country people of all ages, bargaining or disposing of their various commodities. These were the sources whence he drew his best materials; there he found that vigorous variety of character impressed on his very earliest works, which has made them take such a lasting hold on the public mind."

After remaining in the Trustees' Academy five

years, and obtaining a ten-guinea prize, Wilkie returned to Cults, and resolved to commence his profession in earnest, by producing some original painting worthy of public attention. His choice was a truly Scottish subject—the “Fair of Pitlessie,” a village in his own neighbourhood. While the grouping and incidents were to be original, the characters were to be veritable persons; for “I now see,” he said, “how superior painting from nature is to anything that our imagination, assisted by our memory, can conceive.” But how to get these personages to sit—there lay the difficulty, for few men, and least of all Scotchmen, are ambitious of figuring in a picture where drollery or caricature is to predominate. At last a strange expedient suggested itself one Sunday at church, on marking one of his victims whom he had destined for the “Fair,” nodding in the midst of sermon. Wilkie at once secured the man’s likeness with a piece of red chalk on the blank-leaf of his Bible. In this way he went on from face to face, on successive Sabbaths, in the kirk; and not content with the sleepers, he next fell upon the wakeful—minister, elders, and precentor, until every countenance of note in Pitlessie was faithfully copied. These doings could not long escape notice; heavy complaints were made of the profanity of the young artist in thus desecrating the house of God—and we scarcely hold his apology a just one, that while his hand and eye were thus employed his ear was as open as ever to listen. It was the Scottish apology of one who imagines that the chief purpose of going to church is to hear a sermon. While he was thus procuring materials on the Sabbath, his week-days were employed in transferring them to the canvas, until the whole figures, 140 in all, were introduced and the “Fair of Pitlessie” completed. It was a wonderful production of art, independently of the youth of the artist, who as yet had only reached his nineteenth year; and as such he valued it when his judgment was ripener, and his power of colouring more complete, so that he thus wrote of it to a friend in 1812: “The picture of the country fair I saw when I was last in Scotland; and although it is no doubt very badly painted, it has more subject and more entertainment in it than any other three pictures I have since produced.” In the meantime the whole country-side rang with the fame of this wonderful picture, the like of which had never been seen in Scotland, so that the profanity of the painter was soon forgot; and an old woman, who was supposed to know more of futurity than a whole kirk-session, *spae’d* on the occasion, that as there had been a Sir David Lindsay in poetry, there would be a Sir David Wilkie in painting, and that she should live to see it.

All this praise was gratifying, but something more substantial was needed; and accordingly, after the “Fair” was finished and disposed of, Wilkie betook himself to the painting of portraits, in which he had several customers. At the same time he produced “The Village Recruit,” a painting in which a recruiting-sergeant, at a country inn, is doing his best to persuade three clodpoles to become heroes and generals. Having soon exhausted the “kingdom of Fife” as a mart of portrait-painting, and found it too limited for his ambition, as well as too penurious for his subsistence, he resolved to establish himself in London. Thither he accordingly repaired in May, 1805, and entered the Royal Academy as a probationer, where he was characterized by his compeers as a “tall, pale, thin Scotsman.” Here, also, he formed an intimate acquaintanceship with Haydon, a congenial spirit in talent and aspirations—but with what a different termination! Wilkie’s attendance at the Academy

was punctuality itself, while his diligence when there was such as to astonish his more mercurial companions—whom he outstripped, however, in the long-run. In the meantime, the small store of money which he had brought with him began to fail, while his letters of introduction had procured him no sitters. Fortunately he at this time became acquainted with Mr. Stodart, the pianoforte maker, who not only sat for his portrait but induced others to follow his example; and in this way the desponding artist was enabled to go on with fresh resources, although not without much economizing. “Among the many ways,” he writes to his father, “by which we try here to save expense, is that of cleaning our own boots and shoes; for you must know that the people of the house will not clean them, and when you send them out to the shoe-blacks in the street, they become expensive.” At the close of the year 1805 he passed from the condition of a probationer to that of a student of the Academy, by which his means of improvement were considerably enlarged, and his merits brought more fully into notice. Among those who now learned to appreciate him as an artist of high promise was the Earl of Mansfield, for whom he painted “The Village Politicians.” Other orders from persons of rank and influence followed, so that he was now on the fair highway to fame and fortune. And yet, with all this, there were very heavy drawbacks. His ambition for proficiency in his art was so great, that he felt as if all he had done in Scotland was a mere waste of time; while his modesty induced him to put such inadequate prices upon the pictures for which he was now commissioned, that he was not only in debt, but also a sufferer from sickness, occasioned by anxiety and incessant application. In the meantime his “Village Politicians,” which was placed in the exhibition of the Royal Academy, not only delighted the public, but astonished the artists, who universally felt that a bright particular star had risen in their horizon; and so loud was the applause, that it rang to the remotest nooks of Fife, and gladdened the old patriarch of Cults, who was justly proud of his son’s fame, “You cannot imagine,” he wrote to him in the joy of his heart, “how great a fervour of admiration these accounts have produced in your favour in this quarter of the country; in particular, the gentlemen for whom you painted pictures last year affirm that each of them is worth 100 guineas.” “I am now redoubling my application,” the young artist wrote in reply, “with the sure hopes of success. My ambition is got beyond all bounds, and I have the vanity to hope that Scotland will one day be proud to boast of your affectionate son.”

The next painting which Wilkie executed was “The Blind Fiddler.” This was undertaken for Sir George Beaumont, himself a painter and lover of the fine-arts, as well as the most generous and efficient of all the artist’s patrons. The great historical picture of “Alfred in the Neat-herd’s Cottage” followed. Here Wilkie had no model, and was therefore obliged, like the poet or novelist, to task his imagination. But to draw the most heroic and intellectual of sovereigns in the disguise of a Saxon peasant, was the great difficulty which Wilkie had to encounter. The power of language might so depict him even though thus shrouded, that any one would say, “Ay, every inch a king!” But the pencil has neither the same minuteness as the pen, nor yet the same universally intelligible power; and thus, let a sovereign in a painting be stripped of his robes and his crown, and how difficult it will be to read the tokens of royalty in his mere gesture and look! But Wilkie was proud of the task, for it was not only a great national subject, but its selection for his especial effort showed

the high confidence that was already reposed in his talents. This admirable production, which was finished at the close of 1806, and was the result of intense study and labour, justified, by its excellence and the reputation it acquired, the pains which had been bestowed upon it. It was at this time that Benjamin West declared of him, "Never in my whole experience have I met with a young artist like Wilkie: he may be young in years, but he is old in the experience of his art. I consider him an honour to his country." Thus rich in reputation, although still poor in purse, for it was almost wholly for fame that as yet he had worked, the artist paid a visit to his native country, in May, 1807, chiefly for the purpose of recruiting his health, which had suffered by the intensity of his labours. After languishing in the manse of Culterty till October, when he had only partially recovered, he hurried back to his little parlour-studio in London, which was now become his true home; and there his first effort was to finish "The Card-players," a painting for the Duke of Gloucester, which he had left on the easel at his departure.

"The Card-players" was succeeded by "The Rent Day," one of Wilkie's best productions. It was painted for the Earl of Mulgrave, who allowed him to choose his own subject; and that the selection was a happy one has been well attested by the excellence of the picture itself, and the admiration it excited. Of the various figures, indeed, which severally tell their tale with unmistakable distinctness, who can forget the harsh, overbearing, money-calculating, and money-counting factor, ready either to flatter or explode, as the rent may be forthcoming or not?—the old tenant seized with a fit of coughing, which actually seems to ring from the canvas?—the farmer eating, or rather cramming at the well-furnished table, and apparently mindful of the adage that fingers were made before knives and forks?—the butler, who struggles with the rebellious cork, which refuses to quit its hold?—the fortunate tenants who have paid up in full, and are regaling themselves at the table with beef and pasty; and the luckless tenants whose business is not yet despatched, and who either are unable to pay, or are prepared to pay with a protest? Even the little fat pug dog of the mansion, and the lean hungry dog of the rent-racked farmer, indicate the wealth and luxury of the landlord, and the means by which all this profusion is supplied. As soon as "The Rent Day" appeared, it was generally declared to be equal, if not superior, to anything that Wilkie had hitherto produced. And as yet, with all this full-grown celebrity, he had only reached the age of twenty-three! But the four years he had spent in London had been years of constant occupation and steady progress; and now that he had attained such excellence in his art, and so high a reputation, he was the same modest, unassuming, and painstaking student which he had been at his first entrance into the metropolis; and not a day, no, not an hour of abatement could be perceived in the diligence with which he still continued at his task of self-improvement, or the docility with which he received every suggestion that tended to promote it. All this is fully attested by the extracts that have been published from his London journal of this period. From these we find that he still attended the Academy, and took lessons as a pupil. At home he usually painted five hours a day; and if visited in the midst of work he conversed with his visitors, while his hand and eye were still busied with the canvas. Every kind of model also was used in his occupation; for he was of opinion, that however imagination might aggrandize the work of the painter,

nature must be his authority and exemplar. When the day's work of the studio was finished, his ramble for recreation or pleasure was still in subservience to his pursuits; and thus his visits were to picture-galleries and artists; his rambles into the country were in quest of picturesque cottages and their simple inhabitants; and even his walks in the streets were turned to profitable account, with here a face and there an attitude, amidst the ceaselessly revolving panorama. His chief indulgence in an evening was to repair to the theatre, where he enjoyed a rich treat, not merely in the play itself, but in the attitudes of the best performers, where grace and nature were combined in the living delineations of the drama. And still, go where he might, his affectionate heart never seems to have lost sight of his native home; and it may be fairly questioned, whether the delight which his success occasioned in the manse of Culterty was not as high a recompense, in his estimation, as anything that fame could bestow. There is something beautiful and touching in the fact, that while he was fighting his up-hill way in London, through the difficulties of scanty payments, his chief anxiety, besides that of becoming a great painter, was to be able to present his sister Helen with a pianoforte.

The year 1808 was a busy year with Wilkie, as he was then employed upon three paintings, each excellent in its kind and well fitted to advance his reputation. The chief of these, known as "The Sick Lady," was in a higher style of art than he had hitherto attempted, as well as of a very different character; it was an entire abandonment of humble and Scottish life and quiet humour, in which he had hitherto been without a rival, in favour of the graceful, the sentimental, and pathetic. The pains which he bestowed upon this picture, the anxiety with which he touched and retouched it, and the time that was suffered to elapse before it was completed, were the proper accompaniments of this bold attempt in a new field. It is enough to say, that this production, while equal to all its predecessors in point of artistic excellence, was not regarded with the same admiration. And how could it be otherwise? It was in Scottish life that the secret of Wilkie's strength lay, for there he painted as no other man could paint; but when he left this walk, of which he was so exclusively the master, and entered into that of the English artist, he could even at the best do nothing more than others had done before him. It was Burns abandoning his native streams and native dialect, for the banks of the Thames and the diction of Pope or Addison. "The Jew's Harp," which was his next production, was less ambitious, and more in his own natural manner. The same was also the case with "The Cut Finger," in which an old cottage matron is performing the part of chirurgeon to a bluff blubbering boy, who has cut his finger in the act of rigging a toy-boat. In the following year (1809) Wilkie, who had hitherto been contented to rank as a pupil of the Royal Academy, was made one of its associates. At the next exhibition of the Academy, however, he sustained such a slight, as somewhat damped the satisfaction he enjoyed in his election. He had painted a picture which he called "A Man Teasing a Girl by putting on her Cap," and sent it to the exhibition, but was requested by the members to withdraw it. The only cause they stated was that it was inferior to his other productions, and would therefore be likely to diminish his reputation. It was suspected, however, that the true reason was professional jealousy, and that the academicians were impatient that a Scotsman, who only dealt in the "pan-and-spoon style," as they scornfully termed it, should have maintained the ascendancy so long.

Wilkie withdrew his painting, and digested the affront in silence. This he could do all the better, that for a year he had been employed upon his picture of "The Alehouse Door," and was anxious to bring it to a termination.

This painting, which was injudiciously changed in its title to that of "The Village Festival," was a great effort of Wilkie's ambition, in which he wished to compete with Teniers and Ostade. He felt that it was a daring attempt, but his indomitable perseverance was fully commensurate with the courage of such an enterprise. And few indeed of the uninitiated in art can comprehend but a tittle of that diligence which he bestowed upon the work till it was finished. After having decided upon the subject he sallied out with Haydon in quest of an alehouse that might serve as the groundwork of the picture; and having found one to his mind at Paddington, he made occasional pilgrimages thither, until he had transferred it, with its accompaniments, altered and improved to suit its new destination, upon the foreground of his canvas. And then came the living models, which were to be sought in the streets of London, and hired to sit to him, sometimes for a whole figure, sometimes for a face or part of a face, and sometimes for nothing more than a neck, a hand, or a foot. Then succeeded the altering and improving, the rubbing out and replacing, the obliterating, the touching and retouching, such as the most fastidious poets—even Gray himself—never endured in the most finished and lengthened of their compositions. With all this his journal of 1809-10 is filled, and an astounding record it certainly is of the patience and labour bestowed upon a work of art—upon that which is commonly regarded as nothing higher than a mere object of pleasurable but passing excitement. At first he had purposed to paint nothing more than a group of rustics carousing at an alehouse door, and had gone onward, as Burns himself had often done after the muse had been fairly stirred, until

"Perhaps it may turn out a sang,
Perhaps it may be a sermon."

A sermon Wilkie's painting certainly became, both in its elaborate character and moral power. The figures multiplied under his creative hand, each assumed a language of its own, and the sum of all was a most eloquent exposition of the pleasures of social enjoyment, coupled with dissuaves against excess. No one, however unskilled in art, can fail to remark how the lesson is fully brought out in the faces before him, where every shade of the effects of drinking is caught, from the cheering look inspired by the incipient draught of ale, to the idiot inanity of him who lies prostrate in the mire, without even the power to wallow in it.

The close application of the artist, and the annoyance he experienced at the jealousy of his brethren, were followed by a fever, through which he was obliged to retire for some time to Ilamstead. But even under a tedious recovery he was unable wholly to relinquish his wonted pursuits, notwithstanding the ordeals of the physician and the entreaties of his friends. In 1811 the Academy repaired the injury they had done by electing him a royal academician. This was a high honour, especially when conferred upon one so young, for as yet he had only reached the age of twenty-six. As he had hitherto profited so little in a pecuniary point of view by his paintings, he now began to execute a plan which he had contemplated three years before, of collecting and exhibiting them on his own account. He therefore obtained the temporary use of them from their purchasers, hired a large room in Pall Mall, where they could be shown to advantage, and opened it with

a collection of twenty-nine pieces, the production of his pencil, extending from the years 1804 to 1811. But although the price of admission was only a shilling, the speculation failed to be profitable. A public exhibition of this kind requires an amount as well as variety which no single artist could accomplish. The success of his picture of "Blindman's Buff," which he afterwards produced, was well calculated to alleviate his disappointment. This was one of his happiest conceptions; for such a game not only drew out his peculiar artistic talents in their full force, but addressed itself to universal sympathy. For who, however great or grave, has not revelled at some time or other in the full enjoyment of blindman's buff? Most of the actors in Wilkie's game are full-grown children—happy peasants, who in the midst of their glee think neither of toil nor taxes, neither of yesterday nor to-morrow, but of the present hour alone, as if it were the only reality—while the attitudes, the blunders, and mischances of such a sport only heightened the fun, and make it more true to nature. His picture of "The Bagpiper" followed, and afterwards "The Letter of Introduction"—a painting, the subject of which was suggested by the untoward fate of his own introductory epistles which he brought with him to London eight years previous. The sheepish young country lad, who tenders his letter as if he were presenting it to an elephant—and the stately magnifico, who, while breaking the seal, eyes the youth askance, as if he doubted the safety of his silver spoons—all tell their own tale, without the necessity of a title to label the production. In the meantime, Wilkie's father having died, this event introduced a change in the artist's domestic condition. Hitherto he had lived in lodgings; but he now persuaded his widowed mother and his sister to reside with him in London, and for this purpose hired a house in Lower Phillimore Place, Kensington. On the arrival of peace in 1814, he availed himself of the opportunity, like many thousands of our countrymen, by making a trip to France, and studying the treasures of the Louvre, before they were restored to their proper owners. In this short journey, which scarcely extended over six weeks, he travelled with a disposition to be pleased, and was not disappointed.

The next great artistic effort of Wilkie was "The Distraining for Rent." The subject was suggested by the incident of his "Village Festival" having been distrained for the debt of a former tenant, while the picture was exhibited in the hall at Pall Mall. The indignation which this event excited in the mind of Wilkie was thus turned to the best account; and in sketching the principal characters of the group, he availed himself of what had occurred in the event itself, when the legal functionaries went to work with "Tis so nominated in the bond," while himself and his friends indignantly protested, but in vain. The work, when finished, was sent to the exhibition of the British Institution; and such was the pathetic tale which it told, that many thought it would bring both discredit and danger upon the task of levying a distraint ever afterward. After it had remained for some time in the exhibition, and attracted universal admiration as well as not a few candidates for its purchase, it was finally sold for 600 guineas to the directors of the British Institution. A more cheerful theme followed in "The Rabbit on the Wall," where a peasant, returned from his day's labour, is diverting his children by this curious phantasmagoria on the wall of his cottage. His state of health again requiring intermission, Wilkie in 1816 made a tour of the Netherlands, to examine its galleries and study the

rich colouring of the Dutch school of painting. He saw nothing, however, in its style to induce him to forego his own. At his return he painted "The Breakfast," for the Stafford Gallery. In 1817 he made a journey to Scotland, where he visited both Highlands and Lowlands, and was everywhere received with the most flattering distinction, while he had also the pleasure of associating with his illustrious contemporaries—Dr. Chalmers, Sir Walter Scott, and the Ettrick Shepherd. The latter, on being assured that the stranger now introduced to him was no other than "the great Mr. Wilkie," seized him by the hand, and rapturously exclaimed, "I cannot tell how proud I am to see you in my house, and how glad I am to see you are so young a man." When Scott heard of this, he declared "it was the finest compliment ever paid to man." While a guest of Sir Walter, Wilkie painted "The Abbotsford Family Picture," in which the poet, with his family and friends, are grouped together in the garb of south-country peasants in the act of planning a merry-making.

On returning to London, Wilkie, whose whole heart was revived by the sweet influences of his native heather, addressed himself to a Scottish subject, and produced his "Duncan Gray," founded upon the well-known song of Burns. He had tried his hand upon this theme three years before, and produced "The Refusal," of which the present painting was a fresh edition, with many alterations and improvements. In the following year (1818) his little picture called "The Errand Boy" appeared in the Royal Academy exhibition. Then succeeded "The Penny Wedding," a national work, intended to commemorate an old Scottish fashion only lately obliterated, and still freshly remembered. In this painting, which was executed to order for the prince regent, the artist admirably brought out the fun, frolic, and intense enjoyment which such a festival invariably engrafts upon the staid character and saturnine physiognomy of his countrymen. His next production was the "Death of Sir Philip Sidney," intended for a work about to be published by his friend Mr. Dobree. At this time also he was engaged to produce a painting upon which all his strength was to be employed, and from which much was expected, for he was to commemorate in it the crowning victory of Waterloo, and execute it for the Duke of Wellington himself, the hero of the fight. In this case it might have been expected that the artist would have repaired forthwith to the scene of action, for the purpose of sketching its peaceful scenery, and animating it with the heady charges of horse, foot, and cannon, and all the pomp and circumstance of a battle on which the fate of nations was depending. But Wilkie went no farther than Chelsea Hospital, and sought no other figures than the old, battered, and mutilated inhabitants with which that great asylum is stored. "E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires," says the poet; and upon this hint, whether he thought of it or not, Wilkie acted, by showing how these veterans could still be excited by the first tidings of such a victory. It was the "Reading of the Waterloo Gazette," and not the battle itself which he contemplated; and therefore he grouped the pensioners of Chelsea, men who had fought for Britain in every quarter of the world, and suffered every kind of mutilation and dismemberment, pausing in the midst of a jovial dinner, and ready to throw it to the dogs, that they might listen to the reading of the newspaper in which the tidings of Waterloo were first communicated to the nation. Never perhaps was heroic triumph so expressed before either in poetry or in painting—it was the last

huzzas of the dying on the field of victory. When this picture was finished it was sent to the exhibition of 1822; but such was the excitement of the visitors, and the eager crowding round it and against it, that for protection a railing had to be set up to fence it off from the pressure. It is proper to add that Wilkie's productions were now fairly remunerated as well as justly appreciated, and he received 1200 guineas for the "Reading of the Waterloo Gazette" from its illustrious owner, the Duke of Wellington.

During the long interval that occurred between the commencement and execution of this national work, the orders that flowed in upon Wilkie were so numerous that he was kept in incessant action, now upon one piece and now on another. In this way he produced "The China Menders," "The Nymphs Gathering Grapes," and "The Whisky Still." But more important than these was a commission from the King of Bavaria to paint for him a picture, the subject of which was to be left to the artist's own judgment. That which was selected was "The Reading of the Will," and upon this Wilkie acquitted himself so well, that when it was finished two royal candidates appeared for its possession, one being the King of Bavaria, by whom it was already bespoke, and the other George IV., who wished to have the original, or at least a duplicate. It was a sore dilemma between the rightful claimant on the one hand, and his own liege sovereign on the other, in which Wilkie stood like Garrick between tragedy and comedy, feeling how happy he could be with either, and yet knowing that one must be refused and disappointed. At length mercantile honesty carried the day against chivalrous loyalty, and "The Reading of the Will" was fairly domiciled in the splendid collection of Munich. "The Newsmongers," and "Guess my Name," which appeared in the exhibition of 1821, were produced during the same interval. To these may be added "The School," a painting that has been highly admired, though it was never finished.

The year 1822, in which the Waterloo picture was finished, was a busy period with Wilkie, when besides painting "The Parish Beadle" and a portrait of the Duke of York, he received two important commissions that required his attendance in Scotland: the one was a picture of "John Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation;" the other of the "Arrival of George IV. in Edinburgh." His majesty had not yet set sail to pay the promised visit; but Wilkie hastened to the Scottish metropolis to await the coming advent, and catch whatever incident of the great drama might be best fitted for his purpose. The choice was made by the king himself, and the subject was his admission into the palace of Holyrood. This painting, like the rest of Wilkie's productions, was admirably executed; but there were difficulties in the way which no genius could surmount. One was the taste of the king himself, who suggested alterations which the artist found himself obliged to follow; the other was the bizarre costume that predominated on the occasion, by which Edinburgh itself was converted into a huge bale of tartan. At this period also he was appointed limner to the king for Scotland, in consequence of the death of Sir Henry Raeburn. While fully occupied with the two great paintings above mentioned, Wilkie during the intervals painted the portrait of Lord Kellie for the town-hall of Cupar, drew an old Greenwich pensioner under the character of Smollett's Commodore Trunnion, and executed a scene from Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, which he called "The Cottage Toilet." He also painted "Smugglers Offering Run Goods for Sale" for Sir Robert Peel, and "The

Highland Family" for Sir George Beaumont, his affectionate friend and munificent patron.

The pressure of severe work, aggravated by the death of his mother and brother, made travelling once more necessary; and accordingly in the middle of 1825 Wilkie set off to Paris, and afterwards proceeded to Italy. Milan, Genoa, and Florence were successively visited, and their galleries of paintings studied and admired. He then went to Rome, but the paintings in the Vatican failed to excite in him that supreme rapture which it was so much the fashion of our travelling artists to express. He seems to have been more highly gratified with the Sistine Chapel, from the ceiling of which Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" looked down upon him in all its richness and with all its terrors. It was here that he especially loved to muse and study, while his journal of this period is filled with criticisms of this sublime production and its matchless author. Naples, Bologna, Padua, Parma, and Venice were also visited by the earnest contemplative tourist, and the remarks of his journal evince the profound attention he bestowed upon the paintings of the ancient masters that constitute the richest inheritance of these once illustrious cities. After a stay of eight months in Italy, Wilkie found his health no better than when he arrived, and resolved for change of air to make a visit to Germany. But indeed there were painful causes to retard his recovery, against which his heart could not easily rally. A company had become bankrupt in which the most part of his pecuniary savings for years had been invested; and in addition to this a bond by which he had engaged to be security for his brother, who became insolvent, was forfeited. He had thus, while languidly moving from place to place in quest of health, the prospect of ruin meeting him wherever he turned. Finding no remedy from the climate of Germany, or the use of the baths of Toplitz and Carlsbad, he again returned to Italy, by advice of his physicians, to winter there in 1826-7.

If anything could lighten the weight of such an amount of suffering, Wilkie must have found it in the universal respect with which he was treated abroad, both by countrymen and strangers. His fame as an artist had been wafted over Europe by the admirable engravings of Raimbach and Burnet, in which his best productions had been faithfully copied; and in Rome, where he now took up his abode, the "Eternal City" was moved through all its ranks to welcome him and do him honour. Alluding to a high festival made there by the British artists on his account, at which the Duke of Hamilton presided, he writes to his brother in London: "If my history shall ever be written, it will be found, though in a different way, quite as wonderful as that of Benvenuto Cellini." Taking heart, and rallying amidst such kindly encouragement, he ventured to resume his labours; and although his progress was, as he says, "by little and by little, half an hour at a time, and three half-hours a-day," he executed two small pictures and nearly finished a large one in the course of five months. As only two out of the three years had been spent during which he was to reside abroad for the recovery of his health, Wilkie, who had sufficiently studied the Italian school of painting, was now anxious to devote his attention to that of Spain, and to study especially the productions of Velasquez and Murillo. Furnished with letters of introduction, and having already friends at Madrid from whom he was sure of a hearty welcome, he set off upon this new journey, and arrived at Madrid in October, 1827.

This visit to Spain was in the highest degree influential upon Wilkie's future course as an artist, and

in his letters at this time we recognize a new principle acting upon him in full vigour. "The five months I have passed here," he thus writes to his sister, "have, in point of society, been dull, but in point of pursuit and occupation far otherwise. For what I have seen I may almost be the envy of every British artist; and from what I have been doing, weak as I am, have again the happiness to say with the great Correggio, though on a far more humble occasion, '*Anche io sono pittore.*'" To his brother he writes: "This winter, though as severely interrupted as ever by my malady, yet pictures are growing up under my hands with even greater rapidity than they used to do in Kensington; and if less laboured, the effect to the eye and impression on the mind seem not at all to suffer by it." The study of the Italian, and especially the Spanish school, had inspired him with the resolution to be less fastidious and more rapid in execution than before, and accordingly he dashed on with a fearlessness that formed a new trait in his character. The subjects also which he selected were in harmony with the inspiration, for they were Spanish, and connected with the war of independence. The first of three pictures on this subject he finished in ten short weeks, and then sat down astonished at his own rapidity. But he was heartened onward in this bold commencement of a new era in his life by the commendations of the artists and critics in Madrid; while his levee was crowded by dukes, counts, and solemn hidalgos, who looked on and worshipped his artistic doings, as if the old days of Spanish painting and Spanish national glory were returning side by side. All this adulation was gratifying in the highest degree; but still Wilkie had an occasional recoil of doubt and misgiving. How the innovation might be relished by his brother artists was also a trying question, and he thus feels his way upon the subject in a letter to one of the academicians: "I need not detail to you what I have seen in the Escorial, in Madrid, or Seville: it is general ideas alone I wish to advert to. Being the only member of our Academy who has seen Spain, perhaps it is to be regretted that I see it with an acknowledged bias or prejudice, in which I fear scarcely any will participate. With some of my kindest friends, indeed, much of what I have seen and thought will cast between us an influence like the apple of discord; and if some of our youths with less matured minds—while I write this with one hand, fancy me covering my face with the other—should venture, now that an entrance to the mysterious land has been opened, across the Bidasoa, what a conflict in testimony there would be!"

The return of Wilkie to England solved every doubt. Previous to his arrival rumours were afloat of the change that had occurred in his style of painting, and of the stir which his new productions had occasioned in Madrid; but on his return to London in June, 1828, his friends were delighted not only to find his health restored, but the character of his paintings improved. Still, however, his Spanish pictures executed under the first outburst of the new inspiration, beautiful and admired though they were, needed, as he well knew, an elaborate revision before they could be committed along with his name to the public and to posterity, and therefore he touched and retouched them with a careful hand in his studio at Kensington. Immediately on his arrival the king wished to see the fruits of his Italian tour, and was so pleased with them that he purchased "The Pifferari" and "The Princess washing the Female Pilgrims' Feet," two paintings which Wilkie had executed at Geneva. The three Spanish pictures were equally approved of by the royal critic, and

purchased for his own collection, besides a fourth which was still in preparation; and Wilkie felt not a little flattered by the resemblance which was traced in these paintings to Rembrandt, Murillo, and Velasquez. The public at large was soon after invited to judge in turn, as the pictures were sent to the Academy exhibition of May, 1829.

Of these productions, now so widely known by the art of the engraver, the most popular was "The Maid of Saragossa." This preference was occasioned not only by the romantic nature of the subject, which was still the theme of national eulogium, but the colouring and style of artistic execution in which the event was embodied; and the crowds that gathered before the picture knew not which figure the most highly to admire. Augustina stepping over the body of her fallen lover, to take his place at the gun—or Palafox (a correct likeness for which the hero himself sat) putting his shoulder to the wheel, to bring the gun into a right position—or Father Consolacion, the chief engineer in the defence, pointing out with his crucifix the object to be aimed at—or the martyred priest, Boggiero, writing the despatch which is to be intrusted to the carrier-pigeon. The second, called "The Spanish Posada," represented a Guerilla council of war, in which a Dominican monk, a Jesuit, and a soldier—emblematic of the character of the Spanish resistance—are deliberating on the best means of rousing and directing the national patriotism. The third painting was "The Guerilla's Departure," where a young peasant, after being armed for battle and shrived by his confessor, lights his cigar at that of the priest before he hies to the field. Besides these, there were four of Wilkie's paintings in the exhibition which he had executed in Italy, and the portrait of the Earl of Kellie, of which mention has been already made. And now the artist's dreaded ordeal had to be encountered and passed anew. It remained to be seen what the world at large, independently of the judgment of George IV., which was sometimes at fault upon the fine arts, would say of these paintings, and the new style of their author. The verdict was precisely what might have been expected from so marked a change. The many, who are pleased to be delighted without taking the trouble to analyze their feelings, only saw in the alteration a fresh source of admiration, and were accordingly both loud and unmeasured in their praise. But with the critical part of the public it was otherwise; and while some regretted that he had abandoned the minute and laborious finish of his earlier pieces, others thought that he was over-ambitious in thus seeking to occupy more than one field of excellence, and predicted nothing but failure. In such contrariety the aspirant for fame must listen to all or none, and Wilkie chose the latter alternative.

Allusion has already been made to two important commissions which Wilkie had received previous to his departure to Italy: the first of these was a picture of the entrance of George IV. into the palace of Holyrood; the second, of "John Knox preaching before the Lords of the Congregation." Upon these he had wrought for a considerable time before his tour commenced, until the state of his health obliged him to abandon them when they were little more than mere outlines. He now braced himself for the task of completing them, and in 1830 the "Entrance into Holyrood" appeared in the exhibition. It was successful both with the sovereign and the public, not only as a happily executed representation of a great public event, but a faithful portraiture of the living actors and feudal accessories that composed the well-known features of this splendid national ovation.

During the same year that it was completed, the great personage who formed the grand central object of this pageant, and in whose honour it had been created, passed away to the tomb, after he had outlived the pomps and pageantries of royalty, which no king had ever more highly enjoyed; and with George IV. passed away from us, and perhaps for ever, those regal triumphs and processions so little suited to this matter-of-fact and utilitarian era of British history. How different, and yet how gratifying the visits of royalty have now become to their long-forsaken home in Edinburgh! The Knox painting, which was finished after that of Holyrood, appeared in the exhibition of 1832. Into this painting, so truly Scottish in its subject, and so connected also with his own native country, Wilkie threw himself with his utmost ardour, and the result was a picture upon which the eye of Scotland will always rest with pleasure. The collection of so many personages renowned in the history of our Reformation—the tale which each countenance tells, as part and parcel of the great event—and the vehement impassioned preacher himself, whose sermon was the death-knell of the cathedral in which it was delivered, and the superstition of which that building was the great metropolitan representative—are now as generally known as the event itself, in consequence of the thousands of engravings that have been multiplied of the original. Besides this picture, which was painted for Sir Robert Peel, Wilkie sent to the exhibition a portrait of William IV., to whom he was now painter in ordinary, as he had been to his predecessor.

From 1832 to 1834 was a busy period with the artist, as every royal and noble personage was eager to sit for his portrait to such a limner, although Wilkie himself had no particular liking to portrait-painting. In the exhibition of 1834 his diligence appeared in six pictures, which had their full share of approbation. These were, 1. "The Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, as Constable of the Tower, with his Charger;" which he executed at Strathfieldsaye, where both hero and horse were accessible to the painter. 2. "Not at Home." This is a usual incident, where a disappointed dun is departing from the door on being told that the master is abroad, while the master himself is watching unseen from the corner of a window, and waiting until the coast is clear. 3. "Portrait of the Queen, in the Dress worn at the Coronation." 4. "Spanish Mother and Child." 5. "Portrait of Sir John Leslie, Professor of Natural Philosophy." 6. "Portrait of a Lady." In the following year (1835) he sent other six pictures to the exhibition, of which the foremost in point of merit and importance was, 1. "Christopher Columbus submitting the Chart of his Voyage for the Discovery of the New World to the Spanish Authorities." Here the great navigator, after being received in the convent, at the gate of which he had craved a morsel of bread and a cup of water for his child, who was wearied with the journey, is explaining at table to the prior his conviction that a new world yet remained to be discovered, and showing a chart of the voyage by which such a discovery might be effected. 2. "The First Ear-ring." Here a young girl, fluttering between love of finery and dread of pain, contemplates the glittering ornaments with which she is about to be adorned and the operator by whom her ears are to be pierced for the purpose. 3. "Portrait of Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington in the Dress he wore on Active Service." 4. "Sancho Panza in the Days of his Youth." 5. "Portrait of Sir James M'Grigor, Bart., Director-general of the Army Medical Department." 6. "Portrait of the Rev. Edward Irving."

After having done so much in the illustration of Scottish and Spanish character, the attention of Wilkie was now directed to Ireland, where the picturesque scenery and semi-barbarous condition of the people, already become so popular through the writings of Miss Edgeworth, had as yet failed to attract the notice of our artists. He accordingly repaired to Dublin in August, 1835, and in his rambles through the country drew ten sketches in pencil, which were designed for future paintings; but of these none was executed except "The Peep-o'-Day Boy." This, with "The Interview between Napoleon and the Pope in 1813," and four other paintings, was sent to the exhibition in 1836. On the 15th of June, the same year, Wilkie received the honour of knighthood—a title which, high though it be, could scarcely aggrandize him who was already so eminent in art. Such as it was, however, the artist received it with gratitude, and wore it with becoming gentleness. He was at this period so intent upon his professional labours, that on the removal of the Royal Academy from Somerset House to Trafalgar Square, in 1836, Wilkie had seven paintings in the first exhibition at the new buildings. These were, 1. "Portrait of William IV." 2. "Mary Queen of Scots Escaping from Lochleven;" this event was detailed according to the description of Sir Walter Scott in the tale of the *Abbot*, rather than the strict record of history. 3. "The Empress Josephine and the Fortune-teller." This was the well-known incident of the black prophetess, or obi-woman of St. Domingo, foretelling to Josephine that she should become a crowned empress, while she was still an undistinguished girl. 4. "Portrait of the Earl of Tankerville." 5. "The Cottar's Saturday Night." 6. "Portrait of Sir William Knight." 7. "Portrait of a Gentleman reading."

A still more important subject upon which Wilkie had been employed for some time past, was that of Sir David Baird discovering the body of Tippoo Saib under the gateway of Seringapatam, which he was commissioned to paint by Lady Baird. This task he had prosecuted at intervals since 1834, and his diligence in procuring the necessary materials for such a picture fully evinced the zeal with which he prosecuted it, and the importance he attached to it. For this purpose he sketched the trophies and arms connected with the event contained in Fern Tower, the habitation of Lady Baird; procured European arms from the cutlers' and gunsmiths' shops; and obtained the loan of a complete magazine of oriental dresses, ornaments, and jewelry, from such of his friends as were connected with the East Indies. He was even so fortunate as to get a pelisse and pair of breeches that had been worn by Tippoo himself. The chief difficulty was with the living models, a few native Indian soldiers, who happened to be in London, and were engaged for the task; but no sooner were they grouped, and placed in proper attitudes, than they were seized with a fit of horror at the thought of personating the death-scene of the mighty sultan, so that they would "play out the play" no longer. In spite of all difficulties, however, the painting was successfully finished at the close of 1838. Of this choice production of Sir David Wilkie, we would only notice one of the several striking incidents which the talent of the artist has brought out on this occasion. It is, that while Sir David Baird is contemplating with emotion the body of the tyrant who had so cruelly treated him when a captive, the feet of the dead man are lying beside the iron-grated door of the dungeon in which his conqueror had been unjustly immured.

Before this picture was finished important political

events had furnished Sir David with a new national subject. This was the death of William IV., and the accession of our present gracious sovereign, Queen Victoria. As Wilkie's appointment of painter in ordinary was once more renewed, it was fitting that his talents should be exercised for the occasion, and accordingly he was commissioned to paint "The Queen Holding her First Council." He boldly commenced the subject, though with a full anticipation of the difficulty, where every member was unwilling to be placed in the back-ground, or be overshadowed by his neighbour. Notwithstanding the number of portraits it contained, it was finished in little more than six months, and introduced into the exhibition of 1838, along with five other paintings, four of which were portraits; and not the least remarkable of these was one of Daniel O'Connell. But the most congenial of all his occupations for a considerable period had been a picture of "John Knox Administering the Sacrament in Calder House," which Wilkie designed as a companion to that of the "Reformer preaching before the Lords of the Congregation." Here he was again upon his own Scottish ground, and among congenial characters; so that from this, as well as the ardour with which he prosecuted the subject, and the maturity into which his artistic experience had ripened, it was hoped that it would prove the most successful of all his efforts. Nor was the hope unfounded, although he did not live to complete the picture; for in the two advanced sketches of it which appeared in the auction of his paintings after his death, the promise was already more than half fulfilled.

We have thus brought Wilkie to the year 1840, at the exhibition of which he had eight paintings—and to the age of fifty-five, at which either a rapid decay of life commences, or such an invigoration as holds out the promise that the full threescore and ten of a healthy old age will be attained. The autumn of this year found him in the full bustle of preparation for a long and adventurous journey, in which the Continent, Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land, were to be successively traversed. At the intelligence, not only his brother artists but the public were astounded. Was it as a painter or a pilgrim that he meant to travel? Was the search of health or the Holy Sepulchre the *ultimatum* of his wishes? In the midst of all this wonder and inquiry Sir David Wilkie departed—and his country saw him no more.

As this was the last, it was also the most important, of his journeys, and therefore cannot be briefly dismissed. He left England on the 15th of August, 1840, and was accompanied by Mr. William Woodburn, an attached friend, as well as a lover of the fine arts. Their place of landing was the Hague, after which they passed through Leyden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam, visiting every collection of paintings in their way, and studying the scenery and inhabitants in the true spirit of artists. They then arrived at Cologne, chiefly to inspect "The Crucifixion of St. Peter" by Rubens, which was placed over the altar of the church of St. Peter. Mayence, Nuremberg, and Munich were next visited, where Dutch and German paintings were in abundance; and in the latter city Wilkie's heart was warmed by the sight of his own production, "The Reading of the Will," which had once been nearly a bone of contention between the royalties of Britain and Bavaria. At Vienna, among several rich productions of art, he also saw his "Toilette of a Bride," and was pleased to find that the colours had acquired a richer tone. A rapid transit through Hungary brought the travellers into the Turkish dominions, and finally landed them in Constantinople, that city so enchant-

ing in the distance, but almost as delusive, when reached, as the Fata Morgana itself. While he was exploring through the streets of Constantinople, Wilkie saw, in the outer court of a mosque, a venerable-looking scribe who had just written a letter for two Turkish women, one of them very beautiful, to whom he was in the act of reading the finished scroll. The whole group was so picturesque that the painter comprised it at a glance, and afterwards transferred it to the canvas, and although unfinished, the picture was of such a superior character, that it was finally bought at the sale of his paintings for 425 guineas. Another sketch which he executed was that of "A Tartar narrating in a Turkish Café the Victory of the taking St. Jean d'Acre." Besides these he made no less than fifty-seven sketches of individuals or groups in Constantinople, and its infidel suburb Pera, during his residence in the Turkish capital—a period of little more than three months. This, indeed, was the busiest period of his life, for he was now in a country where nature was the only picture-gallery, while every object was worth copying. But the most important of his labours was a splendid portrait which he executed of the young sultan, who sat with a docility unwonted in an eastern sovereign, and was so well pleased with the result that he rewarded the painter with a rich gold snuff-box set with diamonds.

By the way of Smyrna, Rhodes, Beyrout, and Jaffa, Wilkie next proceeded to the Holy Land, occupying himself during the whole way in increasing that rich collection which was afterwards known under the title of his "Oriental Sketches;" and having in constant use, besides his sketch-book, a pocket Bible, which was the guide of his journey, as well as his director in the still more important pilgrimage of which, though unconsciously, he was already near the commencement. Every step in the land of revelation and miracle seemed to solemnize his thoughts, and on reaching Jerusalem he found among its hallowed ruins materials enough both for delineation and devout solemn meditation. After a sojourn of six weeks at Jerusalem, Wilkie proceeded to Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria on the 26th of April, 1841. He had not been long here when no less a personage than Mehemet Ali, the old and terrible, expressed a desire to sit to the distinguished British artist for his portrait. Wilkie, indeed, was told that in this most energetic of modern potentates he would also find the most restless of sitters; but the case proved otherwise, for the pasha was as compliant as a child, and was rewarded with a portrait that satisfied his utmost wishes.

Having finished his long-protracted and diversified journey, Wilkie now turned his face homeward, and embarked on board the oriental steamer. Besides the hope of meeting with his friends, who anxiously expected his return, he had collected such treasures of oriental scenery and costume as would suffice him for years of labour, as well as for such artistic productions as might raise his renown by surpassing all that he had yet accomplished. When the steamer reached Malta he was unwell; but as he had rallied so often in similar cases he felt no apprehension, and wrote to his sister a letter full of hopes of his return, and desiring that his home should be put in order for his arrival. Only four days after, he was no more! While at Malta he had eaten fruit and drank iced lemonade, which produced such a derangement of stomach that his whole system rapidly gave way; and notwithstanding the medical care of the surgeon on board, he sank into insensibility, and died without a struggle, on the 8th of June, 1841. The vessel that had started from Malta

only an hour previous, put back, and applied for permission to land the body; but as this was refused a coffin was made at sea, and the remains were committed to the deep. On the arrival of the vessel in England with its unexpected tidings, the report spread sorrow over the whole island, but especially over Scotland, where Wilkie was considered as one of the noblest of our national representatives—as the Burns of Scottish painting. In London a meeting was soon convened to do honour to his memory; and the result was a collection for a public statue of the artist, which was afterwards executed by Mr. S. Joseph, and erected in the inner hall of the National Gallery. May the eyes of our young Scottish artists be inspired with his spirit as they contemplate it; and may the chief memorial of Sir David Wilkie be a School of National Painting, such as Scotland, even to the remotest period, will be proud to cherish!

WILKIE, WILLIAM, D.D., the "Scottish Homer," as he has been called, from the circumstance of his having been the author of a poem in the style of the *Iliad*, entitled the *Epigoniad*, was born at Echlin, in the parish of Dalmeny, county of Linlithgow, on the 5th of October, 1721. His father was a farmer, and possessed a small property to which he succeeded by inheritance. He was an upright and intelligent man, but through a series of misfortunes became greatly reduced in circumstances in the latter part of his life.

The subject of this memoir received the earlier part of his education at the parish school of Dalmeny, then kept by a Mr. Riddel, a respectable and successful teacher. At this seminary young Wilkie gave many proofs of a lively and vigorous fancy, and of that genius for poetry which afterwards distinguished him. Before he had passed his tenth year he had written some little poetical sketches of considerable promise. At the age of thirteen he was sent to the university of Edinburgh. Here he also distinguished himself by the superiority of his talents, and in particular by the progress he made in classical acquirements, and in the study of theology. He had the good fortune, likewise, while attending college, to form intimacies with some of the most celebrated men of the last century. Amongst these were Dr. Robertson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and John Home. Mr. Mackenzie, in his life of the last-mentioned individual, says that Wilkie's friends all spoke of him as "*superior in genius to any man of his time*, but rough and unpolished in his manners, and still less accommodating to the decorum of society in the ordinary habits of his life. Charles Townsend, a very competent judge of men," continues the biographer, "and who, both as a politician and a man of the world, was fond of judging them, said, after being introduced to Wilkie, and spending a day with him at Dr. Carlyle's, that he had never met with a man who approached so near to the two extremes of a god and a brute as Dr. Wilkie."

While prosecuting his studies at Edinburgh Wilkie lost his father, who died in straitened circumstances, but left his son the stock and unexpired lease of a farm at Fishers' Tryste, a few miles south of the city, burdened, however, with the charge of maintaining his three sisters, who were otherwise wholly unprovided for. Wilkie, in consequence of this event, became a farmer; but unwilling to trust entirely to that profession for his future subsistence, he continued, while conducting the business of his farm, to prosecute his studies in divinity, and eventually was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, although some years elapsed before he obtained a church. Previously to his assumption of the gown he had made

himself an expert farmer, and so remarkable was he, in particular, for his successful culture of the potato, then but indifferently understood, that he obtained the facetious by-name of the *potato minister*. But while he claimed and really possessed the merit of being a superior agriculturist to any of his neighbours, he always acknowledged that he was their inferior in the art of trafficking; and the manner in which he made this boast and acknowledged this inferiority was characteristic of the man: "I can raise crops," he would say, "better than any of my neighbours, but I am always cheated in the market."

While pursuing his farming occupations at Fishers' Tryste, which he did with the most laudable industry and perseverance, labouring much and frequently with his own hands, he did not neglect those studies which his classical education had placed within his reach. It was here, and while labouring with scythe and sickle, ploughing and harrowing, that he conceived, and at intervals of leisure in part wrote, his poem of the *Epigoniad*; the work which acquired him what celebrity he possesses.

Through the influence of Mr. Lind, sheriff-substitute of Mid-Lothian, who resided in his neighbourhood, and who knew of and appreciated his abilities, Mr. Wilkie obtained the appointment of assistant and successor to Mr. Guthrie, minister of Ratho. To this office he was ordained by the presbytery on the 17th May, 1753. Three years afterwards, during all which time he continued to reside on and cultivate his farm, he succeeded to the entire living by the death of the incumbent.

In 1757 Mr. Wilkie published at Edinburgh "*The Epigoniad*, a Poem in Nine Books," 12mo; and in 1759 a second edition, corrected and improved, with the addition of "A Dream, in the Manner of Spenser." The *Epigoniad* obtained a temporary and local celebrity of no unenviable kind. It was read and admired by the learned of Scotland, and has been so frequently alluded to in contemporary literature, that even yet, when perhaps there is hardly a living man who has read it, nothing like oblivion can be said to have overtaken it. Mackenzie, in his life of Home, speaks of it as "a poem of great merit, not only as possessing much of the spirit and manner of Homer, but also a manly and vigorous style of poetry rarely found in modern compositions of the kind." The same critic, after remarking the want of feeling which characterized Wilkie, goes on to say, "Perhaps it is to a want of this poetical sensibility that we may chiefly impute the inferior degree of interest excited by Wilkie's *Epigoniad* to that which its merits in other respects might excite. Perhaps it suffers also from its author having the Homeric imitation constantly in view, in which, however, he must be allowed, I think, to have been very successful—so successful that a person ignorant of Greek will, I believe, better conceive what Homer is in the original by perusing the *Epigoniad* than by reading even the excellent translation of Pope."

After his establishment at Ratho, Mr. Wilkie became a frequent and welcome visitor at Hatton, the residence of the Earl of Lauderdale, the patron of the parish, who highly esteemed him for his worth and talents, and was particularly fond of his society.

In 1759 he became a candidate for the chair of natural philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, then vacant by the death of Mr. David Young, and was successful. After settling in St. Andrews, the poet purchased some acres of land and resumed his farming occupations, in which he succeeded so well as to leave at his death property to the amount of

£3000. Some time after his appointment to the professorship, the university conferred on him, as a mark of its sense of his merits, the degree of Doctor in Divinity.

In 1768 Dr. Wilkie published a series of sixteen *Moral Fables, in Verse*, 8vo; but these, though sufficiently ingenious productions, did not advance him much farther in public favour as a poet. With this circumstance the remarkable occurrences of his life terminate. After a lingering indisposition, he died at St. Andrews, on the 10th October, 1772, in the fifty-first year of his age.

Of Dr. Wilkie's personal peculiarities some curious anecdotes have been preserved. Amongst the most amusing and extraordinary of his eccentricities was a practice of sleeping with an immoderate quantity of bed-clothes, and a detestation which he entertained of clean sheets. He has been known to sleep with no less than four and twenty pairs of blankets on him; and his abhorrence of clean sheets was so great, that whenever he met with them in any bed in which he was to lie, he immediately pulled them off, crumpled them together, and threw them aside. On one occasion, being pressed by Lady Lauderdale to stay all night at Hatton, he agreed, though with reluctance, and only on condition that her ladyship would indulge him in the luxury of a pair of foul sheets!

He was of extremely parsimonious habits, although in the latter years of his life he was in the habit of giving away £20 annually in charity. His parsimony, however, did not proceed so much from a love of wealth as of independence. On this subject he was wont to say, "I have shaken hands with poverty up to the very elbow, and I wish never to see her face again." He was absent to a degree that placed him frequently in the most awkward and ludicrous predicaments. He used tobacco to an immoderate extent, and was extremely slovenly in his dress.

WILLIAM, surnamed **THE LION**, one of the most distinguished of our early monarchs, was born in the year 1143. He was the second son of Henry, Prince of Scotland, the son and heir-apparent of David I., but who predeceased his father in 1152. On the death of his son, David proclaimed his eldest grandson Malcolm as the heir of his Scottish dominions, and, destining William for a separate principality in Northumberland, caused the barons of that district to give him their promise of obedience, and took hostages for its performance. Malcolm accordingly succeeded David in 1153 as King of Scots, while William, then only ten years of age, became superior of the territory now constituting the northern counties of England.

In 1157 an agreement took place between Malcolm and Henry II. of England, by which Northumberland was ceded to the latter, who gave in return the earldom of Huntingdon—an exchange which produced great dissatisfaction in Scotland, and the utmost displeasure in the subject of this memoir. From this time Malcolm became unpopular in Scotland, and it is not improbable that William took advantage of the national prejudices to advance his own ambitious views. It is represented by the Scottish historians that in 1164 the people obliged him to undertake the regency of the kingdom, while the king his brother gave himself up to religious meditation—a very decent description of what must have been little else than a usurpation. On the 28th December, 1165, Malcolm died, and William succeeded to the crown.

William, having repeatedly but vainly solicited the restitution of Northumberland from Henry II.,

at length joined in a confederacy with his son, the celebrated *Cœur de Lion*, for the purpose of dethroning that monarch, Richard not only assuring him of the territory he desired, but also granting the earldom of Cambridge to his younger brother David. In 1174 William served the purposes of this confederacy by an invasion of Northumberland, which he spoiled without mercy. He was prosecuting the siege of Alnwick with a small party, when a large body of Yorkshire horsemen came upon him unexpectedly. Though he had only sixty horse to present against four hundred, he gallantly charged the enemy, crying out, "Now we shall see who are true knights." He was unhorsed, disarmed, and made prisoner, while his companions, and some others who were not then present, submitted to the same fate from a sentiment of duty. Henry did not make a generous use of this triumph. He caused the captive monarch to be brought into the presence of his court at Northampton, with his feet tied together under the belly of a horse, as if he had been a felon, and afterwards placed him in strict confinement in the castle of Falaise in Normandy. The Scots, towards the close of the year, recovered their monarch from captivity, but at the expense of a temporary surrender of their national independence. In terms of the treaty formed on this occasion, William was to do homage to the English king for the *whole of his dominions*—an object at which the latter had long unjustly aimed: and the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling were surrendered as pledges on the part of the King of Scots for the performance of his promise. The independence of the Scottish church was at the same time impignorated, but with certain cautious ambiguities of phrase that reflect great credit on the ingenuity of its dignitaries who managed this part of the treaty. The claims of the English church over Scotland, however, disturbed the hopes of the ensuing years of the reign of William, who, in resisting them, backed as they were by the pope and all his terrors, showed surprising fortitude and perseverance.

In 1189, Richard *Cœur de Lion* having acceded to the throne, and considering that William of Scotland had forfeited his independence in consequence of an attachment to his own interest, restored it to him, along with the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh. Perhaps it was not altogether from a generous or conscientious motive that the king performed this act of justice. He was about to commence his celebrated crusade, and it might be apparent to him that the King of Scots was not a neighbour to be left dissatisfied: he also stipulated for 10,000 marks as the price of the favour he was granting to his brother monarch. The treaty, however, which these mingled notions had dictated was the blessed means of preserving peace between the two countries for upwards of a century. When Richard was afterwards so unfortunate as to become a captive in a foreign land, William contributed 2000 marks towards his ransom. Such transactions afford a pleasing relief to the general strain of our early history.

After a long reign, of which the last thirty years appear to have been spent in tranquillity and without the occurrence of any remarkable event, William died at Stirling, December 4, 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age and the forty-ninth of his reign, leaving by his wife, Ermengarde de Beaumont, one son, who succeeded him under the title of Alexander II. William also had six illegitimate children. He is allowed by historians to have been a vigorous and judicious prince, not exempt of course from the vices of his age, among which must be reckoned a

rash valour, but adorned also by some of its virtues. William was the first Scottish sovereign who bore a coat armorial. He assumed the *lion rampant* upon his shield, and from this cause it is supposed he obtained the designation of *William the Lion*. A curious portrait of William has been preserved from time immemorial in the Trinity Hospital at Aberdeen, and was lately engraved and published in the *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland*.

WILLOCK, JOHN, one of the earliest Scottish reformers, is supposed to have been a native of Ayrshire, and to have been educated at the university of Glasgow. He entered one of the monastic orders (that of the Franciscans, according to Spotswood, and of the Dominicans, according to Lesley) in the town of Ayr, and remained in it probably for several years; but the history of this period of his life is almost entirely unknown. Previously to 1541 he had become a convert to the Protestant faith, and retired from his native country into England. There, however, he did not receive the protection which he seems to have expected; for during the persecution for the Six Articles he was thrown into the Fleet prison. After his liberation he became one of the chaplains to the Duke of Suffolk, the father of the Lady Jane Grey; and during the reign of king Edward appears to have lived in tranquillity. But the hopes of the Protestants were soon blasted by the early death of that monarch; and Willock, with many others, was obliged once more to flee, on the accession of Mary to the throne. The town of Embden in Friesland was selected as the place of his retirement. Here he was enabled to turn his knowledge to account in the practice of medicine, which brought him into contact with persons of distinction, and among others with Anne Duchess of Friesland. The acquaintance which was thus formed was strengthened by subsequent intercourse, and Willock was sent by the duchess on several missions into Scotland. His visits to his native country, where he preached, whether in health or sickness, to all that came to his house, must have had a powerful effect in hastening the establishment of the Reformation. He seems to have ultimately determined upon residing in Scotland; and with this view returned in 1558, or early in 1559. The town of Ayr, in which he had formerly lived in monastic seclusion, was now destined to be the place of his public ministrations; and he mentions St. John's Church as the place where he taught his doctrine "oppinlye befor the pepil." Nor did he decline controversy with the Popish ecclesiastics: for in 1559 he became the opponent of Quentin Kennedy, the well-known abbot of Crosraguel;¹ and at a later period he had public disputes with Black, a Dominican friar, and with Robert Maxwell, a schoolmaster in Glasgow; but of neither of these has any account, so far as we are aware, been preserved. Early in 1559 Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, had summoned Willock and some of the other Protestant preachers to appear before him; but their trial was prorogued by the queen-regent's orders, and they were summoned to appear before the justiciary court at Stirling. In the meantime the gentlemen of the counties of Angus and Mearns, where the Protestant doctrines prevailed, assembled with their followers, with the avowed intention of accompanying the ministers to Stirling. The queen-regent became alarmed, and promised to Erskine of Dun "to take some better order." Upon the faith of this promise they retired, and the ministers did not, of course, consider them-

¹ See an account of their controversy, so far as it proceeded, in Keith's *History*, Appendix, 193-199.

selves as still bound to appear. But when the day of trial came, the regent ordered the summons to be called, the ministers outlawed, and their cautioners amerced.

It is fortunate when such instances of duplicity meet with "the skaith and the scorn" which they deserve. This was certainly the case in the present instance. While the breach of faith alienated the affections of some of the queen-regent's best supporters, it had not even the temporary effect of retarding the progress of the new doctrines. In the following July Willock preached in St Giles', Edinburgh, to large audiences; and in harvest the sacrament of the Lord's supper was publicly administered. The regent requested that mass might still be said, the church leaving it to the option of the people to attend the Popish or the Protestant service; but Willock and his party were sufficiently powerful to resist the proposal, and she had the mortification of seeing her wishes frustrated by the very men whom she had proclaimed rebels not two months before. She was to receive a yet more decided blow from them. In October the nobility, barons, and burghesses assembled at Edinburgh to discuss the question whether a regent who had contemptuously refused the advice of her born councillors,—who had infringed the laws both of the realm and of common good faith—and who had carried on a civil war in the kingdom—should be suffered any longer to rule tyrannically over them. After a statement of their opinions by Willock and Knox she was solemnly deposed, and a council, assisted by four ministers, of whom Willock was one, was appointed to carry on the government till the first meeting of a parliament.

The arrangements which followed the establishment of the Reformation, and the appointment of superintendents over provinces, have been noticed in several of the lives in this Work. In September, 1561, Willock was ordained superintendent of the west, at Glasgow, in presence of some of the most powerful of the nobility.¹ From this period ceases everything in his history that may be supposed to interest a general reader. He was now occupied, apparently, in the routine of his duties, and in the business of the General Assembly, of which he was several times (in 1563, 1565, and 1568) chosen moderator. In or before 1567 he seems to have gone to England; and the General Assembly, in testimony of their esteem, and of the value of his services, ordered John Knox to request him to return. This he did in a most affectionate letter, and it had its effect. Willock did return, and was appointed moderator of the next Assembly. For reasons which it is now in vain to conjecture, he is supposed to have returned to England almost immediately afterwards. With this period closes every authentic trace of this excellent man, of whose history throughout we unfortunately only know enough to excite, but not to gratify, our interest. A charge, apparently of a very absurd nature, has been brought against him by Mr. George Chalmers. In a MS. in the State Paper Office, that author discovered, that in April, 1590, "two men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsonne, Scottishman, preacher, and Johnne Willockes, were convicted by a jury of robbery;" and he immediately concluded that this could be no one else but "the

reforming coadjutor of Knox:" a conclusion which could not fail to gratify his prejudices. Without troubling the reader with any lengthened defence of the supposition that there may have been more than one John Willock in broad England, we shall merely state, that as *our* Willock was a preacher in 1540, if not earlier, he must now have been at an age when robbers (when the gallows spares them) generally think of retiring from their profession.

Respecting the works of John Willison, we have not been able to learn anything. Dempster, in his account of him—one of the most bitter articles in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*—ascribes to him *Impia Quadam*; which, however, he had not seen when he pronounced this opinion of them.²

WILLISON, JOHN, an eminent divine, and author of several well-known religious works, was born in the year 1680. The singularly gentle and pious disposition which he evinced, even in his boyhood, together with the extraordinary aptness which he discovered for learning, determined his parents to devote him, from a very early period of his life, to the service of the church, and in this determination young Willison cordially acquiesced. It was the profession of all others which he himself preferred.

On completing a regular course of academical education he entered on the study of divinity, and prosecuted it with remarkable assiduity and success.

Having duly qualified himself for the sacred calling of the ministry, he was almost immediately thereafter invited (1703), by a unanimous call, to the pastoral office at Brechin. Here he acquired so great a degree of popularity by his abilities as a preacher, and by the simplicity and purity of his manners and conduct, and the benevolence of his disposition, that he was earnestly and unanimously called upon by the people of Dundee to fill a vacancy which shortly after occurred in that town. He accordingly removed thither, and remained there till his death.

Mr. Willison's abilities procured him a remarkable prominence in all public discussions regarding church matters in the period in which he lived, especially in the question of patronage, to which he was decidedly hostile. He was, indeed, considered the leader of the party who advocated the right of the people to choose their own pastors agreeably to the settlement of the church at the revolution in 1689, and was indefatigable in his exertions to restore the exercise of this popular right, which had been overturned by an act of parliament passed in 1712. In these exertions, however, both Mr. Willison and his party were unsuccessful till the year 1734, when they were fortunate enough to procure the co-operation of the General Assembly in their views. That body had hitherto strenuously seconded the enforcement of the system of exclusive patronage, but in the year just named it happened to be composed of men who entertained directly opposite sentiments on that subject to those avowed and acted upon by their predecessors;—so opposite, indeed, that they determined in the following year, 1735, to apply to parliament for a repeal of the patronage act. The known abilities, zeal, and activity of Mr. Willison suggested him as one of the fittest persons to proceed to London on this important mission, and he was accordingly appointed, with two other clergymen, Messrs. Gordon and Mackintosh, to perform that duty; but the application was unsuccessful.

Mr. Willison also distinguished himself by the strenuous efforts he made to keep the peace of the church, by endeavouring to prevent those schisms,

¹ Although the form of admission did not take place till that date, there is evidence that Willock was settled in the west, and had an allowance from the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow, as early as October, 1560, before the meeting of the first General Assembly. In the following January his wife, who appears to have resided in England during the struggles which preceded the Reformation, joined him.—Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, printed by the Maitland Club, i. 450.

² Abridged from Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, i. 99-116, 448-453.

and to reconcile those differences, which led to the separation of large bodies of Christians from the Established church, and which first began to manifest themselves about this period. His efforts were unsuccessful, but not the less meritorious on that account.

Besides being a popular preacher, Mr. Willison was also a popular author, and in the religious world his name in the latter capacity still stands, and will long stand, deservedly high. His principal works are the *Afflicted Man's Companion*, written, as he himself says, with the benevolent intention "that the afflicted may have a book in their houses, and at their bed-sides, as a monitor to preach to them in private, when they are restrained from hearing sermons in public;" and the work is admirably calculated to have the soothing effect intended by its able and amiable author; the *Church's Danger and Ministers' Duty*; *A Sacramental Directory*; *A Sacramental Catechism*; *An Example of Plain Catechising*; the *Balm of Gilead*; *Sacramental Meditations*; *Appendix to Sacramental Meditations*; *A Fair and Impartial Testimony*; *Gospel Hymns*; *Papery another Gospel*; and the *Young Communicant's Catechism*. An edition of these very useful and pious works, in one volume 4to, was published at Aberdeen in 1817.

Mr. Willison is described as having been most exemplary in all the relations of life, and singularly faithful and laborious in the discharge of the important duties of his sacred office, especially in visiting and comforting the sick. In this benevolent work he made no distinction between the rich and the poor, or if he did, it was in favour of the latter.

Neither did he confine his exertions in such cases to those of his own persuasion, but with a truly Christian liberality of sentiment, readily obeyed the calls of all in affliction, whatever their religious creed might be, who sought his aid.

Mr. Willison died at Dundee, on the 3d of May, 1750, in the seventieth year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his ministry.

WILSON, ALEXANDER, the celebrated ornithologist, was born in Paisley, on the 6th of July, 1766. His father was at that time a distiller in a limited way; poor in circumstances, but sober, religious, and industrious, and possessed of sagacity and intelligence much beyond most men in his sphere of life. From the period of his son's birth he entertained the project so fondly cherished by almost every parent among our Scottish peasantry, of rearing him up to be a minister of the gospel. There is no evidence to show that young Wilson displayed any unusual precocity of intellect or bias of disposition to justify so high a destination; but even if he had, he would have been compelled to relinquish his views by the death of his mother, which left his father embarrassed with the charge of a young family. Alexander was at this time ten years of age, and although his education had necessarily been restricted to the ordinary branches of writing, reading, and accounts, the judicious and careful superintendence of his father had even then imbued his mind with a passion for reading and a predilection for the beauties of nature, which continued to influence his character ever afterwards. In his correspondence at a later period of his life, Wilson often recurs with expressions of warm filial gratitude to the paternal anxiety with which his early studies were directed, to which he attributed all the eminence and honours he subsequently attained. In a letter dated February, 1811, he says:—"The publication of my *Ornithology*, though it has swallowed up all the little I had saved, has procured me the honour of many friends, eminent in

this country, and the esteem of the public at large; for which I have to thank the goodness of a kind father, whose attention to my education in early life, as well as the books then put into my hands, first gave my mind a bias towards relishing the paths of literature and the charms and magnificence of nature. These, it is true, particularly the latter, have made me a wanderer in life; but they have also enabled me to support an honest and respectable situation in the world, and have been the sources of almost all my enjoyments."

Wilson's father soon married again; and three years passed away, during which time Alexander seems to have had no other occupation but reading and roaming about, feeding in solitude habits of reflection and an ardent poetic temperament, which led him to shun the society of his frolicsome compeers. An American biographer erroneously attributed this disposition for solitary rambling, and his ultimate departure from the paternal dwelling, to the harsh treatment of his step-mother; but it has been clearly proved by subsequent writers, that she discharged her duty towards him with great tenderness and affection; and Wilson himself uniformly speaks of her with great respect.

At the age of thirteen—that is in July, 1779—Wilson was apprenticed for three years to William Duncan, a weaver, who had married his eldest sister. This occupation was quite at variance with his disposition and previous habits; yet he nevertheless not only completed his indenture, but afterwards wrought for four years as a journeyman, residing sometimes at Paisley, at other times in his father's house (who had then removed to Lochwinnoch), and latterly with his brother-in-law Duncan, who had shifted his quarters to Queensferry. Having much of his time at his own disposal during the last four years, Wilson gave a loose to his poetical disposition; his relish for the quiet and sequestered beauties of nature, which began to assume almost the character of a passion, he indulged more and more, giving utterance to his feelings in verses—chiefly descriptive—which, if exhibiting no great power of diction, certainly display an expansion of thought, a purity of taste, and a refinement of sentiment, that are very remarkable in one so young and so unfavourably circumstanced for the cultivation of literary pursuits. The only explanation which can be given of the fact is, that he possessed an insatiable thirst for reading; and with that and solitary musings passed the leisure hours which others generally devote to social amusements. An almost necessary consequent on this gradual refinement and elevation of mind was a disgust with the slavish and monotonous occupation of the loom; and the incongruity between his worldly circumstances and the secret aspirations of his soul frequently occasioned fits of the deepest melancholy. Unlike, however, but too many of the same sensitive character, and of similar position, he never sought relief from his morbid despondency in the deceitful stimulant of the bottle. He yielded to its influence, only in as far as he manifested an increasing aversion to his occupation; or, as more worldly-minded people would term it, a tendency to idleness. Nor did the circumstance of several of his juvenile pieces appearing about this time in the *Glasgow Advertiser* (now the *Glasgow Herald*), and which attracted no small attention amongst his townsmen, tend anything to reconcile him to the shuttle. This was immediately before his migration to Queensferry; on his removal to which place a circumstance occurred which had a strong influence upon his future fortunes and character. His brother-in-law Duncan, finding the trade of weaving inadequate to the support of his

family, resolved to attempt that of a peddler or travelling merchant for a while, and invited Wilson to join in the expedition. No proposal could have been more congenial to the young poet's mind, promising, as it did, the gratification of the two most powerful passions which he cherished—a desire for increasing his knowledge of men and manners; and a thirst for contemplating the varied scenery of nature. From a journal which he kept, indeed (he was in his twentieth year when he set out), during this expedition, it is evident that his sensations almost amounted to rapture; and he speaks with the most profound contempt of the “grovelling sons of interest, and the grubs of this world, who know as little of, and are as incapable of enjoying the pleasures arising from, the study of nature, as those miserable spirits who are doomed to perpetual darkness can the glorious regions and eternal delights of paradise!” For nearly three years did Wilson lead this wandering life, during which time it appears that he paid less attention to the sale of his wares than to gratifying his predilection for reading and composition, and indulging in a sort of dreamy meditation, little compatible with the interests of his *pack*. In fact, of all occupations, the sneaking, cajoling, and half-mendicant profession of a peddler was perhaps the most unsuitable to the manly and zealously independent tone of Wilson's mind; but he was consoled for his want of success by the opportunities he enjoyed of visiting those spots rendered classical, or hallowed by the “tales of the days of old.” He used to speak, for instance, with rapt enthusiasm of the exultation he experienced in visiting the village of Athelstaneford, successively the residence of Blair and Home. During this happy period—the only truly happy one, perhaps, of his whole life—his muse was so busy, that in 1789 he began to think of publishing. As he could get no bookseller, however, to risk the necessary outlay, he was compelled to advance what little gains he had stored up; and getting a bundle of prospectuses thrown off, he set out on a second journey with his pack, for the double purpose of selling muslins and procuring subscribers for his poems. In the latter object he was grievously disappointed; but Wilson was not a man to travel from Dan to Beersheba and say all is barren, even although foiled in the immediate purpose of his heart. His journal during this second journey indicates the strong and rapid growth of his understanding, and exhibits powers of observation and philosophic reflection remarkable in a young man of the immature age of twenty-three. Upon his return home he obtained the publication of his poems by Mr. John Neilson, printer in Paisley, when he again set out on his former route, carrying with him a plentiful supply of copies, for the benefit of those who might prefer poetry to packware. A less sanguine individual than Wilson might have anticipated the prejudice with which attempts at literary eminence, emanating from such a quarter, were likely to be viewed by the world. But our author was one to whose mind nothing but the test of experience could ever carry conviction—a characteristic which, in his subsequent career, proved one of the most valuable attributes of his mind. His expectations were soon resolved in the present instance. The amount of his success may be gathered from a passage in one of his letters from Edinburgh, wherein he says, “I have this day measured the height of a hundred stairs, and explored the recesses of twice that number of miserable habitations; and what have I gained by it? only two shillings of worldly pelf!” In short, poetry and peddlery proved equally unsuccessful in his hands; he had neither impudence, flattery, nor importunity

enough to pass off either the one or the other upon the public; and he returned, mortified and disappointed, to his father's house at Lochwinnoch, where necessity compelled him to resume the shuttle. But his was not a heart to sink into despair under the frowns of fortune; and accident soon furnished occasion for a display of the latent vigour of his mind. A few of the rising Edinburgh *literati*, having formed themselves into a debating society called the *Forum*, were in the habit of propounding questions for discussion, in which the public were admitted to take a share. It happened about the time we are speaking of, that one of the questions for debate was, “Whether the exertions of Allan Ramsay or Robert Fergusson had done most honour to Scottish poetry?” Wilson having accidentally got notice of this, became fired with the idea of making a public appearance upon a subject on which he felt confident he was capable of acquitting himself creditably, even although he had not then read the poems of Fergusson, and had only a fortnight to prepare himself. He accordingly borrowed a copy, read, and formed his opinion; composed a poem of considerable length for the occasion, labouring all the while double the usual time at the loom, in order to raise funds for his journey; and arrived in Edinburgh in time to take a share in the debate, and recite his poem, called the *Laurel Disputed*; in which, contrary to the opinion of the audience, he assigned the precedence to Fergusson. Wilson remained some weeks in Edinburgh, during which time he composed and recited in public other two poetical essays, and published his *Laurel Disputed*; a poem slovenly, or we should rather say hastily written, but marked by much rough vigour of thought. Some of his pieces about the same time appeared in Dr. Anderson's *Bee*; a fact sufficiently proving that his poetical talents were appreciated by those who constituted the high court of criticism in Edinburgh at the time; but from some cause or other—probably the poverty of his circumstances, together with his unobtrusive disposition—he met with no efficient patronage or encouragement to induce him to try his fortune in the metropolitan world of letters; and he returned home to the loom, with nothing else than some increase of reputation.

About this time an interesting incident took place in Wilson's career. The poems of Burns had then (1791) drawn their immortal author from his obscure situation into the full blaze of fame and popularity. Wilson, having obtained a copy of them, wrote to Burns, strongly objecting to the immoral tendency of several of the pieces. The latter replied, that he was now so much accustomed to such charges, that he seldom paid any attention to them; but that as Wilson was *no common man*, he would endeavour to vindicate his writings from the imputation laid against them, which he accordingly did. Wilson shortly afterwards made a peregrination into Ayrshire to visit Burns, and an intimacy commenced which probably would only have been terminated by death, but for the causes which shortly afterwards doomed Wilson to expatriation. The two poets, indeed, had many striking points of resemblance in their character, especially in the manly and dauntless independence of their minds, their love of nature, and their admiration of everything generous and noble, and intolerance of everything low and mean. Yet it is singular what a contrast their respective writings exhibit. While the passion of love was the main source of Burns' inspirations to the last, Wilson, even in the heyday of ardent youth, seldom alludes to such a feeling; and when he does, it is in the cool tone with which an unconcerned individual would speak of any other curious natural phenomenon.

In the following year (1792) appeared Wilson's admirable narrative poem, *Watty and Meg*. Being published anonymously, it was universally attributed to Burns; a mistake which, of course, the author felt as the highest acknowledgment of its merits. But this was the last gleam of sunshine he enjoyed in his native land. A violent dispute broke out between the journeymen and master-weavers of Paisley, and Wilson joined the ranks of the former, with all the determined energy which so peculiarly characterized him. Fierce and bitter anonymous satires appeared, the paternity of which was rightly assigned to Wilson; and one individual especially, a most respectable and benevolent man, but who was represented to the poet as a monster of avarice and oppression, was libelled by him in a manner too gross to be patiently borne. Wilson was prosecuted, convicted, imprisoned, and compelled to burn the libel with his own hands at the public cross of Paisley. In a badly regulated mind such an infliction would only have excited thoughts of retaliation, and the desire of revenge; but although Wilson must have smarted severely under the disgrace, he was a man of too correct and candid judgment to persist wilfully in an evil course. He deeply repented afterwards these wrathful effusions of his pen. Before setting out to America he called upon all those whom he had been instigated to satirize, and asked their forgiveness for any uneasiness his writings had occasioned; and many years afterwards, when his brother David, who went out to join him in the West, carried out a collection of these youthful satires, thinking they would be an acceptable present to him after the lapse of so long a period, Wilson, without once looking at them, threw the packet into the fire, exclaiming, "These were the sins of my youth; and had I taken my good old father's advice, they never would have seen the light." Such an anecdote is equally creditable to the father's good sense and the son's moral feeling. But other public events accelerated the most important crisis in Wilson's life. The French revolution, with all its delusive promises of a harvest of liberty, broke out; its influence spread over the surrounding nations, and Wilson was one of those ardent men, who, in our own country, conceived a favourable opportunity to have occurred for reforming the national institutions. His well-known zeal and determination of mind made him, of course, be looked upon as a man of most dangerous character; and his previous attacks upon the authorities of Paisley being yet fresh in their recollection, he was watched with a suspicion proportioned to the dislike with which he was regarded. From these causes Wilson's situation soon became intolerably unpleasant to him; and he then, for the first time, resolved upon emigrating to America. By what means he purposed to support himself there it is not very easy to conjecture; but having once resolved, he proceeded immediately to put his plan into execution. His chief if not his only obstacle was the want of funds; and to raise them he applied himself so indefatigably to the loom, that in four months he realized the amount of his passage money. He has himself recorded, that during this period his expenses for living did not exceed *one shilling per week*; so little does man actually require for the bare sustenance of life.

Having bid adieu to his friends and relatives, he walked on foot to Portpatrick, whence he passed over to Belfast, and there embarked on board a vessel bound for Newcastle in the Delaware state, being necessitated to sleep on deck during the voyage. He landed in America on the 14th July, 1794, with his fowling-piece in his hand, and only a few shillings in his pocket, without a friend or letter of

introduction, or any definite idea in what manner he was to earn his future livelihood. He nevertheless set out cheerily on foot towards Philadelphia—a distance of thirty-three miles—delighted with everything he saw; and it was curious enough, that almost his very first action was shooting a red-headed woodpecker, as if indicative of the nature of his future studies. It ought here to be remarked, that, previously to this time, Wilson had never manifested the slightest disposition to the study of ornithology. On arriving at Philadelphia an emigrant countryman, a copperplate printer (from motives of charity, we presume), employed him for some weeks at this new profession; but it is probable that both soon grew mutually tired of the agreement. Wilson at least speedily relinquished the occupation, and betook himself to his old trade of weaving, at which he persevered for about a twelvemonth. Having amassed some little savings, he resumed his old profession of peddler, chiefly with the view of exploring the scenery and society of the country, and traversed the greater part of the state of New Jersey, experiencing considerable success with his pack. Upon his return he finally abandoned the professions of weaver and peddler, and betook himself to an occupation which of all others it might be supposed he was the least fitted by education and disposition to undertake—that of a schoolmaster. But it is evident that Wilson adopted this profession as much as a means of self-improvement as of a livelihood. His first school was at Frankford, in Pennsylvania; thence he removed to Milestown, where he continued for several years, assiduously cultivating many branches of learning, particularly mathematics and the modern languages: thence to Bloomfield, New Jersey; where he had scarcely settled himself when (in 1802) he was offered and accepted an engagement with the trustees of a seminary in Kingessing, on the river Schuylkill, about four miles from Philadelphia; and this was the last and most fortunate of all his migrations. During all these eight years of shiftings and wanderings, Wilson's career was almost one continued struggle with poverty, the principal part of his income being acquired by occasional employment in surveying land for the farmers; yet his mind did not, as is usual with most men, become soured or selfish under the incessant pressure of difficulties. On the contrary, he continued to write home such flattering accounts of his adopted country, as to induce his nephew, William Duncan (whose father was then dead), to follow him across the Atlantic, with his mother and a large family of brothers and sisters. Wilson was at this time at Milestown; but when he heard of their arrival he set out on foot for New York, a distance of 400 miles, for the sole purpose of assisting in getting them comfortably settled. An American biographer says, that, by the kindness of a Mr. Sullivan, Wilson was enabled, in conjunction with his nephew, to purchase and stock a small farm, for the accommodation and support of his relatives; after which he returned again on foot to the ungracious labours of the school-room, accomplishing a journey of 800 miles in twenty-eight days. To this family he continued ever afterwards to pay the most unremitting and benevolent attention; keeping up a constant correspondence with his nephew, advising and encouraging him amid his difficulties, and even redoubling his own exertions, by keeping a night-school, and other laborious expedients, that he might assist in the support of the family. "Be assured," he says, in one of his letters to his nephew, "that I will ever as cheerfully contribute to your relief in difficulties, as I will rejoice with you in prosperity. But we have nothing to fear. One

hundred bushels of wheat, to be sure, is no great marketing; but has it not been expended in the support of a mother, and infant brothers and sisters, thrown upon your bounty in a foreign country? Robert Burns, when the mice nibbled away his corn, said, -

" 'I'll get a blessing wi' the lave,
And never mis't."

Where he expected one you may expect a thousand. Robin, by his own confession, ploughed up his mice out of 'ha' and hame.' You have built for your wanderers a cozie bield, where none dare molest them. There is more true greatness in the affectionate exertions which you have made for their subsistence and support, than the bloody catalogue of heroes can boast of. Your own heart will speak peace and satisfaction to you, to the last moment of your life, for every anxiety you have felt on their account." Nor did Wilson forget the ties of relationship that still united him to the land of his birth. To his father he wrote fully and regularly; and his letters, both to him and his brother David, are no less replete with sound sense than ardent affection and excellent moral feeling.

Wilson's removal to Kingessing was the first lucky step towards the attainment of that fame which hallows his memory. His salary was extremely inadequate to his labour, and almost to his subsistence; but this situation introduced him to the patronage of many kind and influential friends, and afforded him opportunities of improving himself which he had never before enjoyed. Amongst the former was William Bartram, the American Linnaeus of the period, in whose extensive gardens and well-stocked library Wilson found new and delightful sources of instruction and enjoyment; and Mr. Lawson, the engraver, who initiated him into the mysteries of drawing, colouring, and etching, which afterwards proved of such incalculable use to him when bringing out his *Ornithology*. About this time Wilson tasked his powers to their very utmost in the duties of his school and his efforts at self-improvement. This severe exertion and confinement naturally preyed upon his health and depressed his spirits; but Messrs. Bartram and Lawson, who seem to have known little, personally, of the exhausting process of "o'er-informing the tenement of clay," mistook the despondency and lassitude of body and mind thereby occasioned in their friend, for the symptom of incipient madness. This melancholy fact they attributed to his "being addicted to writing verses and playing on the flute;" and it would appear, that, in their efforts to wean him from such perilous habits, they were at little pains to conceal their opinion even from himself. While rambling in the woods one day Wilson narrowly escaped destruction from his gun accidentally falling against his breast when cocked; and in his diary (which he uniformly kept) he blesses God for his escape, as, had he perished, his two worthy friends would undoubtedly have loaded his memory with the imputation of suicide. He complied, however, with their request so far as to substitute drawing for poetry and music; but he attained not the slightest success until he attempted the delineation of birds. This department of the art, to use our old Scottish expression, "came as readily to his hand as the bowl of a pint-stoup," and he soon attained such perfection as wholly to outstrip his instructors. His success in this new employment seems to have first suggested the idea of his ornithological work, as we see from letters to his friends in 1803, that he first mentions his purpose of "making a collection of all our finest birds." Upon submitting his intentions to Messrs. Bartram and Lawson, these

gentlemen readily admitted the excellence of his plan, but started so many difficulties to its accomplishment, that had Wilson been a man of less nerve, or confidence in his own powers, he would have abandoned the idea in despair. But he treated their remonstrances with indifference, or something more like scorn: he resolved to proceed at all risks and hazards, and for some time afterwards busily employed himself in collecting all the rarer specimens of birds in his own neighbourhood. In October, 1804, he set out, accompanied by his nephew Duncan and another individual, upon an expedition to the falls of Niagara, which wondrous scene, according to his own account, he gazed upon with an admiration almost amounting to distraction. On their return the three friends were overtaken by the storms of winter. Wilson's companions successively *gave in*, and left him at different parts of their route; but he himself toiled on through the mud and snow, encumbered with his gun and fowling-bag, the latter of which was of course always increasing in bulk, and arrived safely at home, after an absence of fifty-nine days, during which he had walked nearly 1260 miles, forty-seven of which were performed the last day. Instead of being daunted by the fatigues and hardships of the journey, we find him writing an account of it to his friends with something like exultation, and delightfully contemplating future expeditions of the like nature; and this when his whole stock of money amounted to three-fourths of a dollar! For some time after his return he amused himself with penning a poetical narrative of his journey, called *The Foresters* (afterwards published); a piece much superior to any of his former descriptive poems, and containing many even sublime apostrophes. From this time forward Wilson applied his whole energies to his ornithological work, drawing, etching, and colouring all the plates himself, for he had in vain endeavoured to induce his cautious friend Mr. Lawson to take any share in the undertaking. In the spring of 1806 a favourable opportunity seemed to present itself for prosecuting his researches, by a public intimation being given of the intention of President Jefferson to despatch parties of scientific men to explore the district of Louisiana. At Wilson's request, Mr. Bartram, who was intimate with the president, wrote to him, mentioning Wilson's desire, character, and acquirements, and strongly recommending his being employed in the proposed survey. Wilson also wrote a respectful and urgent letter to Jefferson, detailing the extensive plans of his work, and explaining all his proceedings and views. To these applications the president *vouchsafed not one word in reply*; a circumstance which convinced Wilson more and more—nor did he shrink from the conviction—that he must stand self-sustained in the executing of his great national undertaking. But his intrinsic and sterling merits soon procured him a patronage which to his independent mind was perhaps infinitely more gratifying than the condescending favours of a great man. He received a liberal offer from Mr. Bradford, a bookseller of Philadelphia, to act as assistant editor in bringing out a new edition of Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, and he gladly relinquished the toilsome and ill-rewarded duties of a schoolmaster to betake himself to his new employment. Soon after this engagement he laid before Mr. Bradford the plan of his *Ornithology*, with the specimens of composition and delineation which he had already executed; and that gentleman was so satisfied of Wilson's ability to complete it, that he at once agreed to run all the risk of publication. All obstacles to the fulfilment of his great design being now removed, Wilson applied himself night and day to his double

task of author and editor, occasionally making a pedestrian excursion into various districts for the benefit at once of his health (which was beginning to decay) and of his great work. At length, in 1808, the first volume of the *American Ornithology* made its appearance, and much as the public had been taught to expect from the advertisements and prospectuses previously issued, the work far exceeded in splendour anything that had ever been seen in the country before. Immediately on its publication, the author set out on an expedition through the eastern states, with the design of exhibiting his book and soliciting subscribers. It is not our purpose to trace his course in this journey, wherein he encountered hardships, vexations, and disappointments innumerable, but insufficient to check his ardour. The extent of his journey may be guessed at from the following extract from one of his letters when about to return:—"Having now visited all the towns within a hundred miles of the Atlantic, from Maine to Georgia, and done as much for this bantling book of mine as ever author did for any progeny of his brain, I now turn my wishful eyes towards home." Upon the whole, the result of his expedition was unsuccessful, for although he received most flattering marks of respect wherever he went, the sacrifice of 120 dollars (for the ten volumes) proved a sad check upon the enthusiasm of his admirers. His letters to his friends, in which a full account of every part of this as well as his subsequent journeys is given, are in the highest degree interesting. In 1810 the second volume was published, and Wilson immediately set out for Pittsburg, on his way to New Orleans, for the same purpose as before. On reaching Pittsburg he was puzzled to think by what means he should descend the Ohio; but at last determined, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, to voyage it in a small boat alone. He accordingly bought a *bateau*, which he named the *Ornithologist*, put in a small stock of provisions and water (he never carried spirits with him), with his never-failing fowling-piece and ammunition, and pushed off into the stream for a solitary voyage of between 500 and 600 miles. This was exactly such a situation as was calculated to arouse all the romantic feelings of Wilson's soul: the true lover of nature experiences a delight approaching to ecstasy when alone in the uninhabited desert. But the whole tract of his journey was rich with the objects most attractive to the lonely voyager; he collected an immense stock of ornithological riches for his future volumes, and amused his mind at his hours of repose with the composition of a descriptive poem entitled *The Pilgrim*. He reached New Orleans on the 6th of June, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 2d of August, having been travelling since the beginning of January; during which time his whole expenses did not amount to 500 dollars. This was the most extensive of all Wilson's excursions, and although he took several others to various districts, as the volumes of the *Ornithology* successively appeared, we do not think it necessary here to advert to them particularly. Writing to his brother David a year or two afterwards, in reference to these exertions to further the sale of his works, he says: "By the first opportunity I will transmit a trifle to our old father, whose existence, so far from being forgotten, is as dear to me as my own. But David, an ambition of being distinguished in the literary world has required sacrifices and exertions from me with which you are unacquainted; and a wish to reach the glorious rock of independence, that I might from thence assist my relations who are struggling with and buffeting the billows of adversity, has engaged me in an undertaking more laborious and extensive than

you are aware of, and has occupied every moment of my time for several years. Since February, 1810, I have slept for several weeks in the wilderness alone, in an Indian country, with my gun and my pistols in my bosom; and have found myself so reduced by sickness as to be scarcely able to stand, when not within 300 miles of a white settlement, and under the burning latitude of twenty-five degrees. I have, by resolution, surmounted all these and other obstacles in my way to my object, and now begin to see the blue sky of independence open around me."

Wilson's reputation, indeed, and the merits of his great undertaking, had now forced themselves into notice, not only in America, but throughout all Europe, and one of his biographers says, that there was not a crowned head in the latter quarter of the globe but had then become a subscriber to the *American Ornithology*. Honours as well as profit began to pour in upon him. In 1812 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, and subsequently of other learned bodies. In 1813 the literary materials for the eighth volume of the *Ornithology* were ready at the same time that the seventh was published. But its progress was greatly retarded for want of proper assistants to colour the plates, those whom he could procure aiming rather at a caricature than a copy of nature. He was at last obliged to undertake the whole of this department himself in addition to his other duties, and these multifarious labours, by drawing largely upon his hours of rest, began rapidly to exhaust his constitution. When his friends remonstrated with him upon the danger of his severe application, he answered, "Life is short, and without exertion nothing can be performed." A fatal dysentery at last seized him, which after a few days' illness carried him off, upon the 23d of August, 1813, being then only in his forty-eighth year. According to the authority of an American gentleman who was intimate with him, his death was accelerated by an incident in singular keeping with the scientific enthusiasm of his life. While sitting in the house of one of his friends, he happened to see a bird of a rare species, and which he had been long seeking for in vain, fly past the window. He immediately rushed out of the house, pursued the bird across a river, over which he was compelled to swim, shot and returned with the bird, but caught an accession of cold which partly caused his death. He was buried next day in the cemetery of the Swedish church in the district of Southwark, Philadelphia, with all the honours which the inhabitants could bestow on his remains. The clergy and all the public bodies walked in procession, and wore crape on their arms for thirty days. A simple marble monument was placed over him, stating shortly the place and year of his birth, the period of his emigration to America, and the day and cause of his death.

The whole plates for the remainder of the *Ornithology* having been completed under Wilson's own eye, the letterpress of the ninth volume was supplied by his friend Mr. George Ord, who had been his companion in several of his expeditions, as also a memoir of the deceased naturalist. There have been few instances, indeed, where the glowing fire of genius was combined with so much strong and healthy judgment, warmth of social affection, and correct and pure moral feeling, as in the case of Alexander Wilson. The benevolence and kindness of his heart sparkle through all his writings, and it is cheering to the true Christian to observe that his religious principles became purified and strengthened in proportion to the depth of his researches into the organization of nature. He is said to have been

strikingly handsome in person, although rather slim than robust, with a countenance beaming with intelligence, and an eye full of animation and fire. His career furnishes a remarkable example of the success which, sooner or later, is the reward of perseverance. It is true he did not attain riches, but upon the possession of these his happiness was not placed. He wished, to use his own words, "to raise some beacon to show that such a man had lived," and few have so completely achieved the object of their ambition. Wilson's father survived him three years.

Three supplementary volumes of the *Ornithology*, containing delineations of American birds not described by Wilson, have been published by Charles Lucien Bonaparte. In 1832 an edition of the *American Ornithology*, with illustrative notes and a life of Wilson, by Sir William Jardine, was published in London, in three volumes.

WILSON, ANDREW, one of the most eminent landscape-painters of the Scottish school, was born in Edinburgh on the 19th March, 1778. He was the son of Mr. Archibald Wilson, a burgher of that city, who, descended on his mother's side from an old Jacobite family, the Shields of Inveresk, was through her the heir to their possessions; these were, however, for the most part dissipated before he succeeded, and consequently he was obliged to look to business for a livelihood. He selected house-painting, but being without training for such a pursuit, and educated for another position, he was not a fortunate practitioner of this humble branch of art. His calling, however, as it frequently has done, may have given a bent to the inclinations of his son Andrew, who desired to be an artist, and was in consequence apprenticed to Alexander Nasmyth, the distinguished portrait and landscape painter. Although little is known of this apprenticeship, there is evidence in Wilson's pictures of the influence of his first master, and of the thorough training which he received. Even his early works exhibit a certain mastery over materials and a perfection of execution plainly the result of careful instruction, whilst his skill as a draughtsman of the figure (a rare attainment among landscape-painters) was in all probability due to the same influence. From the studio of Nasmyth he proceeded to the school of the Royal Academy, London, where he was a fellow-student and friend of Turner, and where he acquired a greater insight into the resources of his art.

At an early age Wilson visited Italy, and there imbibed a strong predilection for classic composition in landscape-painting, and at same time laid the foundation of that knowledge of the works of the Italian masters for which he was afterwards distinguished. Early in the year 1803 several moneyed men in Glasgow, hoping to profit by his knowledge, engaged him to proceed to the Continent to purchase works of art, which could then be procured at very moderate prices owing to the state of uncertainty induced by the prevailing wars. In course of this journey he was arrested by the French at Turin, and, notwithstanding his manifestly peaceful occupations, was sent to Verdun as a prisoner of war. From Verdun he managed to make his escape, and after various adventures, amongst which he used to tell of his being cast over a precipice by his guide and falling into a fig-tree near a convent, whence he was rescued and cared for by the monks, Wilson at last reached Genoa. He continued to reside there for nearly three years in the exercise of his profession, during which time he was elected a member of the Ligurian Academy of the Fine Arts. The French, then in occupation of Genoa, did not molest

him. When Napoleon Buonaparte took occasion to visit the Academy of Genoa, Wilson was in attendance along with his fellow-academicians, and as Napoleon paused before one of Wilson's pictures, a fellow-artist, who bore him no good-will, whispered that it was the work of an Englishman then present. Napoleon sternly replied, "Le talent n'a pas de pays." It would have been well had he remembered this maxim when in 1803 he consigned so many peaceful British travellers to a hopeless imprisonment. During Wilson's residence in Genoa at this time, he purchased no less than fifty-four important pictures by the old masters, and almost succeeded in securing the altar-piece of San Stefano, the upper part of which is one of Raphael's finest works, but it was seized by the French just before he had completed the purchase. Amongst the pictures then obtained may be mentioned "Moses and the Brazen Serpent," by Rubens, now in the National Gallery, London, purchased on the 27th March, 1805, from Lorenzo Marana for 17,500 lire of Genoa, about £660. The "Adoration of the Magi," now in the National Gallery, Edinburgh, which, if it be the "Adoration" mentioned in the artist's accounts, cost a very small sum indeed, as he specifies "a small picture by Domenichino, 'Adoration of the Magi,' 'Holy Family' and 'Annunciation' by Procaccino, copy after Raphael, two landscapes by Tempesta, large picture by Piola, ditto of the 'Venetian School'—all for 2000 lire, about £70." It would appear from other statements in his accounts that the Genoese parted with their treasures of art for very inconsiderable sums. For example, a Murillo purchased from a Capuchin convent for 600 lire (the exchange varied from 47½ to 50 lire to the pound sterling), a portrait of Philip IV. of Spain, by Rubens, for 12 lire! A portrait by Raphael, "St. Jerome in the Desert," "Infant Christ and St. John" by Pierino del Vaga, acquired from G. Gentili—all for 950 lire! It must indeed have been desperate straits which induced a Genoese nobleman to part with his pictures at such prices. Leaving Genoa about the 16th March, 1806, Wilson proceeded to Leghorn, and there embarked for England, which he reached in safety.

In 1808 Wilson was married to an amiable lady of great personal attractions and respectable family. On her mother's side she was descended from a line of artists, as jewellers once were, and amongst them from James Inglis, the master and teacher of the famous George Heriot. The prospects of an artist in the first quarter of the present century were far from brilliant unless he were a portrait-painter, and Wilson experienced some difficulty in making a living as a painter of landscape only. His resources, however, were manifold; thoroughly well trained, and of excellent abilities, he could adapt himself to opposite and various branches of art, and thus he became professor of drawing in the Military College, Sandhurst, an appointment the duties of which did not hinder him from pursuing his own particular walk in art. While at Sandhurst his genial society was much sought after by his countrymen in the college, and by Scottish cadets; and his residence there, if not calculated to enrich him, was at least a pleasant period of his life. The position of master of the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh, becoming vacant by the death of Graham, Wilson was in 1818 appointed his successor. During eight years he discharged the duties of this important trust with ability and fidelity, and trained a number of young artists, some of whom afterwards became famous. To his students he was ever kind, and ready to aid their progress; and his memory

is revered by those of them who are still alive. Wilson was also appointed manager of the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland, in which capacity he collected old pictures for the exhibitions originated by the Institution, and arranged the exhibitions of modern works of art which preceded those of the Royal Scottish Academy. Whilst thus actively engaged in promoting the interests of art, he personally supported the exhibitions by painting each year a number of admirable landscapes, which tended much to increase his reputation. About this time an accession of fortune by the death of his wife's eldest brother, one of the judges of the supreme court of Calcutta, enabled the artist to increase his home comforts, and appears also to have excited a desire to revisit the land of his early studies. Accordingly, in 1826 he proceeded with his family to Italy, and there he continued to reside for nearly the rest of his life, sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Florence, and latterly at Genoa. During this prolonged residence in Italy many of his finest pictures were painted. Among these may be named the following, which he contributed to the Edinburgh exhibitions of the years indicated:—

- 1828—Part of the Palace Ruins on the Palatine Hill, Rome.
Italian Travellers.
Monte Mario, Scene on the Tiber—Evening.
View from Bellosguardo—Vale of the Arno.
View of Florence—Evening.
- 1835—Vallombrosa—Tuscany.
- 1837—Genoa, from the Battery of La Cava.
- 1838—La Spezia, Coast of Genoa—Sunset.
- 1842—Moonlight—on the Lake of Perugia.
Scene from the Lucca Mountains, looking towards the Maremma.
Sunset—Coast of Genoa.
- 1843—La Spezia, Coast of Genoa.
La Magra, a torrent near Sarzana.
Tivoli and the Campagna, looking towards Rome.
The City and Port of Genoa.
St Peter's, Monte Mario, and the Tiber.
Sestri de Levante, Coast of Genoa.
- 1844—Tivoli.
Near Tivoli, Campagna Romana.
Villa Adriana—Composition.

It is to be regretted that no record exists of his contributions to the exhibitions of the Royal Academy in London, but they probably included his fine drawings of Rome and Tivoli—engraved—of the church St. John Lateran, and of the baths of Caracalla. His pictures of Scottish scenery are comparatively few in number, and were painted exclusively during the early part of his career.

During his lengthened residence in Italy Wilson purchased in various localities many pictures by the old masters for the Royal Institution, Edinburgh, and thus formed their collection, which is now merged in that of the Scottish National Gallery. This collection, acquired at a cost of about £2000 only, contains some fine pictures and some of less merit. The "Noble Vandyke," purchased from the Lomellini family, alone was worth the money before it was irreparably injured in Edinburgh by reckless cleaning, a proceeding which touched Wilson so keenly that he could not be induced to visit this gallery afterwards. On his return to Great Britain in 1848, during a short residence in London, he painted his last work, a small picture, "Scene on the Coast of Genoa," now in the possession of Mr. W. T. Thomson of Bonaly. The artist was now in very feeble health, and, much to his regret, was unable to accept the invitation from the Royal Scottish Academy to a public dinner intended to have been given in his honour. This tribute of respect and admiration was gratefully appreciated by the veteran artist, but was soon followed by his death, which took place at Edinburgh on 26th November, 1848.

Wilson's pictures are distinguished by beauty of

composition, correctness of drawing, and an elegant harmony of blended colour, rather than by force. He hardly ever painted nature except under her most sunny effects, and delighted especially in representing the glowing sunsets of Italy. He practised as a painter in water-colours as well as in oils, and was amongst the foremost reformers of that beautiful branch of art. His early pictures in water-colours have a power of handling, a breadth of effect, and a richness of colour, quite unequalled by those of any other artist, at the time when they were painted.

WILSON, FLORENCE, an author of some note, was born on the banks of the Lossie, near Elgin, about the year 1500. He is commonly known by his Latinized name of Florentius Volusenus, which has been usually translated Wilson, though it is doubted whether his name was not Wolsey, Willison, Williamson, or Voluzene. He studied at Aberdeen, and afterwards repaired to England, where Cardinal Wolsey appointed him preceptor to his nephew. Accompanied by the latter he went to Paris, where after the death of Wolsey and the consequent loss of his pupil, he found another patron in Cardinal du Bellai, Archbishop of Paris. Along with this prelate he intended to visit Rome, but was prevented by illness, and was left behind at Avignon. Here he recommended himself by his scholarship to Cardinal Sadolet, who procured for him the appointment of teacher of Latin and Greek in the public school of Carpentras. He is best known by his dialogue *De Animi Tranquillitate*, which was published at Lyons in 1543, and reprinted at Edinburgh in 1571, 1707, and 1751. Wilson died at Vienne, in Dauphiny, in 1547, when returning to his native land. Several other works have been ascribed to him besides the well-known dialogue, but the works themselves are not extant. His death was celebrated by Buchanan in the following epigram:—

"Hic Musis, Volusene, jaces carissime, ripam
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul a patria!
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quæ foret alitrix
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos."

WILSON, GEORGE, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.S.S.A., regius director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland, professor of technology in the university of Edinburgh. This amiable, talented, and popular teacher of science was born in Edinburgh, on the 21st of February, 1818. "His parents were highly respectable, though not in such an elevated station as to diminish the credit due to his own exertions in attaining the position which he ultimately reached; but it deserves to be noticed, that he may be included in the number of distinguished men who have been in a great degree indebted for the development of their talents to the maternal character and influence."¹ His father, Mr. Archibald Wilson, was a wine-merchant in Edinburgh; his mother, Janet Aitken, was the youngest daughter of a land-surveyor in Greenock. George was one of a family of eleven children, of whom three only now survive, and he was a twin-brother. How greatly his after-life was influenced by the maternal affection and care, the following instance out of several may suffice to show. Every night it was the mother's custom to visit the cot of her twin-children, and repeat over them the prayer of Jacob: "The God which fed me all my life long, unto this day; the Angel that redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads!" So interesting was this blessing to George, that long afterwards he described to a friend how he used to lie

¹ Opening address of Lord Neaves to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, December 5, 1859.

awake watching for it, but pretending to be asleep, that he might enjoy it to the full.

After passing through the usual elementary education, George Wilson, when nine years of age, was sent to the high-school of Edinburgh; and here that desire for general knowledge, and aptitude in acquiring it, which distinguished his whole life, was already displaying itself. He had collected a little menagerie of pet animals, who instructed him in the elements of natural history. On Saturdays and holidays he made excursions in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, exploring architectural ruins of historical interest, and bringing home geological and botanical specimens. Nor were the inanimate sources of knowledge sufficient for him; he laid the living also under contribution, while his questions were so pertinent and proposed with such winning gentleness, that it was impossible to withhold from him the desired information. A golden opportunity of this kind, when he was eleven years of age, occurred when he travelled to Glasgow by the canal, and a young fellow-traveller of his thus describes the way in which the opportunity was used: "George placed himself side by side with the greatest person on board (the captain), and plied him with question after question till the moment he left the boat. Before leaving he very politely went up to the captain and mate, and thanked them heartily for their attention and information. They both said they had never seen such a boy. Besides the captain he met on board a Miss Peacock, a most intelligent lady who had been in Ireland, England, &c. George did question her, and got quite in love with her, saying, 'she could speak about everything, just like his mother.' Before parting he gave her a cordial kiss." But although his appetite for knowledge was so omnivorous, he was not neglectful of the tasks of the school, so that he generally kept a high place in the class, and obtained a fair share of prizes. His teacher, Mr. Mackay, in his public class examinations, instead of confining himself wholly to Latin, would sometimes put unexpected queries on matters of history, science, or general literature; and on such occasions the subject of our memoir was so ready, that his class-fellows regarded him as a little encyclopedia, while the master applied to him on the entrance of visitors into the class-room, with "George Wilson, make ready!"

On quitting the high-school in 1832 his future profession was to be decided, and that of a physician was his own natural choice. It was the one that would bring him the most in contact with those branches of study to which he had already shown so strong a predilection. It was thought that the best training for the profession would be a four years' apprenticeship in the laboratory of the Royal Infirmary, and to this he was accordingly bound; but here the daily drudgery was so aggravated by the immoral companionships with which his situation brought him into contact, that he trembled in after-years when he recollected the dangers he had escaped. To this he alluded in his opening address as president of the Society of Arts in 1857: "Ah me! when I recall some of the enforced companions of my apprenticeship days, I feel that I would make the greatest sacrifices rather than permit a youth dear to me to encounter similar temptations." The pure mind of George Wilson however, instead of being corrupted, was confirmed in its purity by such an ordeal, and when he became an authority in his profession, he was earnest in warning his pupils of the dangers, and showing how they were to be surmounted. Another difficulty by which his gentle nature was assailed was almost as hard to overcome; this was the horror

of witnessing painful surgical operations in the infirmary. The first case of this kind at which he was present was the amputation of a sailor's leg above the knee. "Some days after the operation," he says, "when the horror of the first shock had passed away, I resolved to visit the poor fellow, who happened to be a namesake, and see if I could render him any little service. I went, however, with no little hesitation, expecting to find him in the same state of suffering and prostration as I had seen him in before, and fearing that I should only distress myself, without doing him any good. I was greatly surprised, however, and indeed amused, to find the invalid half propped up in bed, and intently occupied with a blacking-brush, borrowed from the nurse, polishing the single shoe which in six weeks, or a month at soonest, he might hope to wear. I could not help smiling in his face, and wishing him a speedy return to his shoe, which at once became the text of a cheerful conversation. The ludicrous inappropriateness, as it then seemed to me, of the patient's occupation relieved my feelings, and its perfect appropriateness, as it seemed to himself, relieved his; for as I learned more fully in subsequent conversations, his great concern was to count the hours, till he should reach a fishing village in the south of England, where his mother and sister longed for his return. He made an excellent recovery, and reached his home in safety." The same benevolent sympathy which seated him at the bedside of the patient, also inspired the boy-prentice of the infirmary in providing for the sailor in his journey home, although for such a purpose he was obliged to part with a sum of money which he had laid aside for the purchase of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*. Such was also the case on many other occasions, when he not only emptied his own purse, but—harder still—was obliged to crave the benevolence of others in behalf of his suffering clients. Even his outer coat might be called the garment of charity, for it was of ample volume, and provided with many pouches stored with comforts for the sick, while all were diverted at the sight of this singular cupboard.

Soon after he had entered on his duties in the infirmary, George Wilson commenced those studies which were to fit him for the calling he had chosen. He therefore became a student at the university, attending the classes of mathematics and natural philosophy during the winter session of 1832-3, and on Lizar's anatomical demonstrations during the ensuing summer. In 1833-4 he studied chemistry and anatomy, and in the following year added to them the studies of surgery and *materia medica*. These were succeeded in the winter session of 1835-6 by the institutes of medicine, the practice of medicine, and clinical surgery; and in summer he attended the class of botany, which was appropriately conducted in a lecture-room of the botanical garden, amidst the blooming of flowers and the singing of birds. The closing session of his curriculum was occupied with the study of natural history, clinical medicine, midwifery, and practical chemistry, with attendance on the hospital wards. Amidst such a variety of departments connected with his future profession, it was natural that he should form a preference, and chemistry accordingly had become his favourite pursuit. This science he had carefully studied under Dr. Hope and Dr. Kenneth Kemp, and in 1836-7 he had been engaged for eighteen months as chemical assistant in Dr. Christison's laboratory, which at that time was the best school of analytical chemistry in the university. In the latter part of the year 1837 he passed as surgeon, but as yet was too young to apply for the degree of M.D. Ambitious how-

ever to be useful in some difficult and important field, and struck with the defectiveness and unsubstantiality of female education, he chivalrously resolved to devote his first attempts to the mental improvement of the fair sex. In his MS. journal of this period he states, "I meet with scarcely one lady in ten or fifty who has sufficiently cultivated her natural powers."

Following out the proposal to amend the subjects of ladies' conversation and study, I assembled some of them in my father's house, and delivered a course of prelections on chemistry, especially the chemistry of nature. It was in the winter of 1837-8, so that I was then *æt.* 19; the majority of my audience were older by a year or two. I was greatly praised and encouraged, most kindly listened to, and assisted in many ways, especially by John Macgillivray, a generous, unselfish, happy fellow, without whose aid I should have come on very poorly. This course, which began in October, was first interrupted by the illness of my sister, and afterwards, in February, by the mournful indisposition of my cousin Catherine, so that only ten or twelve lectures were given." Foreseeing that this was but the commencement of his future career as a public lecturer, he adds: "I place here the names of those who smiled on a juvenile attempt, both because I would keep on record the titles of those persons who gave rise to many a happy thought, and that as I hope to address other audiences, I may not lose the recollection of my first, which was more kind, generous, and forgiving towards me than any future audience ever can be."

In consequence of a wish he had long entertained, and the hope of extending his knowledge, Wilson in the winter of 1838 went to London, and entered the laboratory of University College, under the superintendence of Professor Graham, late master of the mint. Among his fellow-students at the laboratory were some of his countrymen afterwards distinguished in the scientific world—such as Mr. James Young, subsequently of the Bathgate Chemical Works; Dr. John Lyon Playfair, afterwards professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh; and Dr. Livingstone, who, while qualifying himself to become an African missionary, was unconsciously preparing the way for being the most renowned of African explorers. During his attendance at the London university, he not only joined the students in their severe intellectual pursuits, but also in their literary fun, for his was not only a happy spirit continually effervescing with irreproachable mirth and wit, but enough of poetical inspiration to have made him a distinguished poet, had his ambition gone in that direction. He wrote for the periodicals of the university, and used for his *nomme de plume* the name of "Bottle Imp," or the initial letters "B. I." After his return to Edinburgh he passed his examinations, and obtained his diploma of Doctor of Medicine in June, 1839. His thesis was "On the Certain Existence of Haloid Salts of the Electro-negative Metals in Solution." The happy event of his passing he thus communicated in his own frolicsome fashion to his invalid sister in the country: "Yesterday, between the hours of one and three o'clock, I underwent the transformation, and emerged from my chrysalis state, leaving my case (*i.e.* £21) behind me, and soared aloft (that is, walked, I did not very well know how) into the blue empyrean (*i.e.* along the pavement leading from the college to Gayfield Square) in a mood of mind which only those who have tasted of the horrors of an eternal caterpillarity (*i.e.* of being a *sticked* doctor) hovering before them can appreciate. But I will close my wings, as yet unsoiled and unfeathered, and come down to the earth; that is to say, I will remember that 'this is my right hand and that is my left,' that

I am sitting in an arm-chair, writing to my dearly beloved sister Mary, who is recovering her health among the breezes that float over the rugged Ochils."

Being now an M.D. however was not enough; to live he must get patients, while the proverbial reluctance of people to become such is too well known to need further notice. Until these should therefore be found he resolved to commence public lecturing in Edinburgh, with his beloved chemistry for the subject of his course. In the same year he had taken a long pedestrian tour in the Highlands, from which he returned in so exhausted a condition that he was obliged to arrange his first course of lectures while confined to bed. Having obtained a license as a lecturer on chemistry from the Royal College of Surgeons, he entered on the laborious duties of an opening session in November, 1840, although scarcely convalescent, and laboured with an assiduity that would have tried the most robust strength. It was impossible for him to stand still, and during the first fortnight he not only lectured six days in the week, but taught besides a practical class, and instructed private pupils. This great amount of labour compelled him to sit up every night till two in the morning, and to rise at seven, so that in coming home in the afternoon he was generally so exhausted, as to fall asleep on the sofa while dinner was being served up. A teacher so earnest could not be otherwise than successful. His class consisted of thirty-one pupils, and he at once became a favourite lecturer; his ready command of appropriate language, his buoyant wit, and brilliant imagination lighted every subject on which he touched, and would have made the dullest theme attractive; while his clear voice and deliberate pronunciation made every word fall upon the ear with unmistakable distinctness. "Wilson," wrote Professor Forbes of him, "is one of the best lecturers I ever heard, reminding me more of the French schools than our humdrum English, and is a man of high literary taste and great general knowledge. Of his chemical views I know that Graham here [London] speaks in the highest terms, which he does not bestow on any other Edinburgh man." He had achieved such a triumph as might have insured the successful career of a lifetime, but it was henceforth to be a lifetime of sickness and pain, in which every success was to be accompanied by a record of fresh suffering. "How nobly, how sweetly, how cheerily he bore all those long baffling years; how his bright, ardent, unsparring soul lorded it over his frail but willing body, making it do more than seemed possible, and as it were by sheer force of will ordering it to live longer than was in it to do, those who lived with him and witnessed this triumph of spirit over matter will not soon forget. It was a lesson to every one of what true goodness of nature, elevated and cheered by the highest and happiest of all motives, can make a man endure, achieve, and enjoy."¹

The commencement of these maladies might be dated from Wilson's unfortunate pedestrian Highland tour, in which he had been dragged by his companion, against his own better judgment, into an amount of exertion and fatigue that were too much for him. An attack of rheumatism was the consequence, followed by disease of the ankle-joint; and after various remedies applied in vain, it was found that nothing short of amputation would avail. To amputate through the ankle-joint was a new process, and in the absence of chloroform an agonizing as well as dangerous one; but Wilson, who submitted to the medical decision, only required a week for preparation, which he chiefly spent in reading the Scriptures

¹ Brown's *Horæ Subsecivæ*, Part ii.

and prayer. He thought that the operation might be followed by a fatal issue, and that the short interval between might be so full of suffering as to unfit him for such a solemn transition. And innocent though his life had hitherto been, and so guileless in its daily course, he found that the great essential was still wanting without which all the rest would profit him nothing for eternity. But this he was now enabled to understand and realize, and the fearful ordeal was the beginning of a new life. It was not indeed that his character was changed: it was rather the entrance of a new principle of action that pervaded all his feelings, and gave all his actions a higher direction than before, so that he was henceforth to live for God and eternity rather than for time and for empty fame; while the effect of such a change was to make his enterprise more active, his cheerfulness more steadfast, and his fancy, wit, and humorous playfulness more brilliant than ever. An artificial foot covered with chamois leather and inclosed in an ordinary half-boot, enabled him to stand for hours, and even to take exercise, and as soon as the cure was completed he was again at work, and as buoyant of heart as ever. He was indeed to be henceforth the victim of feebleness and sickness, and the martyr of almost incessant pain; a film trembling between life and death which the wind was prematurely to carry away. But with all this there was in him a giant's strength that seemed impervious to weakness and decay, and a cheerful, merry spirit which neither pain could quell nor sickness subdue, so that his remaining work of a few years was equal in amount and excellence to that of a busy and well-spent life of threescore and ten years. The feeling that his time must be short at the best, and that at any hour he might be summoned to the world of spirits, instead of damping his ardour, only raised it into double activity, and every hour was spent as if at the close of it an account of how much had been done while it lasted might be required.

After recovering from the amputation of his foot, decided symptoms of pulmonic complaint succeeded; but on the arrival of winter he resumed his professional duties as if he had no time to be sick. These duties were further augmented by his appointment as lecturer on chemistry to the Edinburgh Veterinary College, and a similar appointment to the School of Arts. He also commenced a course of lectures on the Saturday of each week to young ladies at the Scottish Institution. These occupations comprised in all the delivery of ten lectures a week, delivered to various audiences; consisting of twenty students at his medical class, forty at his veterinary class, about a hundred young ladies at the Scottish Institution, and "some two hundred stout fellows" at the School of Arts. "It is sometimes difficult," he wrote to his sister, "to disentangle the one from the other, and accordingly I called the young ladies *gentlemen*, and made them all smile. Last Saturday, however, I took care to write on my notes at various places the word *ladies* to prevent mistakes, and as I had abundance of magnificent experiments, the bonny lasses looked bonnier, and were all well pleased." But the manner in which the halls were crowded, the enthusiasm that welcomed his lectures, and the taste which they inspired for the study of chemistry, it would be difficult to describe. But of these his Tuesday evening lecture was the most laborious of his duties, and on returning from it crowned with applause, but faint and weary, he frequently observed, "Well, there's another nail put into my coffin." The ten years of life that followed were so completely occupied not only with lecturing but publishing, that the wonder is how any man in so

short a time could do so much. But the wonder rises to almost absolute incredulity when we take into account the feeble frame of Wilson, and the constant attacks of pain and sickness through which all this was achieved. "While lecturing ten, eleven, or more hours weekly," writes his sister, "sometimes with pulse at 150, it was frequently with torturing setons and open blister wounds; and every holiday was eagerly seized for the application of similar 'heroic remedies,' or 'bosom friends,' as he named them. His keen appreciation of the pleasures of society, and of all beautiful things, was sternly put aside to meet professional claims; and all with such quiet simplicity or gay good humour, that few if any guessed the price at which the work was accomplished."

Of the spirit that bore George Wilson so constantly onward and upward, the following hymn, written by him on a Sabbath when detained from church by sickness, is such an admirable exposition, that notwithstanding its length we prefer to give it entire:—

"THE WINGS OF THE DOVE AND THE EAGLE.

(Psalm lv. 6; Isaiah xi. 31.)

"As I lay upon my bed,
Weeping and complaining,
Turning oft my weary head,
Hope and help disdaining;
Lo! before mine eyes there stood
Vision of an ancient wood
Full of happy birds pursuing
Each the other with keenest zest;
And I heard the plaintive cooing
Issuing from the turtle's nest,
Till I murmured at the sight,
And forgot God's high behest:
'Had I but your wings, I might
Fly away and be at rest.'

"Then the low, sweet, plaintive cooing
Of the fond maternal birds
Seemed itself with thoughts imbuing,
And at length flowed forth in words:
"'Plumes of doves and fluttering wings
Are but vain and feeble things;
Timidly the air they fan;
Scarcely would they serve to raise thee,
Need the truth at all amaze thee?
O'er this earth a little span.
Look thou there!' and, lo! an eagle,
From his nest amid the stars
Stood before me with his regal
Front and venerable scars.
In a moment, wide extending
His great wings (so seem'd my dream),
He was in the air ascending
With a wild, exulting scream.

"'Judge thou, then,' the voice said, 'whether
This or that's the better thing—
Rainbow-tinted dove's soft feather,
Or the eagle's ruffled wing?'
'That's the better!'—'Rest then still!
In thy heart of hearts abase thee;
Lose thy will in God's great will.
By-and-by he will praise thee,
In his own good time and season,
When 'tis meet that thou shouldst go,
And will show thee fullest reason
Why he kept thee here below.
Wings of doves shall not be given;
But to lift thee up to heaven
Thou shalt have entire dominion
O'er the eagle's soaring pinion,
Thou shalt mount to God's own eyry
And become a crowned saint,
Thou shalt run and not be weary,
Walk, and never faint;
Therefore utter no complaint.'

"Now I lie upon my bed
Saying, 'Be it even so,
I will wait in faith and hope
Till the eagle's wings shall grow.'"

The rare combination of talents possessed by Dr. Wilson as a lecturer in chemistry and economical science, the spirit with which he inspired his audi-

ences, whether in the Academic Hall, the Philosophical Institution, the various literary societies that were eager to secure his services, or even in his homely lecture-rooms in the Canongate and Cowgate, and the distinctness, eloquence, and illustrative power with which he popularized those sciences which had hitherto been studied by the select few, and made them intelligible as well as attractive even to the most ordinary capacities, were now to win their merited acknowledgment by an important public appointment. It was resolved to establish an industrial museum for Scotland, and on the government inquiring who was the fittest person to superintend it, the universal answer was, "Dr. Wilson." Accordingly he received his official appointment as director of the Scottish Industrial Museum in February 21, 1855, the same day being also his birthday. To this was afterwards attached a chair of technology in the university of Edinburgh, to which he was appointed in the ensuing autumn. And what is technology? This the new professor answered in his inaugural lecture. "Technology," he said, "is the sum or complement of all the sciences which either are or may be made applicable to the industrial labours or utilitarian necessities of man. While the subject has a connection with various subjects already taught in the university, it steers a course distinct from all, has a province of its own, and will not, when properly handled, interfere with the duties of any other professor." It was in accordance with this definition that he drew up his lectures, which extended over three sessions, and were divided into mineral, vegetable, and animal technology. Under the first of these were included the relation of the atmosphere, the ocean and tributary waters, and the earth to technology; and among special subjects, fuel, building material, glass and glass-making, pottery, earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, metal-techny, electrotechny, and magnetotechny. Under the second, or vegetable technology, were treated saccharo-amylaceous substances, sugar-making, albuminous substances and fermentations, distillation, wood and wood-fibres, textile tissues, bleaching, dyeing, calico-printing, paper-making, scriptorial or graphic industrial arts, caoutchouc, gutta-percha, and the resins, fats, and oils. Under the third section, or animal technology, were included the mechanical application and chemical products of bones, ivory, horns, hoofs, tortoise-shell, shells and corals; skins, tanning, fish-scales; hair, fur, wool, bristles, quills and feathers, animal refuse. These lectures upon so great a variety of subjects were copiously illustrated by drawings and experiments, and by specimens from the natural history collections and the Industrial Museum. During the course occasion was also taken to visit various manufactories. In collecting specimens for the Industrial Museum—his "dear museum," as he called it—Professor Wilson was indefatigable, while his powers of solicitation and persuasion few or none could resist. And his success was attested by the annual report of the museum in 1859. During the four preceding years the models and specimens collected were 10,350 in number. The immense correspondence to all quarters and on every subject which this kind of duty imposed is thus amusingly indicated by the professor in the form of a mock-advertisement: "Wanted, a monkey from the zoological gardens to write letters to a philosopher's friends. No ape or baboon need apply. The strictest references expected and given. Apply at Elm Cottage [Dr. Wilson's residence] in the writing of the applicants, inclosing a witty, a stupid, and a pathetic letter."

The new appointment he held, so unlike all other

professorships, and his acquaintance with its multiplied details as was exemplified by his lectures, obtained for Professor Wilson such a reputation for universal knowledge, that the popular estimate was often expressed in a most grotesque and unwonted fashion, and he was inundated with questions *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, which Solomon himself could not have solved, by querists whose undoubting declaration was, "The professor knows everything." "It seems to be supposed here," wrote Wilson to a friend, "that on the day when I was made professor of technology there flowed into my head the whole cyclopedia of useful arts, and all the encyclopedias and other treasures of knowledge, and in a liquified condition formed a well full to overflowing somewhere in my pineal gland, so that whoever is ignorant need only to put down his bucket and draw it up full." One day in the pantomime season a pupil who had been enjoying its marvels at the theatre asked the professor what a harlequin's dress was made of? Wilson was posed, but as his character as a technologist was at stake, he promised a reply. While he was at a loss for the means, and thinking of applying to the stage harlequin himself, aid unexpectedly came from the theatre in the shape of the manager, who was about to bring out the opera of "The Prophet," but found that the sun would not shine rightly upon the play. Wilson furnished him with the required light by means of a lime-ball, and the grateful manager enlightened him in return, by informing him of the materials of harlequin's costume. When the Crimean war had ended, the town-council of Edinburgh wished to celebrate the return of peace by a splendid display of fireworks, and sent in all haste for the professor of technology, who must, by their reckoning, be *ex officio* the prince of pyrotechnists. Wilson was suddenly baited with the question, but acquitted himself so learnedly that the whole council was satisfied.

All this time that Professor Wilson was lecturing, publishing, corresponding, and amassing the rich stores of his industrial museum, his wonderful energy, by which he performed the work of three men in one, and his buoyant good-nature, which nothing could abate, made his friends imagine that his stamina, hitherto so miraculous, was still so strong that whole years of life and activity were in store for him. Little however did they calculate that this was but a life-in-death existence—a course of action in which a feeble sinking frame had been upheld and borne forward by a giant's resolute will—and that soon the body itself must fall in pieces, leaving the will to follow out its own life of immortality disencumbered of its earthly impediments. Before his appointment to the professorship his maladies had resolved themselves chiefly into hemorrhages of blood from the chest, which continued to become more frequent and alarming, and at the commencement of the session of 1859 he seemed to entertain the impression that his time on earth was drawing rapidly to a close. But not the less did he gird up his resolution for the coming duties, and commenced his lectures in November, his introductory one being so numerously attended that the class-room was crowded to the door. On the 4th of November he caught a cold that was followed by a suspicious pain in his side, but accustomed to brave such attacks, he ventured on the 18th to give two lectures, although the last had to be delivered sitting, as he was too feeble to stand. On getting home he went to bed, from which he never rose, and on the 22d he expired as calmly as an infant going to sleep. Thus he entered into that rest which he sought, and for which he was so well pre-

pared. Not merely the university, but the city of Edinburgh recognized the event as the loss of one of their brightest ornaments and best benefactors, and requests from the magistrates and the representatives of public bodies that his funeral should be a public one could not be refused. His remains were interred in the old Calton burial-ground, and over his grave an antique cross was erected bearing a modest inscription announcing his name and office, and the dates of his birth and death.

In this brief sketch we have chiefly considered Professor Wilson as an eloquent lecturer and an active practical man; and considered how much he effected during a short life that was comprised within forty years. But the estimate of his talents and activity is greatly increased when we take into account the number and variety of his published works during eighteen years of authorship. But these works, which of themselves would be sufficient to establish for their author a very high literary and scientific reputation, we can only dismiss with a brief catalogue of their titles.

The works of Professor Wilson published in the form of separate volumes were the following:—*"Chemistry: an Elementary Text-book."* W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh. 1850.—*"The Life and Works of the Honourable Henry Cavendish; including a Critical Inquiry into the Relative Claims of all the Alleged Discoverers of the Composition of Water."* Printed for the Cavendish Society. 1851.—*"The Life of Dr. John Reid, late Chandos Professor of Medicine in the University of St. Andrews."* 1852. Sutherland & Knox, Edinburgh.—*The Traveller's Library*, No. 26. *Electricity and the Electric Telegraph* (reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*). *The Chemistry of the Stars* (reprinted from the *British Quarterly Review*). 1852.—*Researches on Colour-blindness*. Sutherland & Knox, Edinburgh. 1855.—*The Five Gateways of Knowledge*. Macmillan & Co., London. 1857. The biographical sketches which Professor Wilson published in our principal periodicals were the following:—"Life and Discoveries of Dalton." *British Quarterly Review*. 1845.—"Sketch of the Life and Works of Wollaston." *British Quarterly Review*. 1846.—"Sketch of the Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle." *British Quarterly Review*. 1849.—"A few Unpublished Particulars regarding the Late Dr. Black." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*.—"Sketch of James Wilson, Esq. of Woodville." *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*. Of Professor Wilson's papers on chemistry and physics, chiefly contributed to *Transactions* of scientific societies, the list is so large that we cannot afford room even for their titles. In date they range from 1839 to 1859, and consist of thirty-six papers upon the most important subjects in physical science. Of his published lectures and addresses the following is a list:—On the *Alleged Antagonism between Poetry and Chemistry*. Sutherland & Knox, Edinburgh. 1845.—On the *Sacredness of Medicine as a Profession*. 1849.—*Introductory Address delivered at the Opening of the Medical School, Surgeon's Hall, Edinburgh*. Edinburgh, 1850.—On the "Chemistry of Building Materials." *Transactions, Architectural Institute*. Edinburgh, 1854.—"Recent Scientific Ballooning." *British Quarterly Review*. 1854.—*What is Technology?* Sutherland & Knox, Edinburgh. 1855.—On the *Physical Sciences which form the Basis of Technology*. Sutherland & Knox, Edinburgh. 1856.—*The Objects of Technology and Industrial Museums*. Do., Edinburgh. 1856.—On the *Relation of Ornamental to Industrial Art*. Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. 1856.—On

"Pharmacy as a Branch of Technology." *Pharmaceutical Journal*. 1856.—On the "Relations of Technology to Agriculture." *Transactions of Highland Society*. 1856.—"Chemical Final Causes." *Edinburgh University Essays*. A. & C. Black, Edinburgh. 1856.—On the *Character of God as inferred from the Study of Human Anatomy*. A. & C. Black, Edinburgh. 1856.—"Addresses as President of Royal Scottish Society of Arts." *Transactions, R.S.S.A.* 1856.—*The Industrial Museum of Scotland in its Relation to Commercial Enterprise*. Printed for private circulation. 1857.—The "*Progress of the Telegraph: being the Introductory Lecture on Technology for 1858-59.*" Macmillan & Co., London, 1858.—The "Education of the Pharmaceutical Chemist." *Pharmaceutical Journal*. 1859.—"Paper, Pen, and Ink: an Excursus in Technology." *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1859.

Although Professor Wilson was not only a lover of poetry, but capable of becoming a poet of high mark, he resisted the temptation, and kept his refined taste and high imagination in subservience to his more important duties. Nor was his self-denial without reward, for his poetical spirit thus repressed, flowed out in his lectures and writings, giving life and brightness to those scientific subjects which ordinary teachers are apt to make so cold or unintelligible. Of this, his work entitled the *Five Gateways of Knowledge*, which, notwithstanding its scientific character, obtained such rapid and wide popularity, is an especial proof. It has justly been characterized as "a prose poem, a hymn of the finest utterance and fancy—the white light of science diffracted through the crystalline prism of his mind into the coloured glasses of the spectrum—truth dressed in the iridescent hues of the rainbow, and not the less, but all the more true." Still, however, he could indulge occasionally in versification of a devout, grave, or comic character, and heighten the luxury, although very rarely, by permitting them to see the light. Of these were his poems "To the Stethoscope," in 1847, "To Professor Edward Forbes," in 1855, and the "Atlantic Wedding-ring," in 1858, published in *Blackwood*; and a poem entitled "The Sleep of the Hyacinth," published in 1860 in *Macmillan's Magazine*.

Wilson was outlived nearly five years by his venerable mother, whose prayers and instructions had such influence in the formation of his character, and to whom he had been a devoted loving son to the last moment of his life. It would be superfluous to add how fervently this affection was reciprocated, and how naturally after his death she often uttered the exclamation, "I did not think I could have lived so long without him!"

WILSON, RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES. Among the "self-made" men who are more abundant in the biography of Scotland than in that of any other nation, an honourable place is due to the subject of this memoir. Although born a Quaker in the midst of a rigidly Presbyterian community—the son of a small trader in a Scottish town of little traffic, and himself commencing the business of life behind a humble counter—he successively became a wealthy London merchant, a distinguished political financier, a member of the British parliament, and finally an influential leader at the Council Board of India—and he probably might have risen to still higher rank and eminence had his years been continued to the usual term of old age. Such a career is worth tracing, notwithstanding the mercantile details with which it necessarily abounds.

James Wilson was born at Hawick, in Roxburgh-

shire, on the 3d of June, 1805, and was the fourth son of a family of fourteen children. His father, who was a thriving man of business in the woollen manufacture at Hawick, sent him, when he was ten years old, to a school at Ackworth reserved for the education of the children of Quakers—for to that persuasion the woollen manufacturer belonged. It was doubtless a grave seminary, where the pupils were taught, as an important duty, to weigh their words and suppress their juvenile fancies; and such a training may have aided in developing, if it did not originate, that considerateness and matter-of-fact disposition by which James Wilson's public life was distinguished. While he was at the school in Ackworth he was of a very studious disposition; and his devotedness to books having inspired him with the desire of becoming a teacher, he was transferred from thence, at the age of fourteen, to a seminary at Earlscombe, to qualify him for the duties of the vocation. Here, however, although his love of study continued, so that his reading often extended till late in the night, a change had come over his views which disinclined him to the drudgery and monotonous life of a schoolmaster, and his wish was to enter into business. The knowledge he had already amassed may have required digestion, and this could be best promoted by the study of living men and visible objects, and the bustle of active life. His books were now thrown aside, and the world became his favourite volume; and when the former were at any time taken up it was generally for a serious purpose, while every page was slowly and carefully considered. He could not "read with his thumb," as Napoleon expressed it, who by a few rapid glances could master the leading ideas of a volume: on the contrary, Wilson continued through life a slow and heavy peruser, and even a newspaper was conned by him as carefully as if it had been a treasury minute.

At the age of sixteen, in consequence of his choice of business rather than teaching, he was apprenticed to a small hat manufacturer at Hawick, and it was soon evident that his habits of observation and reflection had found their proper application. In consequence of this his father purchased his master's business for him and for an elder brother, William, and the two brethren conducted it successfully at Hawick for two or three years. In fact they were so successful that this little town was too limited for their enterprise, and they removed to London, where James Wilson entered into business; and his prosperous career for several years, the result of his diligence and prudent calculations, justified and encouraged his studies as a financier. In 1831 the original firm was dissolved by mutual consent, but he continued to carry it on for several years under the firm of James Wilson & Co. with success. On the following year he married Miss Elizabeth Preston of Newcastle, who survived him, and by whom he had a numerous family; and in the same year (1832) he ceased to be a member of the Society of Friends. This period of his life was a happy one. In 1824, when he commenced business in London, he had received from his father £2000, which in 1837 he had increased to nearly £25,000, and this not by lucky speculation, but a systematic attention to the common rules of business; he was respected by his own class as a prudent and prosperous man, and he had surrounded himself with a congenial society with whom he could discuss those subjects of finance and statistics to which his inclination so strongly prompted him. But to this there was an unfortunate interruption. In 1836 he had been induced to enter into a speculation in indigo which was success-

ful. Encouraged by this success he made several larger ventures, in which he risked nearly his whole capital, and they proved failures. A recoil upon the firm was the consequence, and would have been ruinous had not Mr. Wilson from his own resources paid off one half of its obligations in the name of himself and his three partners, while property belonging to the partnership, which was considered an amount equivalent to the remaining moiety, was also paid to the creditors, who gave them in return a complete and absolute release. Thus there had been no bankruptcy, nor even stoppage of business for a single hour. The business was continued under a new firm, of which Wilson was a partner, and was successful, and from which he retired in 1844 in comfortable circumstances. But during this interval the old affair had not been conclusively laid to rest. The property assigned by his partners in the disaster of 1836 had not realized its expected amount, and consequently a portion of the debt remained unpaid. Although no claim could be legally made for the deficiency, Wilson, considering this mercantile debt in the same light as a debt of honour, again had recourse to his own funds, and paid off the amount in full. This, too, he did so modestly that none but the recipients and the agents were privy to it. But this virtuous concealment did him little good, for afterwards, when he attained political distinction, his opponents twitted him with the taunt that he had belonged to a firm that had failed to implement its money engagements. It served as a vent for political obloquy, and somewhat detracted from his public utility.

From his reading and studious habits Mr. Wilson was able to write as well as converse upon those subjects which had so especially occupied his thoughts; and accordingly, while still in business, he gave his experience to the world in the form of several pamphlets. In 1839 he published one on the *Influences of the Corn-laws*; in 1840 another on the *Fluctuation of the Currency*; and in 1843 a third on the *Budget*. The *Examiner* being at this time the principal journal in which these subjects were temperately and philosophically discussed, he offered to the editor to contribute gratuitously a series of papers on the principal matters of political economy and finance; but this offer being refused, Mr. Wilson resolved to establish an organ of his own, and support it mainly by his own exertions. This he did in 1843 by starting the *Economist*, a paper devoted to political economy, and so ably and fully were his favourite subjects discussed in its columns, that it soon became the most popular journal of its class. Encouraged by this success, and the independent condition of his finances, Mr. Wilson withdrew himself altogether from business, that he might wholly attend to his new vocation of an expositor of political economy. And now, although retired from business, the work and toil of life were to commence in earnest. The plan of a newspaper so unique in its class that nothing of the kind as yet existed, and its establishment as an authority with the commercial world and the public at large, were of themselves a herculean task, and sufficient for the energies of any individual. But this was little compared with the toil of collecting, examining, and arranging the materials for its daily articles, the most of which were written by himself. At this toilsome work he was generally employed every night until far in the morning; while those friends who were cognizant of his labours marvelled that any human being could endure so well, and achieve so much. But to an iron constitution, which had scarcely been ever affected with sickness for a single

hour, he added an indomitable resolution which difficulties, however great, instead of daunting, only served to stimulate. Nor was this work the whole amount of his daily task, for while he was thus occupied with the multifarious and harassing demands of his own *Economist*, he used to write the city articles and leaders for the *Morning Chronicle*. Justly might Mr. Wilson declare, as he often afterwards did, that this period was far more exhausting than the most exhausting portion of his public life.

While he thus established himself as a teacher and political authority in that science upon which the British empire is founded, and in which its highest intellect has been tasked, many may wish to know how a man of small reading and equally limited learning could advance himself into the front-rank of such men as Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo. But instead of mere theory and metaphysical subtleties, he only dealt in experience and reality, and was content to advance nothing but what he knew and understood. And hence their substantiality was felt and acknowledged by those who were weary of the schemes of impracticable dreamers. The character of his teaching is thus described:—"Mr. Wilson's predominating power was what may be called a business imagination. He had great power of conceiving transactions. Political economy was to him the science of buying and selling, and of the ordinary bargains of men he had a very steady and distinct conception. In explaining such subjects he did not begin, as political economists have been said to do, with, 'Suppose a man upon an island,' but 'What they *do* in the city is this.' 'The real course of business is so and so.' Most men of business will think this characteristic a great merit, and even a theoretical economist should not consider it a defect. The practical value of the science of political economy (the observation is an old one as to *all* sciences) lies in its 'middle principles.' The extreme abstractions from which such intermediate maxims are scientifically deduced lie at some distance from ordinary experience, and are not easily made intelligible to most persons; and when they *are* made intelligible, most persons do not know how to use them. But the intermediate maxims themselves are not so difficult; they are easily comprehended and easily used. They have in them a practical life, and come home at once to the business and the bosoms of men. It was in these that Mr. Wilson excelled. His 'business imagination' enabled him to see 'what men did,' and 'why they did it,' 'why they ought to do it,' and 'why they ought not to do it.' His very clear insight into the real nature of mercantile transactions made him a great and almost an instinctive master of *statistical selection*. He could not help picking out of a mass of figures those which would tell most. He saw which were really material; he put them prominently and plainly forward, and he left the rest alone. This method of resting science on the practical facts of the life that was passing around was very effective. People who would have turned away from a metaphysical treatise on political economy read and understood. Even men supposed to have mastered the science were influenced, and statesmen and administrators admitted that Mr. Wilson was worth hearing."

The field into which Mr. Wilson brought the exercise of such talents was well fitted for their exercise, and its difficulties are thus described: "At that time a vast field lay open before a thoughtful economist. An economical century has elapsed since 1839. The corn-laws were then in full force, and seemed likely to continue so; the agriculturists believed in them, and other classes acquiesced in them;

the tentative reforms of Mr. Huskisson were half-forgotten; our tariff perhaps contained some specimen of every defect—it certainly contained many specimens of most defects; duties abounded which cramped trade, which contributed nothing to the exchequer, which were maintained that a minority might believe they profited at the expense of the majority; all the now settled principles of commercial policy were unsettled; the 'currency' was under discussion; the Bank of England had been reduced to accept a loan from the Bank of France; capitalists were disheartened and operatives disaffected; the industrial energies which have since multiplied our foreign commerce were then effectually impeded by legislative fetters and financial restraints." These were questions full of difficulty, while they demanded a prompt and conclusive settlement; and upon each and all of them Mr. Wilson wrote with a convincing power that made itself be heard, so that his opinions had considerable influence upon the reforms and changes that were effected upon these great leading questions of the day.

His thorough acquaintanceship with these important subjects, and the influence of the journal through which he illustrated them, naturally expanded the desires of Mr. Wilson to the attainment of a seat in parliament, where his opinions could be more effectually enforced; and he was elected parliamentary representative for Westbury in 1847. The maiden speech of a new-fledged member is generally a faint one—the utterance merely of the key-note for future speeches, or a failure that dooms him ever after to a silent vote: but such was not the case when our merchant-senator first spoke in the House of Commons. The subject was an inquiry into the commercial distress at that time prevalent, and on this Mr. Wilson reasoned so ably as to show the inconclusiveness of some arguments advanced by Sir Robert Peel, by which that great statesman was compelled to "rise and explain." So effectual a first appearance, not often witnessed in that place, drew the general attention to Mr. Wilson, which his subsequent speeches did not tend to alienate. It is true he was no parliamentary orator; for this neither his intellectual character nor his education had qualified him; but in every debate which he joined he showed himself master of the subject, and brought forward such an array of well-arranged facts in its illustration as could always arrest the attention of the house. He had also the discretion to confine himself to those subjects which came within his peculiar province, so that his appearances were at long intervals; and this abstinence convinced his auditory, when he rose to speak, that there was good cause for his interference, and that his speech would be worth hearing. But it was in committees, untrammelled by the formality of debate, that his knowledge of mercantile and financial matters, and the readiness with which he could command its details, made him an invaluable assistant; and so convinced were the government officials of his worth that before six months of his parliamentary membership had expired he was offered one of the secretarieships of the Board of Control. After hesitating some time he accepted it; and while he continued in office his influence was felt in the introduction of railroads into India, the sugar question, the commercial distress, the bank acts, and the committee on life assurance. His secretaryship terminated with the change of the ministry in 1852.

On the formation of Lord Aberdeen's coalition ministry, Mr. Wilson was appointed financial secretary to the treasury, an office which he continued to hold for five years. It was one of immense difficulty

and responsibility, as the financial detail of our national expenditure was more or less under his control—and this situation was to be held by one who had commenced his active life as a apprentice in a little hatter's shop in Hawick! But the hat-maker's apprentice showed himself equal to the difficulties and duties of the office, for he brought to them a clear calculating head, a rapid power of decision, large practical experience, and invincible endurance. For these qualifications and their results we again have recourse to the writer of his biography in the *Annual Register*:—"He [Mr. Wilson] was perfectly sure to be right in a plain case; and by far the larger part of the ordinary business of the government, as of individuals, consists of plain cases. A man who is thoroughly sure to decide effectually and correctly the entire mass of easy obvious cases, is a safer master of practical life than one eminently skilled in difficult cases, but deficient in the mere rudimentary qualifications. In cases of greater complication the practical man, aided by a large experience, will most frequently come to a sound conclusion. With Mr. Wilson complication did not lead to indecision—the result was always straightforward and intelligible. In an arguable case it was never left in doubt what he decided, and why he had come to that conclusion. The countless minutes in the treasury are marked by one pervading excellence—clearness; no one could hesitate as to the opinion indicated and the course of action to be pursued. Another faculty Mr. Wilson possessed, which served him well in his official duties—a singularly retentive, accurate, and ready memory. By this he was enabled to recall instantly, and to state unerringly, any circumstance of his official work. This gave to his conduct of business an appearance of fairness and integrity, where another of equal honesty, but without this gift, would have seemed uncandid and evasive. His excellent memory was likewise assisted by a very even judgment. It was easier to him to remember what he had done, because, if he had to do the same thing over again, he would be sure to do it in precisely the same way. All these mental qualities taken together go far to make up the complete idea of a perfect administrator of miscellaneous financial business, such as that of the English treasury now is." After adding to these qualities an account of his power of mental application, based on a strength of constitution which nothing seemed capable of affecting, his biographer thus continues:—"By the aid of these powers Mr. Wilson was able to grapple with the miscellaneous financial business of the country with very unusual efficiency. Nor was his efficiency confined to the labours of his office. The financial secretary of the treasury has a large part of the financial business of the House of Commons under his control, and is responsible for its accurate arrangement. The passing a measure through the House of Commons is a matter of detail; and in the case of the financial measures of the government, the duller part and the most unenvied falls to the secretary of the treasury. He is expected to be the right hand of the chancellor of the exchequer in all the most wearisome part of the financial business of the House of Commons; he is expected to answer all questions asked in the house as to the civil estimates—a most miscellaneous collection of figures, as any one may satisfy himself by glancing at them. Mr. Wilson's astonishing memory and great power of lucid exposition enabled him to fulfil this part of his duty with very remarkable efficiency."

During his tenure of this very laborious office two officers were made to him: one, in 1856, was the chairmanship of inland revenue, to which a large

salary was attached. But this appointment he refused, and for a reason at which most people would have smiled or shrugged their shoulders: there was not enough of toil attached to it to keep him in constant exercise, and he said, that "although it was a good pillow, he had no wish to lie down." The other office, which was offered in 1855, was that of vice-president of the Board of Trade; but this also he thought fit to decline. In the general election of 1857 he was returned to parliament for Devonport, and on the following year he went out of office on the dissolution of Lord Palmerston's administration. On the return of his party to power, Mr. Wilson was asked to resume his office of financial secretary to the treasury; but having already occupied this place for five years, he wished for one in which the duties were less onerous, and in this case he accepted the vice-presidency of the Board of Trade, which, as we have seen, had been offered to him in 1855. After he had held this office for a short time, he was offered the appointment of financial member of the Council of India. The temptations to close with the offer were by no means strong, as the late Sepoy mutiny had left the Indian finances in a very complicated condition. Mr. Wilson was also rich enough, both in fortune and political consideration, while another step would have led him to a seat in the cabinet. But on the other hand, the difficulties of this Indian office, which would have deterred most men, only kindled his emulation, and he was eager to encounter obstacles which others sought to avoid. To the great joy of those who knew his wide mercantile experience, his business habits, and especially his knowledge of Indian finance, he accepted the appointment, and repaired to his new sphere of action. On arriving in India he found that the governor-general was making a tour of the Upper Provinces, and he judged it fitting to join him before commencing operations in Calcutta. This journey through the Upper Provinces was of great advantage to Mr. Wilson as a survey of his ground of operations; and he marked with an observant eye the characters of the various communities, and the condition of affairs in general, as a necessary addition to his theoretical knowledge of Indian finance. He saw the remarkable adaptation of our eastern empire for large taxation without the evils of oppression, if only two difficulties could be overcome. By an indirect tax upon consumable properties the natives would carefully avoid the use of the commodities subject to taxation. By a direct tax on property or income it would be impossible to obtain true returns of their value, as orientals have no such scrupulous ideas of truthfulness as the generality of Englishmen. Having arranged his plans for surmounting either difficulty, Mr. Wilson commenced operations on the 18th of February, 1860, by bringing his budget before the legislative council at Calcutta. The scheme of taxation was a heavy one, but it was also distinct and specific, so that, instead of being left in vague uncertainty, every man knew how much and for what he was liable. Its main feature also was an income-tax, which was modelled after the fashion of that in England. A new system of finance was now commenced in India, the principal points of which will be understood by the following extract from one of Mr. Wilson's letters to a friend in England:—

"I have set myself *five* great points of policy to introduce and carry out.

"1. To extend a system of sound taxation to the great trading classes who hitherto have been exempted, though chiefly benefited by our enormously increased civil expenditure.

"2. To establish a paper currency.

"3. To reform and remodel our financial system by a plan of annual budgets and estimates, with a pay department to check issues, and keep them within the authorized limits; and an effective audit.

"4. A great police system of semi-military organization, but usually of purely civil application, which, dear though it be, will be cheaper by half a million than our present wretched and expensive system, and by which we shall be able to reduce our native army to at least one-third, and by which alone we can utilize the natives as an arm of defence without the danger of congregating idle organized masses.

"5. Public works and roads, with a view to the increased production of cotton, flax, wool, and European raw materials."

In reference to these Mr. Wilson adds: "The first four I have made great progress in; the latter must follow. But you will call it a 'large order.' However, you have no idea of the increased capacity of the mind for undertaking a special service of this kind when removed to a new scene of action, and when one throws off all the cares of engagements, less or more trivial, by which one is surrounded in ordinary life, and throws one's whole soul into such a special service, and particularly when one feels assured of having the power to carry it out. I cannot tell you with what ease one determines the largest and gravest question here compared with in England; and I am certain that the more one can exercise real power, there is by far the greater tendency to moderation, care, and prudence."

Continuing this gratifying account of his progress, he adds: "I have now got a military finance commission in full swing; a civil finance commission also going: I am reorganizing the finance, pay, and accountant-general's department, in order to get all the advantages of the English system of estimates, pay-office, and audit—and this with as little disturbance of existing plans as possible. The latter is a point I have especially aimed at. On the whole, and almost without an exception, I have willing allies in all the existing offices. No attempt that I see is anywhere made to thwart or impede. You can well understand then how full my hands are. If to all these you add the new currency arrangements, you will not then wonder that my health has rendered it necessary to come down here for a day or two to get some fresh air."

It will be seen by the last sentence that the health of Mr. Wilson, after such long endurance, was showing symptoms of yielding. These do not however seem to have alarmed the patient, who talked of retirement and change only "for a day or two." Although a most unwonted change, he would quickly rally and recover, and be again at his wonted post. This too was all the more necessary, as no one else in India could at that time fill it, and the plans had but commenced which he was most anxious to mature. A famine in Upper India was also at hand, and to meet it his financial calculations must be altered. But the fatal climate of India had marked him for its victim, and the few days of indisposition from which he was so readily to recover were changed into weeks of suffering only to terminate in death. On the 2d of August, 1860, after a fortnight of illness, he went to bed, from which he was never to rise again, but although aware of the result, his heart was still in his duties, for which he made the necessary arrangements. It was resolved that the effects of a sea-voyage should be tried upon him as a last resource; but when the opportunity arrived he was too weak for removal. On the 11th of August he expired at Calcutta, surrounded by his

bereaved wife and family. Seldom was such a calamity so bewailed in India, and the universal cry was, "That he should have come out to die here!" that he should have left a great English career *for this!* It was the more grievous, that with such strength of constitution, he was still in little more than the prime of life, having only completed his fifty-fifth year. His funeral was the largest ever known in Calcutta, all ranks of people, from the governor-general to the humblest artisan, being present on the occasion.

We have hitherto considered the Right Honourable James Wilson in his public capacity as tradesman, merchant, and political financier, but his social and domestic character was equally commendable. "His private life," writes his biographer, "had many remarkable features. His enjoyment of simple pleasures, of society, of scenery, of his home, was very vivid. No one who saw him in his unemployed moments would have believed that he was one of the busiest public men of his time. He never looked worn or jaded, and always contributed more than his share of geniality and vivacity to the scene around him. Like Sir Walter Scott, he loved a bright light, and the pleasantest society to him was that of the cheerful and the young."

WILSON, JOHN, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Edinburgh. He was born in or near Paisley, on the 18th May, 1785. He was the eldest, we believe, of three brothers. As his father was a thriving Paisley manufacturer, in which occupation he realized a considerable fortune, while his mother was of a wealthy Glasgow family, the early youth of the future Christopher North was not subject to those privations that crush the weak, and nurse the strong into greater hardihood. Of the first stages of his education at a Paisley school he has left no account; but we learn from his *Recreations* that at a more advanced period he was placed under the tuition of a country minister, who in those days of scanty teinds eked out his stipend by receiving pupils into the manse as boarders. In this rural situation, the boy conned his lessons within doors; but the chief training for his future sphere consisted of many a long ramble among the beautiful scenery with which he was surrounded, and the frolics or conversation of the peasantry, among whom he soon became a general favourite. On reaching the age of fourteen he was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he studied Greek and logic during three sessions under Professors Young and Jardine. Few literary minds could pass under the training of such teachers, and especially the last, without finding it constitute a most important epoch in their intellectual history; and it was to Jardine that Wilson's great rival in critical literature—Jeffrey—acknowledged those first mental impulses which he afterwards prosecuted so successfully. In 1804 John Wilson went to Oxford, and was entered into Magdalen College as a gentleman-commoner; and there his diligence was attested by the knowledge of the best classical writers of antiquity which he afterwards displayed, and his native genius by the production of an English poem of fifty lines for the Newdigate prize of £50, in which he was the successful competitor. In other kinds of college exercises he was also particularly distinguished, such as leaping, running, and boxing, and the sports of boat-rowing, cricket-playing, and coursing, with other amusements of a more boisterous and perhaps more questionable nature. But in the days of "town-and-gown," and with such iron strength of limb and fierce effervescence of animal spirits as Wilson possessed, the case could scarcely have been otherwise. It was hard therefore

that these curious escapades while an Oxford student should have been numbered up against him when he sought at a future period to become the guide and preceptor of students. On one occasion, it was said, he joined, during the college recess, a band of strolling players, with whom he roamed from town to town, enjoying their merry vagabond life, and playing every character from the lover "sighing like furnace," to the "lean and slipped pantaloon." This we can easily believe; the event is no unfrequent recoil from the strictness of a college life; and more than one grave personage is yet alive, in whose venerated position, as well as awe-inspiring wrinkles, no one could read the fact that once on a time they had drank small beer with King Cambyzes, or handed a cracked tea-cup of gin to Cleopatra. On another occasion he became waiter at an inn, that he might be within the sphere of one of its fair female residents, and in this capacity so endeared himself by his inexhaustible glee to the whole establishment, that they were disconsolate when he cast off his slough and disappeared. But the oddest of all the adventures attributed to him was his having fallen in love with a daughter of the sovereign of the gipsies, of whom he would fain have been the King Cophetua, and for whose sake he transformed himself into an Egyptian, and took a share in the wanderings of the tribe, until the successful pursuit of his friends restored him to civilized life. This incessant restlessness and love of desperate enterprise was accompanied with many a purpose of foreign travel; and while at one time he calculated upon a tour over the Peninsula in the rear of the British army, or a run through Turkey, at another he meditated an African exploration that was to extend to Timbuctoo. But he was not destined to tread the same path with Thomas Campbell or Byron, or even the humble missionary John Campbell, and these resolutions ended like dissolving views or day-dreams. It is curious that one of such a stirring spirit was at last contented with Britain, beyond the limits of which he never carried his peregrinations. Having succeeded at the age of twenty-one to a considerable fortune by the death of his father, he purchased in 1808 the small but beautiful estate of Ellerray in Cumberland, embosomed amidst the picturesque lakes, with their distinguished poets for his neighbours and companions.

Thus settled for the time as a border laird, Wilson was as yet too young to subside into regular study or peaceful meditation; and on many occasions the turbulence of life within him only burst out the more violently from the compression of such narrow limits. One specimen of his desperate frolics at this period is thus recorded: "A young man, name not given, had taken up his abode in the vale of Grasmere, anxious for an introduction to Mr. Wilson, and strolled out early one fine summer morning—three o'clock—to that rocky and moorish common (called the White Moss) which overhangs the vale of Rydal, dividing it from Grasmere. Looking southward in the direction of Rydal he suddenly became aware of a huge beast advancing at a long trot, with the heavy and thundering tread of a hippopotamus, along the public road. The creature soon arrived within half a mile of him, in the gray light of morning—a bull apparently fleeing from unseen danger in the rear. As yet all was mystery; till suddenly three horsemen emerged round a turn in the road, hurrying after it at full speed, in evident pursuit. The bull made heavily for the moor, which he reached; then paused, panting, blowing out smoke, and looking back. The animal was not safe, however; the horsemen, scarcely relaxing their speed, charged up hill, gained the rear of the bull, and drove him at full gallop over

the worst part of this impracticable ground to that below; while the stranger perceived by the increasing light that the three were armed with immense spears, fourteen feet long. By these the fugitive beast was soon dislodged, scouring down to the plain, his hunters at his tail, toward the marsh, and into it; till, after plunging together for a quarter of an hour, all suddenly regained *terra firma*, the bull making again for the rocks. Till then there had been the silence of phantasmagoria, amidst which it was doubtful whether the spectacle were a pageant of aerial spectres, ghostly huntsmen, imaginary lances, and unreal bull; but just at that crisis a voice shouted aloud—"Turn the villain—turn that villain, or he will take to Cumberland." It was the voice of Ellerray [Wilson], for whom the young stranger succeeded in performing the required service, the villain being turned to flee southwards; the hunters, lance in rest, rushed after him, all bowing their thanks as they fled past, except of course the frantic object of chase. The singular cavalcade swiftly took the highroad, doubled the cape, and disappeared, leaving the quiet valley to its original silence; while the young stranger, and two grave Westmoreland statesmen just come into sight, stood quietly wondering, saying to themselves, perhaps,

'The earth hath bubbles, as the water hath,
And these are of them.'

It was no bubble however; the bull was substantial, and may have taken no harm at all from being turned out occasionally for a midnight run of fifteen or twenty miles—no doubt to his own amazement, and his owner's perplexity at the beast's bedraggled condition next day." Thus far goes the account of one of Wilson's early frolics; and certainly it was "very tragical mirth;" but thus to hunt a poor domestic bull that from its earliest calfship has been snubbed and cudgelled into submission has almost as little of the romantic in it as the flight of a terrified dog with a pan tied to its tail, and the whole village school in close pursuit. If a man must needs taurize, let it be in the appointed lists, where

"Spanish cavaliers with lances,
At once wound bulls and ladies' fancies."

There the chances are pretty fairly balanced between the bull and his bold antagonist, and when the career commences it is difficult to tell whether lance or horn shall have the better of it.

These rural pursuits of Wilson were oddly enough combined with the study of law, for on leaving the university of Oxford he had resolved to betake himself to the Scottish bar. Such was the case with many young gentlemen at this time, who, although of independent fortune, were desirous of passing as advocates, on account of the specific rank and literary standing with which the title was accompanied. Having finished the usual terms Mr. Wilson was enrolled among the advocates in 1814. It will scarcely be imagined however that he was either the most anxious or the most industrious of barristers; the "Stove School," if it then existed in the outer court of Parliament House, was more likely to enjoy his presence than the solemn atmosphere of the inner halls. But already he had commenced his public literary career, and in the character of a poet, by a set of beautiful stanzas entitled the "Magic Mirror," which were published in the *Annual Register* for 1812. During the same year he also published, but anonymously, an elegy on the death of James Graham, author of the *Sabbath*, with which Joanna Baillie was so highly pleased, that she applied to Sir Walter Scott for the name of the author. Sir Walter sent the desired information, and added, "He is now engaged on a poem called the *Isle of Palms*, some-

thing in the style of Southey. He is an eccentric genius, and has fixed himself upon the banks of Windermere, but occasionally resides in Edinburgh, where he now is. . . . He seems an excellent, warm-hearted, and enthusiastic young man; something too much, perhaps, of the latter quality places him among the list of originals." During the same year the *Isle of Palms* and other Poems was published, a work that at once stamped their author as one of the poets of the Lake school—a class after which the whole host of critics were at present in full cry. It was much, therefore, that at such a period Wilson should have produced a poem that, according to the Edinburgh reviewers, promised "to raise its name, and advance its interests, even among the tribes of the unbelievers." Much, however, as the *Isle of Palms* was admired and beloved in its day, and abounding though it unquestionably did in touches of true feeling and passages of great poetical power, it has been unable to endure the test of time, and therefore it was quietly consigned to general forgetfulness long before the author himself had passed away. Such indeed has also been the fate of Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, upon which the versification of the *Isle of Palms* was evidently modelled. Still, the approbation which his effort excited was enough to encourage Wilson to a renewed effort in poetry; and accordingly, in 1816, he produced the *City of the Plague*, a dramatic poem of a higher as well as more masculine character than his former production. But it too has failed to secure that enduring popularity which has been accorded to the productions of the highest and even the second-rate poets of his own period. Perhaps he was unfortunate in the subject of his choice, which was the great plague of London in 1665. But indeed it would require the powers of a Milton, or even of a Shakspeare, to invest such a theme with fresh interest, after the descriptions of De Foe. In the same volume, among other smaller productions, was a dramatic fragment entitled the "Convict," in which Wilson was more successful, perhaps because the subject was less daring and more within the usual scope of poetry.

Whatever might be his poetical merits a sufficient proof had now been given that Wilson could scarcely establish a permanent celebrity by these alone. But he was fitted for greater excellence in a different sphere, and that sphere he was now to find. *Blackwood's Magazine* had been started as the champion of Tory principles in opposition to the *Edinburgh Review*; and as Thomas Pringle, its amiable and talented editor, was a Whig, he was obliged to abandon its management after the publication of a few numbers. On the disruption that ensued between the two rival publishers Constable and Blackwood, Wilson, in company with Hogg and Lockhart, took part with the latter; and soon after the "Chaldee Manuscript" appeared, a production, the remarkable wit of which was insufficient to redeem it from merited condemnation on account of its profanity. Its first draught in the rough had been drawn up by the Ettrick Shepherd, in which form it is said to have scarcely amounted to more than a third of its published bulk; but the idea being reckoned a happy one, it was expanded, chiefly, as has been supposed, by Wilson and Lockhart, until it finally grew into an article that raised the public excitement into an absolute uproar. After the storm had been successfully weathered, the character of the *Magazine*, notwithstanding its manifold trespasses, which on more than one occasion led to cudgelling, and even to bloodshed, continued to grow in reputation, until it reached the highest rank in the world of literature and criticism. And who was the veiled editor under

whose remarkable management all this success had been achieved? The question was a universal one, and the answer generally given was—"John Wilson." The high reputation he had already won, and his well-known connection with Maga, made the public voice single him out in preference to all the other writers by whom its pages were enriched. It was a natural mistake, but a mistake after all. This important part of the business was retained by Ebony himself, who selected the articles, corresponded with the contributors, and discharged all the business duties of the editorship. But the living soul and literary spirit was Wilson himself, so that in spite of every disclamation he was proclaimed by the public voice the editor of *Blackwood's Magazine* until within a few years of his death.

While he was thus holding onward in his meteoric course, at one part of the year at Ellera and the other in Edinburgh—alternately running down bulls on the Scottish border and *bored* in the metropolis—and becoming loved, dreaded, or wondered at in his various capacities of hospitable country gentleman, rough-riding sportsman, gay civic symposiarch, Abbot of Misrule, and Aristarchus of reviewers and magazine writers, his means of settled domestic tranquillity and happiness had been such as seldom fall to the lot either of meditative poets or belligerent journalists. For in 1810, after he had set his beautiful home among the lakes in order, and furnished it with all the comforts that wealth, directed by a classical taste, could devise, he married an English lady of great beauty, accomplishments, and amiable disposition, who further enriched him with a fortune of £10,000. But only ten years thereafter, Wilson, now the father of two sons and three daughters, was reduced to a very limited income compared with his former resources. As profuse of his money as of his ideas, he had flung both about with reckless prodigality; but while the latter stock, like the purse of Fortunatus, underwent no diminution let him squander it as he pleased, it was otherwise with the former, which had dissolved he knew not how. Thus it was with him to the end of his days: he made little or no account of money while it lasted, and was one of those happy uncalculating spirits, to whom the difference between £10 and £100 is a mere *nothing*. Something more than the scanty relics of his fortune, with the additional profits of authorship, was necessary; and in 1820 a favourable prospect occurred, in consequence of the death of Dr. Thomas Brown, by which the chair of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh became vacant. Wilson presented his name among the candidates for the charge, and his friends commenced an active canvass in his behalf. But the proposal took Edinburgh aback. Wilson a teacher of morals! The religious remembered the unlucky "Chaldee Manuscript," and the grave and orderly bethought them of his revels. Even those who took a more tolerant view of the subject could not comprehend how the president of Ambrose's *Noctes* could be fitted for the chair of Brown and Dugald Stewart. But what, perhaps, weighed more heavily with the citizen-electors was the fact of his Toryism, to which, like the generality of shopkeepers and merchants, they were decidedly hostile. All these obstacles Sir Walter Scott, who had long known and admired the genius of the applicant, fully calculated, and thus expressed in his usual tolerant manner: "You are aware that the only point of exception to Wilson may be, that, with the fire of genius, he has possessed some of its eccentricities; but did he ever approach to those of Henry Brougham, who is the god of Whiggish idolatry? If the high and rare qualities with which he is invested are to

be thrown aside as useless, because they may be clouded by a few grains of dust which he can blow aside at pleasure, it is less a punishment on Mr. Wilson than on the country. I have little doubt he would consider success in this weighty matter as a pledge for binding down his acute and powerful mind to more regular labour than circumstances have hitherto required of him; for indeed, without doing so, the appointment could in no point of view answer his purpose. . . . You must of course recommend to Wilson great temper in his canvass—for wrath will do no good. After all, he must leave off sack, purge and live cleanly as a gentleman ought to do; otherwise, people will compare his present ambition to that of Sir Terry O'Fagg when he wished to become a judge. 'Our pleasant follies are made the whips to scourge us,' as Lear says; for otherwise, what could possibly stand in the way of his nomination? I trust it will take place, and give him the constance and steadiness which are all he wants to make him the first man of the age." The nomination did take place according to Sir Walter's wish, notwithstanding an amount of opposition seldom offered in such elections; and Wilson, to the general surprise of all classes, became professor of moral philosophy, a grave and important charge which he occupied thirty-two years.

In this manner, at the early age of thirty-four, a man esteemed so reckless in temper and unfixed in purpose, so devoted to the whim of the passing hour and careless of the morrow, had yet by sheer force of talent fought his way to an eminence of the highest literary as well as moral responsibility. As a reviewer his dictum in the world of authorship was the guide of thousands, who received it as an oracle; as a general essayist he directed the public taste, and imbued it with his own feelings; and now, as a national teacher of moral truth he was to train the characters and direct the minds of those who were in turn to become the guides and instructors of a future generation. Was this the same man who but yesterday was the midnight *torreador* upon the wilds of Cumberland? That the old spirit had neither died nor become deadened within him, his *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, to speak of no other token, were sufficient evidence. As a professor his elevation introduced a remarkable change in the chair of moral philosophy in Edinburgh. Hitherto metaphysics, that science so congenial to the Scottish intellect, had there obtained full predominance, whether propounded according to Aristotelian rule or the innovations of Locke and Bacon; but Wilson, though he could dream like Plato himself, was no practised metaphysician. It also behoved him to establish a theory of morals, and demonstrate it with all the exactness and nicety of a mathematical problem; but with Wilson it was enough that he knew what was right—and was not wholly ignorant of its opposite. Whence, then, was he to derive those materials for which his pupils were hungering and thirsting? Even from the resources of that fertile mind which as yet had never failed him. He could enter into the very pith and marrow of a subject, and detect truth or error however concealed. And all this he could illustrate with a poetical array of imagery and eloquence of language, such as has seldom issued from the lips of an expounder of hard things in ethical and metaphysical philosophy. Such was the kind of teaching in which his classes delighted—a suggestive and impulsive course, in which, after having been kindled with his ardour, each pupil might start off upon the career of inquiry best suited to his own tastes and capacities. This, indeed, was not science, properly so called—but was it not some-

thing as good? The toils of lecturing during each session were combined with the more onerous labour of examining some hundreds of class essays; and it is perhaps needless to add, that in such a work Professor Wilson was completely in his element. In this way he taught the young ideas how to shoot; and if they did not produce rich fruits, the cultivator at least was not to blame. At the close of the season the official gown was thrown off and Christopher North was himself again. He hied away during the spring to Ellera, and spent the summer and autumn in the districts of the Tweed or the Highland hills, while his exploits in fishing and shooting, or his musings among the varied scenery, came pouring in close succession and rich variety into the pages of his magazine.

Among these recreations by land and water which were so dear to the heart of Wilson, we must not omit that from which he derived his title of "Admiral of the Lake." This he enjoyed in consequence of his taking the lead in those splendid regattas which were held upon the lake of Windermere, when his yacht was commonly to be seen at the head of the gay armada. One of these, held in honour of a visit from Mr. Canning, the premier, and Sir Walter Scott, in 1825, is thus chronicled in the life of the latter by his son-in-law:—"There were brilliant cavalcades through the woods in the mornings, and delicious boatings on the lake by moonlight; and the last day 'the Admiral of the Lake' presided over one of the most splendid regattas that ever enlivened Windermere. Perhaps there were not fewer than fifty barges following in the professor's radiant procession, when it paused at the point of Storrs to admit into the place of honour the vessel that carried kind and happy Mr. Bolton and his guests. The bards of the lakes led the cheers that hailed Scott and Canning; and music and sunshine, flags, streamers, and gay dresses, the merry hum of voices, and the rapid splashing of innumerable oars, made up a dazzling mixture of sensations as the flotilla wound its way among the richly-foliaged islands, and along bays and promontories peopled with enthusiastic spectators." On one occasion Wilson's rank of admiral promoted him to an office at which Nelson, Collingwood, Howe, and Jervis would have laughed with sailor-like merriment: it invested him with the command of a real fleet, instead of an armament of cockle-shells. "I remember," he said in his old days, "being with my friend Sir Pulteney Malcolm when he commanded the experimental squadron in the Channel—in 1832, I think—one day on the flag-ship's quarter-deck, amidst the officers and ladies, Sir Pulteney suddenly took me rather aback by saying, in his loudest official tone, 'Professor Wilson will now put the ship about!' It was really expected of me, I believe; so setting the best face upon it, and having previously paid attention to such evolutions, I took voice, and contrived to get through it very creditably—in a fine working breeze, when the worst of it was that the eyes of thousands of people were upon us, and the whole column of ships were to follow in regular succession. The flutter of that critical moment when the helm was put down, and the least error in seizing it must have hung the noble line-of-battle ship in stays, I shall never forget. I had rather have failed in carrying the class—nay, ten thousand classes—through a point of casuistry in moral philosophy. Yet the sensation was glorious; there was a moral grandeur in the emotion. The feelings of a great admiral in difficult weather bringing on a battle must, in some respects, surpass even those of Shakspeare imagining Hamlet or Lear!"

In this way the life of Wilson went onward for

years. After the death of Blackwood, in 1834, he took little further concern in the magazine; indeed, he had already done so much for it, and placed it in so firm a position, that he may have felt as if his task in that department had ended, and might be safely entrusted to younger hands. His class also was sufficient to occupy his full attention, more especially when the increase of intellectual demand, and the growing improvements in public education, required every teacher to be up and doing to his uttermost. His private life, tamed down to the gravity of age without losing its health or vivacity, continued to be enlivened with the society of the learned and talented, of whom a new generation was fast springing up, and among whom he was venerated as a father, while he was loved as a companion and friend. His chief public exhibitions were now at the Burns' festival, where he was a regular attendant as well as chief orator. In 1851 that profitable literary distinction now so generously accorded by government in the form of a substantial pension was bestowed upon him, amounting to £300 per annum; and in the spring of the following year he resigned his professorship, after holding it thirty-two years, and without making the usual claim of a retiring allowance. After this he was almost daily to be seen upon his accustomed walk in Princes' Street until the beginning of 1854, when paralysis and a dropsical affection laid him wholly aside, and he died in his house in Gloucester Place on the morning of the 3d of April. His remains were interred in the Dean Cemetery on the 7th, and the funeral, which was a public one, was attended by thousands, consisting of every rank and occupation, who thus indicated their respect for one so universally known and esteemed. A more permanent indication is a public monument in the form of a colossal bronze statue, which was erected in 1865 in East Princes' Street Gardens, Edinburgh, which will convey to posterity the likeness of the man whom the present age delighted to honour.

The poetical productions of Wilson by which he commenced his career as an aspirant for the honours of authorship we have already enumerated. The oblivion into which they are even already sinking shows that it was not by his poems that he was to build for himself a name, admired though they were at their first appearance before the public. They satisfied a certain temporary taste which at that time happened to be predominant; and having done this, they had fulfilled their purpose, and were therefore quietly laid aside. Neither was the matter greatly amended by his subsequent attempts as a novelist; and his three productions in this capacity—the *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*, the *Foresters*, and the *Trials of Margaret Lyndsay*—have been placed by public estimation in the same category with the *Isle of Palms* and *City of the Plague*. In fact, he lacked that quality of inventiveness so essential for the construction of a tale, whether in poetry or prose, and therefore his narratives have little or no plot, and very few incidents—a defect which neither fine writing nor descriptive power is sufficient to counterbalance. It is upon *Blackwood's Magazine* that his claims to posthumous distinction must fall back; for there we find his whole heart at work, and all his intellectual powers in full action. Of these productions, too, his critical notices can scarcely be taken into account—vigorous, just, and often terrible though they were; nor even his *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, though these for the time were by far the most popular of all his writings. But it is as Christopher North, whether in his shooting-jacket, or with his fishing-rod, or “under canvas,” that he will

be best remembered and most highly valued. The scenery which in that character he has so beautifully painted, and the deep emotions to which he has given utterance, are not things of a day, but for all time, and will continue to be read, admired, and cherished when the rest of his numerous writings have passed away.

WINRAM, JOHN, superintendent of Fife and Strathern, was descended of the Fifeshire family of the Winrams of Ratho. He is supposed to have entered the university of St. Andrews (St. Leonard's College) in 1513, and in 1515 he took the degree of B.A., on which occasion he is designated a *pauper*; that is, one who paid the lowest rate of fees. From that period till 1532 no trace has been discovered of him, but at the last-mentioned date he is noticed under the title of “*Canonicum ac Baccalarium in Theologia*” as one of the rector's assessors, and in a deed dated the same year he is called a canon regular of the monastery of St. Andrews. Two years afterwards he is mentioned as third prior, and in 1536 as subprior, in which situation he continued till the Reformation.

The first occasion on which we have found Mr. John Winram making a public appearance was the trial of George Wishart, the martyr. On that occasion he was appointed to open the proceedings by a sermon, and he accordingly preached on the parable of the wheat and tares: he mentioned that the Word of God is “the only and undoubted foundation of trying heresy without any superadded traditions,” but held that heretics should be put down—a position strangely inconsistent with the command to let the tares and wheat grow together till harvest. About the same period Archbishop Hamilton ordered the subprior to call a convention of Black and Gray Friars for the discussion of certain articles of heretical doctrine. At this meeting John Knox demanded from Winram a public acknowledgment of his opinion whether these heretical articles were consistent or inconsistent with God's word; but this the wary subprior avoided. “I came not here as a judge,” he replied, “but familiarly to talk, and therefore I will neither allow nor disallow, but if ye list I will reason;” and accordingly he did reason till Knox drove him from all his positions, and he then laid the burden upon Arbuckle, one of the friars. Winram attended the provincial councils of the Scottish clergy, held in 1549 and 1559, and, on the first of these occasions at least, took an active part in the proceedings. Thus, up to the very period of the establishment of the Reformation he continued to act a decided part with the Catholic clergy. “There have been, and are,” says Wodrow, “some of God's children, and hidden ones, in Babylon, . . . and no doubt Mr. Winram was useful even in this period.” May it not be asked whether he did not, by a bad example and a pertinacious adherence to a system which he knew to be erroneous, greatly more weaken the hands of his brethren than he could possibly strengthen them by his private exertions?

Winram, as prior of Portmoak, attended the parliament of August, 1560, which ratified the Protestant Confession of Faith. The first General Assembly held in December following declared him fit for and apt to minister the word and sacraments; and on Sunday, April 13, 1561, he was elected superintendent of Fife, Fotherick, and Strathern, “be the common consent of lordis, baronis, ministeris, elderis, of the saidis bowndis, and othereis common pepill,” &c. The transactions in which he was engaged in this capacity present so little variety that we shall merely take a short general view of them.

One of Winram's earliest acts as superintendent was the reversal of a sentence of condemnation which had been passed on Sir John Borthwick in 1540 for heresy. This gentleman had saved himself by flight, but appears to have returned to Scotland in or before 1560, for at the first General Assembly we find one of the members "presented by Sir John Borthwick to the kirks of Aberdour and Torrie." It is sufficiently singular that Winram was one of "those plain enemies to the truth" described in the reversal of the sentence who had assisted at the trial and condemnation of the man whom he even then must have considered as a friend, although he had not the courage or the honesty to avow it. The notices of Winram in the records of the General Assembly consist, almost without exception, of complaints against him for negligence in visiting the district or diocese committed to his charge.¹ This is a charge which was brought more or less frequently against all the superintendents: the people on the one hand seem to have been unreasonable in their expectations, and the government, beyond all question, gave the clergy but little encouragement by a liberal or even moderate provision for their wants. In Winram's case, however, the frequency of these complaints leaves on the mind a suspicion that he was to a considerable extent in fault, and, on one occasion at least, the complaint was accompanied with a charge of a covetous, worldly-minded disposition—a charge which circumstances we shall mention in our general remarks on his character lead us to conclude were not unfounded. He was several times employed in reconciling party and private disputes. In 1571 he was ordered by the General Assembly to inhibit Mr. John Douglas, who was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews, to vote in parliament in name of the church. In January, 1572, he attended the convention at Leith at which tulchan bishops were authorized, and in the following month he was employed, as superintendent of the bounds, to inaugurate the Archbishop of St. Andrews. There are no subsequent notices of him of the slightest interest or importance. He died on the 18th or 28th of September, 1582 (the date seems uncertain), leaving by his will James Winram and John Winram of Craigton, sons of Mr. Robert Winram of Ratho, his brother, his principal heirs.

The character of Winram is by no means free from suspicion. He was an early convert to the Protestant doctrines, but he neither abandoned his situation nor emoluments in the Catholic church; he did not, like almost all his brother superintendents, expose himself to danger or to suffering by a public profession of his sentiments, and when Knox, at the meeting of the Black and Gray Friars, demanded whether he conscientiously considered the doctrines then called heretical contrary to God's word, he not only evaded the question, but argued on the Popish side; he assisted at the trials of at least two of the reformers, of whom one suffered, and the other only saved himself by flight. It may perhaps be said that Winram expected to be thus able to advance the Reformation more effectually than by an open abandonment or opposition of the Popish church, but this is an argument which would in any case be liable to strong suspicion, and which in Winram's is rendered everything but inadmissible by the other facts which are known respecting him. The truth seems to be, and candour requires that it should be stated, that he generally displayed a covetous, interested disposition. On this account he was sometimes treated with no

great respect, even by persons of inferior rank: one person, indeed, was charged in 1561 before the kirk-session of St. Andrews with saying that he was a "fals, dissaitful, greedy, and dissemblit smaik, for he wes one of thaim that maist oppressed, smored, and held down the word (kirk?) of God, and now he is cum into it and professes the same for greediness of geir, lurkand and watchand quhill he may se ane other tym." Nor does he seem to have possessed in any considerable degree the confidence of his clerical brethren. It has been remarked that, in the records of the proceedings of the first General Assembly, his name appears but seventeenth on the list of persons considered fit to minister, and is placed after those of men greatly his juniors. This is a circumstance which mere accident may have occasioned, and is not of itself entitled to much consideration; but of one fact there can be no doubt, that in the whole course of thirty-six Assemblies, which, according to Wodrow, he attended, he was never appointed moderator, nor intrusted even with a share in the management of their more important transactions.

Winram married Margaret Stewart, widow of — Ayton of Kinnaldy, but she predeceased him without having any family except by her first husband. Many passages in the books of the commissariat of St. Andrews show that the superintendent and his wife's sons were on indifferent terms, and leave one not without suspicion that he made some attempt to deprive them of their just rights or property. In the remarks which we have made on this and other parts of his conduct we have been actuated by no other motive but a desire to draw a fair and impartial conclusion from the facts which time has spared to us. At the same time we are sensible, and we mention it in justice to the memory of Winram and many others, that, did the history of the period admit a fuller investigation, considerations might arise which would probably place many transactions in a different point of view.² The only work known to have been written by Winram is a catechism, which has long disappeared, and of which not even a description is now known to exist.

WISHART, GEORGE, a distinguished Protestant martyr, was probably the son of James Wishart of Pitarro, justice-clerk to James V. He is supposed to have studied at Montrose, where he himself gave instructions for some time in the Greek language—a circumstance which, considering the state of Greek learning in Scotland at the time, reflects distinguished honour on his literary character. But there were men in power by whom it was reckoned heresy to give instructions in the original language of the New Testament. Owing to the persecution he received from the Bishop of Brechin and Cardinal Beaton, he left the country in 1538. His history during the three following years is little known. It appears that, having preached at Bristol against the worship and mediation of the Virgin, he was condemned for that alleged heresy, recanted his opinions, and burned his fagot in the Church of St. Nicholas in that city. Probably he afterwards travelled on the Continent. In 1543 he was at Cambridge, as we learn from the following description quoted by the biographer of Knox,³ from a letter of Emery Tylney:—"About the yeare of our Lord a thousand, five hundreth, forty and three, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Maister George Wishart, commonly called Maister George of Benet's colledge, who was a tall man, polde headed,

¹ These charges were brought forward in December, 1562; December, 1564; December, 1565; December, 1567; July, 1569; July, 1570; March, 1572.

² Abridged from Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, printed by the Maitland Club, i.

³ Dr. M'Crie, *Life of Knox*.

and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholy complexion by his physiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lonely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travailed. Having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantill frieze gowne to the shoes, a black milliard fustian dublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvase for his shirtes, and white falling bandes and cuffs at the hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked; saving his French cappe, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man, modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse; for his charitie had never ende, night, noone, nor daye. He forbore one meale, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, coarse new canvase sheetes, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himself. He taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slaine him; but the Lord was his defence. And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation, amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poore boy, that he might have finished that he had begunne! His learning, no less sufficient than his desire, always prest and readie to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, profusing and reading diverse authors."

Wishart returned to Scotland in July, 1543, in company with the commissioners who had been despatched for the negotiation of the marriage treaty with Henry VIII.¹ From these individuals, many of whom were attached to the reformed doctrines, he had probably received assurances of safety for his person: it is at least certain that, from the time of his entering the country till his death, he was under their protection, and usually in the presence of one or more of them. The chief laymen of the Protestant party at this period were the Earls Cassillis, Glencairn, and Marischal, Sir George Douglas, and the lairds of Brunstain, Ormiston, and Calder. They were in secret alliance with the King of England, and at his instigation several of them formed designs for assassinating Cardinal Beaton, whose powerful genius was the chief obstacle to their views.

Thus countenanced, Wishart preached to large audiences in Montrose and Dundee, causing at the latter of these places the destruction of the houses of the Black and Gray Friars. The authorities having interfered to preserve the peace, Wishart left the town, but not till he had given a public testimony to the friendly nature of his intentions, and the danger that would be incurred by those who refused to hear the truth which he proclaimed. He then proceeded to the west of Scotland, and for some time preached successfully. But in the town of Ayr he found the church preoccupied by the Bishop of Glasgow; in consequence of which he proceeded to the market-cross, "where," says Knox, "he made so notable a sermon, that the very enemies themselves were confounded." He also preached frequently at Galston and Bar. At Mauchline he was prevented from officiating by the sheriff of Ayr "causing to man the

church, for preservation of a tabernacle that was there beautiful to the eye." Wishart, refusing to yield to the solicitations of some who urged him to enter forcibly, exclaimed, "Christ Jesus is as mighty upon the fields as in the church; and I find that he himself, after he preached in the desert, at the seaside, and other places judged profane then, he did so in the temple of Jerusalem. It is the word of peace that God sends by me—the blood of no man shall be shed this day for the preaching of it." Thereafter he preached in the neighbourhood, so as to produce a wonderful reformation on a gentleman of abandoned character. But while engaged in this part of Scotland, he heard that the plague was raging in Dundee. The devoted preacher hastened thither. In the midst of the disease and misery of the people he preached so as to be heard both within and without the town, many of the sick being beyond the gate, on these appropriate words, "He sent his word and healed them," adding, "It is neither herb nor plaster, O Lord, but thy word healeth all." This discourse produced a very general and powerful impression. He continued to preach and visit the sick with singular benevolence; and besides the infection of the disease, to which he was constantly exposed, he was, on one occasion, liable to danger from a priest, who had been commissioned to assassinate him. The people, on discovering the dagger which he held in his hand at the conclusion of one of Wishart's sermons, were inflamed with passion, but the latter embraced him with these friendly words, "Whosoever troubles him shall trouble me, for he hath hurt me in nothing; but he hath done great comfort to you and me, to wit, he hath let us to understand what we may fear: in times to come we will watch better." The truth appears to be, that Beaton, being fully apprised of the designs of Wishart's friends against his own life, had thought proper to form similar designs against that of a preacher, whose eloquence was threatening his church with destruction. Whether this was the case or not, there can be no doubt that the cardinal now made all possible efforts to apprehend Wishart. The preacher therefore never moved in any direction without a tried adherent, who bore a two-handed sword before him; nor did he ever preach except under a strong guard of friendly barons and their retainers. Knox at one time officiated in the character of sword-bearer to his friend.

From Dundee he returned to Montrose, where he spent some time, occupied partly in preaching, "but most part in secret meditation." At Dundee, which he now revisited, he uttered a memorable prediction of future glory to the reformed church in Scotland. "This realm," said he, "shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel as clearly as ever any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be builded in it; yea, it shall not lack, whatsoever the enemy may imagine in the contrary, the very keystone." For this and other anticipations of the future Wishart received the credit of a prophet among his followers; nor have writers been wanting in the present age to maintain that he really possessed this ideal accomplishment. It is impossible, however, for a reasonable mind to see anything in the above prediction beside the sanguine expectations of a partisan respecting his own favourite objects.

While at Dundee, Wishart received a message from the Earl of Cassillis and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham, requesting him to meet them in Edinburgh, where they intended to make interest that he should have a public disputation with the bishops. On arriving at Leith he did not, as he ex-

¹ Knox, in his *Historie of the Reformation*, says 1544; but it is satisfactorily proved that the commissioners returned in 1543; and hence, as it is more likely that a mistake would arise in the date than in the circumstance, we assume the latter year as a correction upon Knox's statement.

pected, immediately find his friends, so that, "beginning to wax sorrowful in spirit," from the inactive life to which he was submitting, he preached in Leith, from which, as the governor and cardinal were expected in Edinburgh, he went to the country, residing successively in Brunstain, Longniddry, and Ormiston, the proprietors of which, as well as many other gentlemen of Lothian, were zealous in the cause of reformation. At this time he preached with much effect in Inveresk and Tranent, and during the holidays of Christmas, 1545, he proceeded to Haddington. Here he preached several sermons. Before delivering the last of them he received information that the conference to which he had been invited in Edinburgh could not be fulfilled. This greatly distressed him, and the smallness of his audience on the present occasion added to his depression. Having for more than half an hour walked about in front of the high altar, he proceeded to the pulpit, where his sermon commenced with the following words: "O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been, at any vain clerk play, two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the Eternal God, of all the town or parish, cannot be numbered one hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue upon this thy contempt; with fire and sword shalt thou be plagued." He then proceeded to particularize the kind of troubles which should fall on Haddington, and which actually did befall it shortly afterwards. Parting with several of his friends, and even with John Knox, to whom, on his wishing to accompany him, he said, "Nay, return to your children, and God bless you; one is sufficient for one sacrifice," he went with the proprietor to Ormiston. At night the Earl of Bothwell came to the house, and, intimating the approach of the governor and the cardinal, advised Ormiston to deliver Wishart to him, promising that he should be safe. Wishart was willing to accede to these terms. "Open the gates," said he, "the blessed will of my God be done!" Bothwell's promises were renewed, and his attendants joined him in his protestations. But they proceeded with Wishart to Elphinston, where Beaton was; and the preacher having been sent to the capital, and thence brought back to Hailes, Lord Bothwell's seat, was at last committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh. He was soon after sent to St. Andrews by the cardinal, who, assisted by Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, prepared for the trial of the reformer.

On the 1st of March, 1545-6, the dignitaries of the church assembled at St. Andrews, when Beaton, being refused the presence of a civil judge by the governor, determined to proceed on his own authority. The alleged heretic, being arraigned on a series of charges, defended himself meekly but firmly, and with a profound knowledge of Scripture. The result, as was to be expected, was his condemnation to the stake. On the 28th he was led from the prison, with a rope about his neck, and a large chain round his middle, to the place of execution, in front of the castle, which was the archiepiscopal palace of the cardinal. "Here a scaffold had been raised,¹ with a high stake firmly fixed in the midst of it. Around it were piled bundles of dry faggots; beside them stood an iron grate containing the fire, and near it the solitary figure of the executioner. Nor did it escape the observation of the dense and melancholy crowd which had assembled, that the cannon of the fortress were brought to bear directly on the platform, whilst the gunners stood

with their matches beside them—a jealous precaution, suggested perhaps by the attempt of Duncan to deliver the martyr Hamilton, and which rendered all idea of rescue in this case perfectly hopeless. On arriving at the place Wishart beheld these horrid preparations, which brought before him the agony he was to suffer, with an unmoved countenance; mounted the scaffold firmly, and addressed a short speech to the people, in which he exhorted them not to be offended at the word of God by the sight of the torments which it seemed to have brought upon its preacher, but to love it, and to suffer patiently for it any persecution which the sin of unbelieving men might suggest. He declared that he freely forgave all his enemies, not excepting the judges who had unjustly condemned him." Having signified his forgiveness to the executioner, he was tied to the stake, and the flame began to encompass the holy martyr. "It torments my body," said he to his friend the captain of the castle, "but no way abates my spirit;" then, looking up to a window from which the cardinal was contemplating the scene, he said, "He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride." On this the executioner drew a cord which had been fastened round the neck of the sufferer, who shortly afterwards expired amidst the flames. The prediction of the dying martyr was literally fulfilled within three months after by the violent and ignominious death of his persecutor. The admirable biographer of Knox and Melville has recorded this just and comprehensive eulogium on the character of the martyr:—"Excelling," says Dr. M'Crie, "the rest of his countrymen at that period in learning; of the most persuasive eloquence; irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners; his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity."

WISHART, or WISEHEART, GEORGE, a learned divine and admired writer of the seventeenth century, was of the family of Logy in Forfarshire. He is said to have been born in East Lothian in 1609, and to have studied at the university of Edinburgh. Previously to the breaking out of the religious troubles in the reign of Charles I. he was one of the ministers of St. Andrews.² Being prepossessed, like the most of the men of family connected with the east coast of Scotland, in favour of Episcopacy, he refused to take the covenant, and was accordingly deposed by the Assembly of 1639, in company with his colleague Dr. Gladstones, the celebrated Samuel Rutherford and Mr. Robert Blair coming in their places. Having been subsequently detected in a correspondence with the royalists, Wishart was plundered of all his worldly goods, and thrown into a dungeon called the Thieves' Hole, said to have been the most nauseous part of one of the most nauseous prisons in the world—the old tolbooth of Edinburgh. Wishart himself tells us that, for his attachment to royalty and Episcopacy, he thrice suffered spoliation, imprisonment, and exile before the year 1647. In October, 1644, he was taken by the Scottish army at the surrender of New-castle, in which town he had officiated professionally. On this occasion he suffered what appears to have been his third captivity. In January, 1645, he is found petitioning the estates from the tolbooth for maintenance to himself, his wife, and five children,

¹ We here quote the animated description of Mr. Tytler.

² Keith in his *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops* says North Leith; but this appears to be a mistake.

who otherwise, he says, must starve!¹ the petition was remitted to the committee of monies, with what result does not appear. A few months afterwards, when Montrose had swept away the whole military force of the Covenanters, and was approaching the capital in triumph, Wishart was one of a deputation of cavalier prisoners whom the terrified citizens sent to him to implore his clemency. He seems to have remained with the marquis as his chaplain during the remainder of the campaign, and to have afterwards accompanied him abroad in the same capacity. This connection suggested to him the composition of an account of the extraordinary adventures of Montrose, which was published in the original Latin at Paris in 1647. His chief object in this work, as he informs us in a modest preface, was to vindicate his patron from the aspersions which had been thrown upon him by his enemies; to clear him from the charges of cruelty and irreligion which had been brought against him by the Covenanters, and show him as the real hero which he was. Whatever might be the reputation of Montrose in Scotland, this work is said to have given it a very enviable character on the Continent. "To the memoir," says the publisher of the English translation of 1756, "may be in a great measure ascribed that regard and notice which was had of Montrose, not only in France, where the proscribed queen then held her thin-attended court, and where it was first published, but likewise in Germany and most of the northern courts of Europe, which he soon after visited. That peculiar elegance of expression and animated description with which it abounds, soon attracted the regard of the world, and in a few years carried it through several impressions both in France and Holland."

Proportioned to the estimation in which the work was held by the persecuting party, was the detestation with which it was regarded by the Scottish Covenanters. Those daring and brilliant exploits which formed the subject of its panegyric could never be contemplated by the sufferers in any other light than as inhuman massacres of the Lord's people; and he whom Cardinal de Retz likened to the heroes of Plutarch, was spoken of in his own country in no other terms than as "that bloody and excommunicate traitor." An appropriate opportunity of showing their abhorrence of the book was presented within a very few years after its publication, when Montrose, having fallen into their hands, was ordered to be executed with all possible marks of odium and degradation. Over the gay dress he assumed on that occasion they hung from his neck the obnoxious volume, together with the declaration he had published on commencing his last and fatal expedition; the one hanging at the right shoulder, and the other at the left, while a cincture, crossing the back and breast, kept them at their proper places. As this ceremonial was made matter for a parliamentary decree, there can be little doubt that the Scottish Presbyterians conceived it to be a not unbecoming mode of expressing contempt for the eulogies of the biographer. Upon Montrose, however, it produced no such effect as they had calculated on. His remark, long since become a part of history, is thus given by Wishart in the sequel to his memoir: "That though it had pleased his majesty to create him a knight of the Garter, yet he did not reckon himself more honoured thereby than by the cord and the books which were now hung about his neck, and which he embraced with greater joy and pleasure than he did the golden chain and the garter itself when he first received them."

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, iii. 261.

While his work was receiving this memorable honour, the author remained at the Hague, where a body of commissioners from Scotland were endeavouring to induce the young and exiled king (Charles II.) to assume the government of that kingdom upon the terms of the covenant. To these personages Wishart, as might be supposed, was by no means an agreeable object, particularly as he happened to enjoy the royal favour. Clarendon, who was there at the time, relates the following anecdote:—"A learned and worthy Scotch divine, Dr. Wishart, being appointed to preach before the king, they [the commissioners] formally besought the king, 'that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the Kirk of Scotland for having refused to take the covenant,' though it was known that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine, was, that they knew he was author of that excellent relation of the Lord Montrose's actions in Scotland which made those of his majesty's council full of indignation at their insolence; and his majesty himself declared his being offended by hearing the doctor preach with the more attention."

Dr. Wishart subsequently wrote a continuation of the memoirs of Montrose, bringing down his history till his death: this, however, was never published in its original form. The original book was printed oftener than once, and in various places on the Continent. A coarse translation appeared in London in 1652, under the title of *Montrose Redivivus*, &c., and was reprinted in 1720, with a translation of the second part, then for the first time given to the world. A superior translation of the whole, with a strong Jacobite preface, was published at Edinburgh by the Ruddimans in 1756, and once more in the same place, by Archibald Constable and Company, in 1819.

After the fall of Montrose, Dr. Wishart became chaplain to Elizabeth, the electress-palatine, sister of Charles I.; he accompanied that princess to England in 1660, and being recognized as one who had both done and suffered much in the cause of royalty, was selected as one of the new bishops for the kingdom of Scotland, being appointed to the see of Edinburgh. He had now, therefore, the satisfaction of returning to the scene of his former sufferings, in the most enviable character of which his profession rendered him capable. He was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh, June 1, 1662. It is recorded of Wishart, that after the suppression of the ill-concerted rising at Pentland, he interested himself to obtain mercy for the captive insurgents; and remembering his own distresses in the prison which they now occupied, never sat down to a meal till he had sent off the first dish to these unfortunate men. From these anecdotes it may be inferred that whatever were the faults of his character, he possessed a humane disposition. Bishop Wishart died in 1671, when his remains were interred in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, where a handsome monument, bearing an elaborate panegyric inscription in Latin to his memory, may yet be seen.

Bishop Keith says of Wishart that he was "a person of great religion." Wodrow speaks of him as a man who could not refrain from profane swearing, even on the public street, and as a known drunkard. "He published somewhat in divinity," says the historian, "but then I find it remarked by a very good hand, his lascivious poems, compared with which the most luscious parts of Ovid *De Arte Amandi* are modest, gave scandal to all the world." It is not unlikely that Dr. Wishart had contracted some rather loose habits among the cavaliers with whom he

associated abroad; for both Burnet and Kirkton bear testimony to the licentious manners by which the royalists were too often characterized, more especially during the reckless administration of the Earl of Middleton.

WITHERSPOON, JOHN, D.D., LL.D., an eminent divine and theological writer, was born February 5, 1722, in the parish of Yester. His father, who was minister of that parish, was a man of singular worth, and of much more than ordinary abilities. Young Witherspoon received the earlier part of his education at the public school of Haddington, where he distinguished himself by his diligence, and by the rapid proficiency he made in classical attainments. He was also, even at this early period of his life, remarkable for that soundness of judgment and readiness of conception which aided so much in procuring him the favour he afterwards enjoyed. On completing the usual initiatory learning observed at the school of Haddington, he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he continued to attend the various classes necessary to qualify him for the sacred profession for which he was intended, until he had attained his twenty-first year, when he was licensed to preach the gospel. He was soon after this invited to become assistant and successor to his father; but held this appointment for a very short time only, having received a presentation in 1744, from the Earl of Eglinton, to the parish of Beith, of which he was ordained minister, with the unanimous consent of the people, in the following year.

An incident in the life of Mr. Witherspoon, too curious to be passed over, occurred soon after this. On learning that a battle was likely to take place at Falkirk, between the Highlanders and royal troops, during the rebellion of 1745-6, the minister of Beith hastened to the anticipated scene of conflict to witness the combat. This he saw; but in a general sweep which the victorious rebels made around the skirts of the field after the battle, Mr. Witherspoon, with several others whom a similar curiosity had brought to the neighbourhood of the field, was made a prisoner and thrown into the castle of Doune, where he was confined until he effected his escape, which he did with considerable difficulty, and not without great peril.

Mr. Witherspoon first assumed the character of an author in 1753, by bringing out an anonymous publication, entitled *Ecclesiastical Characteristics, or the Arcana of Church Policy*. This work, which discovers a rich vein of delicate satire, was directed against certain flaws in the principles and practice of some of the ministers of the Church of Scotland of the period. It excited a great sensation, and became so popular as to reach a fifth edition in less than ten years after its publication. This successful debut was followed soon after by another able performance, entitled *A Serious Apology for the Characteristics*, in which Dr. Witherspoon acknowledged the authorship of the latter. Three years afterwards, in 1756, he published at Glasgow his admirable essay on the *Connection between the Doctrine of Justification by the Imputed Righteousness of Christ and Holiness of Life*.

The diligence, industry, and regular habits of Dr. Witherspoon enabled him to reconcile the character of a prolific author with that of an attentive and faithful pastor; and while discharging the duties of the latter with an exemplary fidelity, he continued to instruct and enlighten the public mind by his literary labours. His industry enabled him to give to the world in the year following that in which his essay

on the *Connection* appeared, his still more celebrated work, entitled *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage*. On this subject there is much difference of opinion; but there can be none regarding the ability which Dr. Witherspoon's work evinces. The reputation which he had now acquired as a zealous minister and profound theologian procured him one of those spontaneous calls which so strikingly mark the public sense of a clergyman's usefulness and merits. In the year 1757 he was solicited by the people of Paisley to accept the pastoral charge of the Low Church of that town. Here, as at Beith, he diligently prosecuted his literary labours, and still continued to associate them with a faithful discharge of his pastoral duties. During a portion of the time of his ministry in Paisley, he employed himself in preparing sermons for the press, several of which were published in 1758 and 1759, and were received with marked approbation. His next publication, unfortunately, though written with the best intentions, and well calculated to attain the ends proposed by its author, involved him in difficulties which pressed hard upon him for several years afterwards. The publication alluded to was a discourse, entitled *A Seasonable Advice to Young Persons*, published in 1762. The subject of this discourse was suggested, at the particular moment it appeared, by an account which had reached Dr. Witherspoon of a riotous and extremely disorderly meeting which had taken place in Paisley on the night before the celebration of the Lord's Supper. To this discourse the author had prefixed a prefatory address, in which he incautiously set forth at full length the names of the persons said to have been concerned in the indecorous meeting alluded to; and the consequence of this unguarded proceeding on the part of Dr. Witherspoon, was an action of damages, in which, being unable to adduce sufficient proof of the accuracy of his information, he was defeated, and involved in serious expenses.

In 1764 he received a degree from one of the Scottish universities, and in the same year went to London to superintend the publication of his *Essays on Important Subjects*, in three volumes. This work, with the exception of his admirable treatise on "Regeneration," which was included in these volumes, was merely a reprint, in a collected form, of the detached essays which he had from time to time published in Scotland. Their republication, however, had the effect of greatly extending Dr. Witherspoon's fame as an able theologian and useful minister: and its appearance was soon after followed by three different calls to as many different new charges. The first of these was from a large congregation in Dublin; the second, to the Scottish church at Rotterdam; and the third, from the town of Dundee. Dr. Witherspoon's attachments in Paisley, however, were too numerous and too strong to permit of his accepting of either of these invitations. But one of a more remarkable description soon after prevailed with him to leave not only Paisley, but his country. This was an invitation from the trustees of the college of Princeton, New Jersey, in America, to become president of that institution. He at first declined this appointment, but on a second application being made to him, thought fit to comply. A sufficient proof that this compliance did not proceed from interested motives, is found in the circumstance of his having been promised by a gentleman, a relation of his own, who possessed considerable property, that he should be made his heir if he would remain at home. This promise weighed nothing, however, with Dr. Witherspoon, when put in opposition to the sense of duty

which called him to an extensive and peculiarly interesting field for ministerial exertion. Having come to the resolution of crossing the Atlantic, he preached a farewell sermon to his affectionate people in Paisley on the 16th of April, 1768. This sermon was immediately after published, under the title of *Ministerial Fidelity in declaring the Whole Counsel of God*. Before leaving his native shores he also published at Glasgow, *Discourses on Practical Subjects*; and at Edinburgh, *Practical Discourses on the Leading Truths of the Gospel*.

Dr. Witherspoon now prepared for his departure for America, and at length sailed for that country in the month of July, 1768, and arrived there in safety with his family in the following month. Immediately after his arrival he entered upon his new appointment, and began to discharge the important duties with which it was associated. The reputation of Dr. Witherspoon had gone before him; and the result to the college over which he presided, was a great and rapid increase of its prosperity. Previously to his arrival the institution, which was chiefly supported by private liberality, was in a very indifferent situation with regard to finances; these, however, were quickly placed in a flourishing condition by the spirit of liberality which the new president's abilities and zeal excited. Nor were either these or the value of his services overrated. The latter were singularly important and beneficial, not only to the college over which he presided, but to the general interests of education throughout America. At Princeton he effected a total revolution in the system of instruction practised there previously to his arrival. He greatly extended the study of mathematical science, and introduced important improvements into the course of instruction in natural philosophy. In a few years afterwards his career of usefulness was not only interrupted, but, for a time, altogether terminated, by the occurrence of the American war of independence. In this struggle he took a decided part in favour of the insurgents; and on the 17th May, 1776, preached a sermon at Princeton, on the occasion of a general fast appointed by the Congress, in which he expressed his sentiments fully on the subject of the great political questions then agitated between the mother country and the revolted colonies. This discourse was afterwards published under the title of the *Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men*. Dr. Witherspoon's conduct on this occasion greatly displeased his friends at home; and an edition of the sermon above alluded to was published at Glasgow, with severe and abusive notes and remarks by its editor, in some of which the author was stigmatized as a rebel, and a traitor to his country. In America, however, it produced a very different feeling towards Dr. Witherspoon; and the nature of this feeling is sufficiently evinced by the circumstance of his having been, soon after, elected by the citizens of New Jersey as their delegate to the convention in which the republican constitution was formed. In this capacity he acquired, by the versatility of his talents and the soundness of his judgment, a political reputation not inferior to that which he enjoyed as a man of letters. In the early part of this year, 1776, he was sent as a representative of the people of New Jersey to the Congress of the United States, and continued for seven years an active and zealous member of that body. He was consulted on all momentous occasions; and it is known that he was the writer of many of the most important state papers of the period.

On the final settlement of the question of American independence, in the early part of the year 1783,

Dr. Witherspoon resumed his college duties, and two years afterwards paid a short visit to his native country. The object of this visit was to obtain benefactions for the college over which he presided, and which had nearly been exterminated by the war; but party feeling still ran too high in the mother country to allow of such a mission being very successful: and although the doctor made every exertion in London, and in several other parts of the kingdom, to excite an interest in and sympathy with his views, the result, on the whole, was by no means favourable. After a short stay in Paisley, during which he preached repeatedly in the Low and Middle churches, he took a final farewell of his friends, and returned to America, where he continued for several years more to maintain, and even increase, the reputation he had already acquired. The infirmities of age, however, began at length to steal upon him. Two years previous to his death he was totally deprived of sight; yet such was the activity of his mind, and the greatness of his anxiety to be useful, that even under this grievous affliction he did not desist either from the exercise of his ministry or from his duties in the college, although he had on all occasions to be led to the pulpit and rostrum. This affecting condition was but of short duration. He was released from it, and from all other afflictions, on the 15th of November, 1794, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Dr. Witherspoon's merits as an author, preacher, and philosopher, have been the theme of much and frequent eulogium by men themselves eminent for the attainments they so much admired in him; and we cannot conclude this brief memoir better than by quoting the language of one of those eulogists alluded to. "Of Dr. Witherspoon's character as an author," says Dr. Rogers, senior minister of the United Presbyterian Churches in the city of New York, "it is not necessary to say much. His writings are before the public; and to every serious and intelligent reader they discover an uncommon knowledge of human nature, and a deep and intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures. They generally strike us as being at once elegant and convincing, grave and attractive, profound and plain, energetic and simple. They evidently show that the author's learning was very extensive; that God had given him a great and understanding mind, a quick apprehension, and a solid judgment. And, as a preacher, he was in many respects one of the best models on which a young orator could form himself."

WODROW, ROBERT, the faithful and laborious author of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, was born in Glasgow in the year 1679. He was the second son of Mr James Wodrow, professor of divinity in the college of that city, a man of singular piety and learning. His mother, Margaret Hair, was the daughter of William Hair, the proprietor of a small estate in the parish of Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire. In this parent he was equally fortunate as in the other. To all the piety of her husband she added a degree of strength of mind not often associated with her sex.

In 1691 young Wodrow was entered a student in the university of his native city, and went through the usual course of academical education then adopted there, and which included several of the learned languages and various branches of philosophy. Theology he studied under his father, and while engaged in this pursuit was appointed librarian to the college; a situation to which the peculiar talent which he already displayed for historical and bibliographical inquiry had recommended him. This

office he held for four years; and it was during this time that he acquired the greater part of that knowledge of the ecclesiastical and literary history of his country which he applied during the course of his after-life to such good purpose, as to have the effect of associating his name, at once honourably and indissolubly, with those interesting subjects. At this period he imbibed, also, a taste for antiquarian research and the study of natural history, which introduced him to the notice and procured him the friendship of several of the most eminent men of the day. But all these pursuits were carefully kept subordinate to what he had determined to make the great and sole business of his life—the study of theology, and the practical application of its principles. To the former he devoted only his leisure hours; to the latter, all the others that were not appropriated to necessary repose.

On completing his theological studies at the university, Mr. Wodrow went to reside with a distant relation of the family, Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock; and while here offered himself for trials to the presbytery of Paisley, by whom he was licensed to preach the gospel in March, 1703. On the 28th of October following he was ordained minister of the parish of Eastwood, near Glasgow, through the influence of the family with which he resided. Eastwood was at that period one of the smallest parishes in Scotland; but it was just such a one as suited Mr. Wodrow: for its clerical duties being comparatively light, he was enabled to devote a portion of his time to his favourite studies in history and antiquities without neglecting the obligations which his sacred office imposed upon him; and of this circumstance he appreciated the value so highly that he could never be induced, though frequently invited, to accept any other charge. Glasgow, in 1712, made the attempt in vain to withdraw him from his obscure but beloved retreat, and to secure his pastoral services for the city; and Stirling, in 1717, and again in 1726, made similar attempts, but with similar success. The sacrifices which he made, however, by rejecting these overtures, were amply compensated by the affectionate attachment of his little flock, who rejoiced in his ministry, and were made happy by the amiableness of his manners and the kindness of his disposition. Although the charge in which he was placed was an obscure one, Mr. Wodrow's talents soon made it sufficiently conspicuous. The eloquence of his sermons, the energy and felicity of the language in which they were composed, and the solemn and impressive manner in which they were delivered, quickly spread his fame as a preacher, and placed him at the head of his brethren in the west of Scotland.

The popularity and reputation of Mr. Wodrow naturally procured for him a prominent place in the ecclesiastical courts which he attended; and in this attendance, whether on presbyteries, synods, or the General Assembly, he was remarkable for his punctuality. Of the latter he was frequently chosen a member; and on occasions of public interest was often still more intimately associated with the proceedings of the church, by being nominated to committees. In all these instances he took a lively interest in the matters under discussion, and was in the habit of keeping regular notes of all that passed; a practice which enabled him to leave a mass of manuscript records behind him, containing with other curious matter the most authentic and interesting details of the proceedings of the Scottish ecclesiastical courts of his time now in existence.

In 1707 Mr. Wodrow was appointed a member of a committee of presbytery to consult with the brethren

of the commission in Edinburgh as to the best means of averting the evils with which it was supposed the union would visit the church and people of Scotland; and on the accession of George I. he was the principal adviser of the five clergymen deputed by the Assembly to proceed to London to plead the rights of the former, and to solicit the abolition of the law of patronage, of which he was a decided enemy. In this the deputation did not succeed. The law was continued in force, and Mr. Wodrow, with that sense of propriety which pervaded all his sentiments and actions, inculcated a submission to its decisions. He did not deem it becoming the character of a Christian minister to be in any way accessory to acts of insubordination or of resistance to the laws of his country by irregular and unconstitutional means. The same feeling of propriety induced him to continue on friendly terms with those clergymen whose consciences permitted them to take the abjuration oath, although he in his own case resisted its imposition. But so far from taking offence at those who did, he exerted all his influence to reconcile the people to them, and to induce them to believe that compliance was no proof of apostasy.

Mr. Wodrow's life presents us with little more of particular interest than what is contained in the circumstances just narrated, until it becomes associated with that work which has made his name so memorable, namely, the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*. This work, for which his integrity, candour, liberality of sentiment, and talents eminently qualified him, he contemplated from an early period of his life; but it was only in the year 1707 that he began seriously to labour on it. From this time, however, till its publication in 1721 and 1722, a period of between fourteen and fifteen years, he devoted all his leisure hours to its composition.

On the appearance of Mr. Wodrow's *History*, which was published in three large folio volumes at separate times in the years above named, its author was attacked by those whom his fidelity as a historian had offended with the vilest scurrility and abuse. Anonymous and threatening letters were sent to him, and every description of indignity was attempted to be thrown on both his person and his work. The faithful, liberal, and impartial character of the history nevertheless procured its author many and powerful friends. Its merits were by a large party appreciated and acknowledged, and every man whose love of truth was stronger than his prejudices awarded it the meed of his applause. Copies of the work were presented by Dr. Fraser to their majesties and the Prince and Princess of Wales, and were received so graciously, and so much approved of, that the presentation was almost immediately followed by a royal order on the Scottish exchequer for 100 guineas to be paid to the author, as a testimony of his majesty's favourable opinion of his merits. The warrant for the payment of this sum is dated the 26th April, 1725. In 1830 a second edition of the *History* was published in 4 volumes 8vo by Messrs. Blackie and Fullarton, of Glasgow, under the editorial care of the Rev. Dr. Burns of Paisley, afterwards of Toronto, Canada.

Mr. Wodrow's literary labours did not end with the publication of his *History*. He afterwards planned and executed the scheme of a complete history of the Church of Scotland, in a series of lives of all the eminent men who appeared from the beginning of the Reformation down to the period at which his preceding work commenced. This valuable production, which contains an accurate and comprehensive

view of some of the most important and interesting events in the history of the kingdom, has never yet been entirely published. It lies still in manuscript in the library of the university of Glasgow.

Besides these works Mr. Wodrow has left behind him six small but closely written volumes of traditionary and other memoranda regarding the lives and labours of remarkable ministers, and comprising all the occurrences of the period which he thought worth recording. These volumes are designated by the general name of *Analecta*, and the entries extend over a space of twenty-seven years, viz. from 1705 to 1732. The *Analecta* contains much curious information regarding the times of its author, and is full of anecdote and amusing and interesting notices of the remarkable persons of the day. It is preserved in the original manuscript in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, where it is often consulted by the curious inquirer into the times to which it relates; so often indeed, that the greater part of it has found its way to the public, though in a disguised and unacknowledged shape, through the medium of various publications in which its matter has been wrought up with other materials.

A large portion of Mr. Wodrow's time, all of which was laboriously and usefully employed in the discharge of his various duties, was occupied in an extensive epistolary correspondence with acquaintances and friends in different parts of the world, but this was no idle correspondence. He made it in all cases subservient to the purposes of improving his general knowledge, and of adding to his stores of information; and with this view he was in the habit of transmitting to his correspondents lists of queries on subjects of general and public interest, and particularly on matters connected with religion, as they stood in their several localities. With all this labour he regularly devoted two days in every week to his preparation for the pulpit, and bestowed besides the most assiduous attention on all the other duties of his parish.

In the case of Professor Simpson, of Glasgow, the successor of Mr. Wodrow's father, who was suspended from his office by the General Assembly for his Arian sentiments, Mr. Wodrow felt himself called upon, as a minister of the gospel and a friend to evangelical truth, to take an active part with his brethren against the professor. The latter, as already said, was suspended, but through a feeling of compassion the emoluments of his office were reserved to him; a kindness for which it is not improbable he may have been indebted, at least in some measure, to the benevolent and amiable disposition of the subject of this memoir. Soon after this occurrence Mr. Wodrow took occasion, when preaching on the days of the 10th and 11th June, 1727, in the Barony Church of Glasgow, to illustrate the divinity of the Saviour in opposition to the sentiments of the Arians and Socinians. These sermons had the effect of rousing the religious zeal of one of the former sect, a Mr. William Paul, a student of theology, to such a pitch as to induce him on the day following to challenge Mr. Wodrow to a public or private disputation or to a written controversy. This challenge, however, the latter did not think it prudent to accept.

In the affair of the celebrated "Marrow Controversy," which opened the way to the Secession in 1733, Mr. Wodrow decided and acted with his usual prudence, propriety, and liberality. He thought that those who approved of the sentiments and doctrines contained in the work from which the controversy took its name, viz. the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, went too far in their attempts to vindicate them, and that the Assembly on the other hand had

been too active and too forward in their condemnation. On the great question about "subscription to articles of faith," he took a more decided part, and ever looked upon the non-subscribers as enemies to the cause of evangelical Christianity.

On this subject he corresponded largely with various intelligent and some eminent men in different parts of the three kingdoms, especially in Ireland, from whom he collected a mass of opinion and information regarding Presbyterianism in that country, which for interest and importance cannot be equalled.

The valuable and laborious life of the author of the *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* was now however drawing to a close. His constitution had been naturally good, and during the earlier part of his life he had enjoyed uninterrupted health; but the severity of his studious habits at length began to bear him down. He was first seriously affected in 1726, and from this period continued gradually to decline till 1734, an interval of pain and suffering of no less than eight years, when he expired on the 21st March, in the 55th year of his age; dying, as he had lived, in the faith of the gospel and love to all mankind. His remains were interred in the churchyard of Eastwood, where his memory has been commemorated by the erection of a monument.

Mr. Wodrow was married in the end of the year 1708 to Margaret Warner, grand-daughter of William Guthrie of Fenwick, author of the *Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*, and daughter of the Rev. Patrick Warner of Ardeer, Ayrshire, and minister of Irvine. He left at his death four sons and five daughters. The eldest of the former succeeded his father in the parish of Eastwood, but was compelled to retire from it by an infirm state of health.

WOOD, SIR ANDREW, admiral to James III. and James IV. While the war between England and Scotland was at the fiercest, both countries seem to have been unconscious of the particular arm in which the secret of their great strength lay. Hence their vessels were entirely fitted, not for war but merchandise, and their battles at sea were nothing more than paltry skirmishes which occurred when two ships crossed each other's track, instead of the wholesale encounter of opposing fleets; while the only naval tactics of the time was for the strongest to board and the weakest to run away. But between two such nations this state of things could not always continue; and when they found that they could not only defend themselves, but annoy each other as effectually by sea as by land, ships became stronger and better manned, and the art of working and fighting them more perfect. It was full time, indeed, that it should be so, when the continental nations were immeasurably our superiors in navigation, and when an "Invincible Armada" might at any time be landed upon the shores of England or Scotland, not for the conquest of one or other of the rival countries, but the island at large. Fortunately, therefore, it happened that, coeval with the opening of India to Portugal, and the discovery of America by Spain, the Scots and English were making such improvements in nautical science as were ultimately to fit them for being the first of maritime powers. This, indeed, was a prospect as yet too remote to occur to them, and therefore the prevailing motive was a merely immediate advantage—the power of inflicting on each other the greatest amount of mischief, and having a Bannockburn or Chevy Chase on sea as well as land. Into this new contention the Scots pressed with their wonted ardour, and so successfully, that towards the end of the 15th century it seemed as if they, and not their more wealthy neigh-

bours, were to possess the ocean-flag of the island. This superiority they owed to the two Bartons, and especially to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo.

Until this brave admiral emerged into public notice, the name of Wood had acquired no place in Scottish history, so that we are unable to determine the family from which he sprung. Abercromby, in his *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, supposes him to have been a cadet of the ancient family of Bonington, in Angus. Even of the early life and exploits of Sir Andrew Wood nothing can be ascertained, owing to the scantiness of our Scottish historical records of this period. It is commonly asserted that he was born about the middle of the 15th century, at the old kirk-town of Largo, in Fifeshire. He appears to have commenced life as a trader; and as he was captain, supercargo, and ship-owner in his own ventures, like many of the chief merchants of the day, he was obliged to fight his way from port to port, and combine the daring courage of a bold privateer, and the science of a skillful navigator, with the gentle craft of a trafficker and bargain-maker. His chief place of residence when on shore was Leith, at that time rising in consequence as one of the principal ports of Scotland; and there his growing wealth as a merchant, and renown as a skipper, gradually raised him to consideration among the high-born and powerful of the country. He was now the possessor of two ships, called the *Flower* and the *Yellow Caravel*, each of about 300 tons burden, but superior to most vessels of their size, in men, arms, and sailing equipments, with which he traded to the Dutch and Hanse towns, then the chief commercial marts of Scotland. As he had soon riches enough, his mind aspired to higher objects, and fortunately he served a king by whom his claims could be appreciated. James III. granted to him, as his pilot, a lease of the lands of Largo, on the tenure of keeping his ship the *Yellow Caravel* in repair, for conveying his highness and the queen to the Isle of May when they should make a pilgrimage thither; afterwards these lands and the town of Largo were granted to him hereditarily and in fee, in consideration of his public services, and especially his defence of the royal castle of Dumbarton, when it was besieged by the English navy. This grant, which was made to Wood by James III. in 1483, was afterwards confirmed by James IV. in 1488 and 1497. Soon after the first of these dates, and before 1488, he received the honour of knighthood, and married Elizabeth Lundie, a lady belonging to an ancient family of Fifeshire, by whom he had several sons. He was now a feudal baron who could ride to a national muster with a train of armed followers at his back; a redoubted admiral, whose ships had cleared the seas of every foe that had opposed them; a skillful financier and wise counsellor, in consequence of his past habits and experience; and in every way a man whom nobles would respect and kings delight to honour. From this period he abandoned trading and devoted himself to those great public interests in which his rank as well as talents required him to take a part.

Events soon occurred that conferred upon the admiral a species of distinction which he was far from coveting. A rebellion headed by some of the principal nobles of the kingdom broke out, and James III., one of the most pacific of sovereigns, found himself dragged into the field, and compelled to fight for crown and life against his own subjects. On this occasion Sir Andrew Wood received the king on board one of his vessels lying in Leith Roads, and crossed to the coast of Fife, where his ships lay at anchor. The previous destination of the fleet was

Flanders; and on hoisting sail the report was spread abroad that James was escaping to the Netherlands. Enraged at this the rebels seized his baggage and furniture, which were on their way to be shipped at the Forth, and committed great outrage upon the persons and property of the sovereign's best adherents. But no such flight was contemplated, for the king landed in Fife, and summoned a military muster of his subjects, after which he joined the northern lords who adhered to his cause, and prepared for battle. He was now at the head of such an imposing force that the rebels were daunted, and after a trifling skirmish at Blackness they proposed peace, which was granted to them on terms more favourable than they had merited. This, however, was the more necessary on the part of the king, as the insurgent lords had taken his eldest son, the Duke of Rothesay, now scarcely seventeen years old, from under the care of his guardians and placed him at their head, under the title of James IV. After this pacification the king rewarded the most trusty of his adherents with fresh grants of crown-lands, and among those whose loyal services were thus required, was Sir Andrew Wood of Largo.

But this return of tranquillity was a short and treacherous interval, for James III. had scarcely settled down to his wonted pursuits of poetry, music, and the fine arts—pursuits better fitted for a sovereign of the 19th century than one of the 15th—than the insurgent lords mustered in greater force than ever, while the royal army had dispersed to their homes. Until his troops could be assembled, James repaired to Stirling Castle for refuge, but was there denied entrance, and obliged to abide the issue with such an army as could be mustered upon a hasty summons. During the interval Wood was cruising in the Forth with the *Flower* and *Yellow Caravel*, while the contending forces were mustering near Stirling—landing occasionally with his brother and armed followers, to aid the royal party should the battle be fought in the neighbourhood, but still keeping near his shipping, to hold the command of the sea, and be ready to receive his master in the event of a reverse. The affair was soon decided by the battle of Sauchieburn, in which the forces of James were defeated, and himself foully assassinated while fleeing from the field. The deed was done so secretly, that both friends and enemies supposed he was still alive, and had taken shelter in the *Yellow Caravel*, a supposition strengthened by the fact that boats had been employed all day in conveying wounded men from the shore to the vessels. The victorious insurgents, who had now reached Leith, and were aware of Wood's fidelity to his master, resolved to remove the king from his keeping; and accordingly, in the first instance, they sent messengers to inquire if James was in his ship. He replied that he was not, and gave them leave to search it if they were still unconvinced. Not satisfied, however, with the assurance, the insurgent lords, now masters of Scotland, sent him an order to appear before their council, and there state fully how matters stood; but this he boldly refused to do, without receiving sufficient pledges for his safe return. Powerful though they were, he was upon his own element, where he could annoy them or escape from them at pleasure. Aware of this, they were obliged to give hostages in the persons of Lords Fleming and Seton, that he should come and return unharmed. The lords being safely housed in his cabin, Sir Andrew landed from his barge at Leith, and presented himself before the council. On his entrance an affecting incident occurred. Young James IV., who had seen so little of his murdered parent that he had grown up ignorant of his person, and now beheld a

stately, noble-looking man, clothed in rich armour, enter the hall, went up to him and said, "Sir, are you my father?" "Sir, I am not your father," replied the admiral, while tears fell fast from his eyes at the question; "but I was a servant to your father, and shall be to his authority till I die, and enemy to those who were the occasion of his down-putting."

The dialogue that occurred between him and the lords, after this affecting incident, was brief and stern. They asked if he knew of the king or where he was, to which he answered, that he neither knew of his highness, nor where he was at present. They then demanded who those persons were who had retired from the field, and been conveyed to his ships; to which he answered, "It was I and my brother, who were ready to have spent our lives with the king in his defence." "He is not then in your ships?" they rejoined; to which he answered boldly, "He is not in my ships, but would to God that he were in my ships in safety; I should then defend him, and keep him scathless from all the treasonable creatures who have murdered him, for I hope to see the day when they shall be hanged and drawn for their demerits." These were hard words to digest, and when we remember the names of those proud magnates of whom the council was composed, and how unscrupulous they were in dealing with their enemies or resenting an affront, we can the better appreciate the boldness of the man who, though alone, thus rebuked and denounced them. They writhed under his bitter words, but dared not resent them, for they knew that their brethren Fleming and Seton were in the *Yellow Caravel*, and that the good ship had ropes and yard-arms. They dismissed him, therefore, in safety, and it was well that they did so; for when the lords who were in pledge returned, it was in great dismay, for the sailors had become impatient at the detention of their commander, and were fully prepared to hang them if his stay on shore had been continued much longer.

In this way the brave Wood had bearded a whole troop of lions in their den, and retired with impunity; but still they were determined that he should not escape unpunished. He might be denounced as a public enemy, and assailed with the same power that had sufficed to crush the king. It was dangerous, too, that such a man should go at large, and repeat among others those threats which he had thrown in their own teeth. Accordingly, with the new sovereign James IV. at their head, they applied to the skippers of Leith, desiring them to proceed against Wood and apprehend him, offering to furnish them with sufficient ships, weapons, and artillery for the purpose; but one of their number, Captain Barton—probably one of those bold Bortons who, like Wood himself, were famed at this time for exploits of naval daring—declared that there were not ten ships in Scotland that could give battle to the admiral with the *Flower* and *Yellow Caravel* alone, so high was his skill, and so completely seconded with good artillery and practised seamen. Reluctantly, therefore, they were obliged to remit their designs of vengeance, and pass on to the subject of the young king's coronation. Wood also turned his attention to his own affairs, the chief of which was a quarrel with the good citizens of Aberdeen towards the close of 1488, concerning the forest of Suckett and the Castle Hill of Aberdeen, which, he alleged, had been granted to him by James III. On this occasion the Aberdonians denied his claim, and stood to their defence, which might have been followed by a cannonade, had not the privy-council interfered between the angry admiral and the equally incensed citizens.

It was then found that the property in question had been granted to the city in perpetuity by Robert Bruce, upon which Wood abandoned his claim.

All this was but sorry practice, however accordant with the spirit of the age, and the high talents of Wood were soon employed in a more patriotic sphere of action. James IV., one of whose earliest proceedings was to distinguish between his selfish partisans that had made him king for their own purposes and those who had generously espoused the cause of his unfortunate father, received the latter into favour; and among these was the ocean hero, with whose first appearance he had been so mournfully impressed. Having himself a high genius for naval architecture, and an earnest desire to create a national navy, he found in Wood an able teacher, and the studies both of sovereign and admiral, for the building of ships that should effectually guard the coasts of Scotland and promote its commerce, were both close and frequent. An event soon occurred to call their deliberations into action. About the commencement or earlier part of the year 1489 a fleet of five English ships entered the Clyde, where they wrought great havoc, and chased one of the king's ships, to the serious damage of its rigging and tackle. As this deed was committed during a season of truce, the actors were denounced as pirates; and James, who felt his own honour sensibly touched in the affair, commissioned Sir Andrew to pursue the culprits, after he had proposed it to the other naval captains, but in vain. The knight of Largo undertook the enterprise, and set off in his favourite vessels, the *Flower* and *Caravel*, in quest of these dangerous marauders. He fell in with the five English ships off Dunbar Castle, and a desperate conflict commenced. But though the English were so superior in force, and fought with their wonted hardihood, the greater skill, courage, and seamanship of Wood prevailed, so that all their ships, with the captains and crews, were brought into Leith and presented to the king.

This event was most unwelcome to Henry VII. of England, and all the more especially that on account of the truce he could not openly resent it. Still the flag of England had been soiled, and something must be done to purify it. He therefore caused it to be announced underhand, that nothing would please him so much as the defeat or capture of Wood, and that whoever accomplished it should have a pension of £1000 a year. This was a tempting offer, considering the value of money at that period; but such at the same time was the renown of the Scottish captain, that the boldest of the mariners of England shrunk from the enterprise. At length Stephen Bull, a venturesome merchant and gallant seaman of the port of London, offered himself for the deed, and was furnished with three tall ships for the purpose, manned with numerous crews of picked mariners, besides pikemen and cross-bows and a gallant body of knights, who threw themselves into this daring adventure as volunteers. Bull directed his course towards the Frith of Forth, and cast anchor behind the Isle of May, where he lay in wait for the Scottish admiral, who had gone as convoy of some merchant ships to Flanders, and was now on his return home; and to avoid the chances of mistake, the Englishman seized some fishing-boats and retained their owners, that they might point out to him the expected ships as soon as they came in sight. In the meantime Sir Andrew was sailing merrily homeward, little anticipating the entertainment prepared for him (for the truce with England still continued), and had already doubled St. Abb's Head. No sooner did he appear in sight than Stephen Bull

ordered his prisoners to the mast-head, to ascertain if these ships were the *Flower* and *Yellow Caravel*; and on their hesitating to answer he promised to set them free should these be the ships in question. On learning that his expected prey was within reach he prepared for battle with great glee, being confident of victory. He caused a cask of wine to be broached, and flagons handed among the crews; drank to his captains and skippers, bidding them be of good cheer for their enemy was at hand, and ordered the gunners to their posts. In this trim he weighed anchor, and bore down with hostile signal upon the Scots. It was well on this occasion that Wood possessed one of the best attributes of a good sailor—that he was not to be caught napping. Unexpected though this breach of the truce was, his ships were kept in such admirable order that a few minutes of preparation sufficed. "My merry men," he said, "be stout against these your enemies, who have sworn and avowed to make you prisoners to the King of England, but who, please God, shall fail of their purpose. Therefore set yourselves in order every man at his own station, and let your guns and cross-bows be ready. But above all, use the fire-balls well from the main-tops, keep the decks with your two-handed swords, and let every good fellow here think of the welfare of the realm and his own honour. For mine own part, with God to help, I shall show you a good example." He then distributed wine among the sailors, who blithely pledged each other and stood to their weapons prepared for immediate action.

And now commenced an engagement such as, taking the numbers of the combatants into account, the ocean had seldom as yet witnessed; it was a fearful meeting, where skill and undaunted courage, and the determination to do or die, were animated both by professional rivalry and national hatred. The battle was commenced on the part of the English by a distant cannonade, but the Scottish vessels being smaller in size, the shot passed above their decks without doing mischief. In the meantime Wood, who had got to windward of his adversary, bore down upon him under a full press of sail, closed upon him, threw out his grappling-irons, and even lashed the ships together with strong cables, that all might be settled by a hand-to-hand encounter. The battle, that commenced at sunrise, continued during the whole of a summer day with such desperate determination that nothing but the darkness of night parted them, when they separated on equal terms, and lay-to, waiting for the morning to renew the combat. The morning came, the trumpets sounded, the ships again grappled with the pertinacity of bull-dogs, and the fight became so keen that the vessels, left to their own management, drifted into the mouth of the Tay, while the crews were engaged in close struggle upon the deck. Roused also by the din, the inhabitants, men, women, and children, crowded to the shore, and cheered their countrymen by their shouts and gesticulations. "Britannia rule the waves!"—yes, when these rival flags shall be blended together, and these gallant combatants be fighting side by side! At length the superior skill of Wood and the practised seamanship of his crews prevailed over equal courage and far superior numbers; the three English vessels were compelled to strike, and were carried into the port of Dundee, while Sir Andrew brought his gallant antagonist to the king as prisoner. James IV., who was one of the last of the flowers of chivalry, received Stephen Bull and his followers with courtesy, enriched them with princely gifts, and after praising their valour set them at liberty, and sent them home in their own ships without ransom. He

also desired them to tell their royal master that he had as manly men in Scotland as there were in England, and was fully able as well as determined to defend his own coasts and merchantmen. The significant hint was added, that if they came again to Scotland in such hostile fashion, they would neither be so well entertained, nor be allowed to skip homeward so dry-shod. This at least the prisoners averred when they had reached London in safety. Henry VII., whatever might be his private feelings, expressed his gratitude for the kindness of the Scottish king. While enemies were thus rewarded, Sir Andrew was not forgot, for he was guerdoned with fresh grants of lands, and received into greater favour than ever.

Sir Andrew Wood, now incontestably the greatest naval hero of his age, had done enough for fame, and no further exploits like those off Dunbar or St. Abb's Head remained to be achieved. In 1503 he was employed against the turbulent chiefs of the isles, who were always breaking into rebellion, and was so successful that the inhabitants were reduced to submission wherever his ships appeared. Afterwards we find him captain of that enormous pageant ship the *Great Michael*, with Robert Barton as his lieutenant. This vessel, upon which not only the greater part of the timber but also of the wealth of Scotland had been expended, was found, when finished, to be as useless as Robinson Crusoe's boat, on which he had bestowed such labour, and made it so large that he could neither navigate nor even launch it. With all this expenditure upon eight or ten good ships, and these two heroes to command them, Scotland might have sent out such a fleet as no naval power in Europe could have equalled. We suspect that even Wood, in bringing such a ship into action, would have been as much encumbered as David was when he was equipped in the armour of Saul. Fortunately no opportunity occurred for such a hazardous trial, as the *Great Michael* was afterwards wrecked on the French coast, and suffered to rot in the harbour of Brest, after it had been carried off to sea under a different commander. After the disastrous battle of Flodden Sir Andrew again appears in the character of ambassador at the court of France, whither he was sent to invite the Duke of Albany, nephew of James III., to assume the regency of Scotland. In 1526 he was present at the battle of Linlithgow Bridge, one of those feudal conflicts that were so frequent during the minority of James V.; and so late as 1538 he was still alive, as appears from a deed of remission of that date. By this time he must have been a very aged man, and perhaps the perplexed witness of those striking events by which the reformation of religion in Scotland was heralded, and a new world introduced. But during his retirement from active life his affection for the sea appears to have clung to him like a first love, and he evinced it by causing a canal to be made from his castle to the kirk of Upper Largo, on which he was rowed in a barge every Sunday by his old boat's crew, when he went to the church to attend mass. The year of his death is uncertain, as no record can be found of it. He was buried in Largo kirk, where his family tomb still arrests the eye of the historian and antiquary.

WOODHOUSELEE, LORD. See TYTLER (ALEXANDER FRASER).

WYNTOWN, ANDREW, or Andrew of Wyltown, the venerable rhyming chronicler of Scotland, lived towards the end of the fourteenth century; but the dates of his birth and death are unknown. He was a canon regular of the priory of St. Andrews, the most flourishing and important religious estab-

lishment in the kingdom; and in or before the year 1395 he was elected prior of St. Serf's Inch, in Lochleven.¹ Of this he himself gives an account in his *Cronykil*:—

"Of my defeutte it is my name
Be baptisme, Andrew of Wyntowne,
Of Sanct Andrews, a chanounne
Regulare: but, noucht forði
Of thaim al the lest worthy.
Bot of thair grace and thair favoure
I wes, but² meryt, made prioure.
Of the ync within Lochlevyne."

Innes mentions "several authentic acts or public instruments of Wyntown, as prior from 1395 till 1413, in *Extracts from the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews*," which points out part of the period of his priorship; and as the death of Robert Duke of Albany is noticed in the *Cronykil*, Wyntown must have survived till beyond 1420, the year in which the duke died. Supposing, as is probable, that he brought down his narrative of events to the latest period of his life, we may conjecture his death to have occurred not long after the above date.

It was at the request of "Schyr Jhone of the Wemyss," ancestor of the Earls of Wemyss,³ that Wyntown undertook his *Chronicle*;⁴ which although the first historical record of Scotland in our own language, was suffered to lie neglected for several centuries. In 1795 Mr. David Macpherson laid before the public an admirable edition of that part of it which more particularly relates to Scotland, accompanied with a series of valuable annotations. Like most other old chroniclers, Wyntown in his history goes as far back as the creation, and takes a general view of the world before entering upon the proper business of his undertaking. He treats of angels, of the generations of Cain and Seth, of the primeval race of giants, of the confusion of tongues, of the situation of India, Egypt, Africa, and Europe, and of other equally recondite subjects, before he adventures upon the history of Scotland; so that five of the nine books into which his *Chronicle* is divided are taken up with matter which, however edifying and instructive at the time, is of no service to the modern historical inquirer. Mr. Macpherson, therefore, in his edition has suppressed all the extraneous and foreign appendages, only preserving the metrical contents of the chapters, by which the reader may know the nature of what is withheld; and taking care that nothing which relates to the British islands, whether true or fabulous, is overlooked. It is not likely that any future editor of Wyntown will adopt a different plan; so that those parts which Mr. Macpherson has omitted may be considered as having commenced the undisturbed sleep of oblivion.

Though Wyntown was contemporary with Fordun, and even survived him, it is certain that he never saw Fordun's work; so that he has an equal claim with that writer to the title of *an original historian of Scotland*; and his *Cronykil* has the advantage over Fordun's history, both in that it is brought down to a later period, and is written in the language of the country—

"Tyl ilke mannys wnderstandyng."

"In Wyntown's *Chronicle*," says Mr. Macpherson,

¹ St. Serf is the name of a small island in that beautiful loch, not far from the island which contains the castle of Lochleven, celebrated as the prison-house of the Queen of Scots.

² But, without.

³ A younger son of this family settled in the Venetian territories about 1600; and a copy of Wyntown's work is in the possession of his descendants.

⁴ Book i. Prologue, l. 54.

"the historian may find what, for want of more ancient records which have long ago perished, we must now consider as the original accounts of many transactions, and also many events related from his own knowledge or the reports of eye-witnesses. His faithful adherence to his authorities appears from comparing his accounts with unquestionable vouchers, such as the *Federa Anglie*, and the existing remains of the 'Register of the Priory of St. Andrews,' that venerable monument of ancient Scottish history and antiquities, generally coeval with the facts recorded in it, whence he has given large extracts almost literally translated." His character as a historian is in a great measure common to the other historical writers of his age, who generally admitted into their works the absurdity of tradition along with authentic narrative, and often without any mark of discrimination, esteeming it a sufficient standard of historic fidelity to narrate nothing but what they found written by others before them. Indeed, it may be considered fortunate that they adopted this method of compilation, for through it we are presented with many genuine transcripts from ancient authorities, of which their extracts are the only existing remains. In Wyntown's work, for example, we have nearly three hundred lines of Barbour in a more genuine state than in any manuscript of Barbour's own work; and we have also preserved a little elegiac song on the death of Alexander III., which must be nearly ninety years older than Barbour's work. Of Barbour and other writers Wyntown speaks in a generous and respectful manner,⁵ and the same liberality of sentiment is displayed by him regarding the enemies of his country, whose gallantry he takes frequent occasion to praise. Considering the paucity of books in Scotland at the time, Wyntown's learning and resources were by no means contemptible. He quotes, among the ancient authors, Aristotle, Galen, Palephatus, Josephus, Cicero, Livy, Justin, Solinus, and Valerius Maximus, and also mentions Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Statius, Boethius, Dionysius, Cato, Dares, Phrygius, Origen, Augustin, Jerome, &c.

Wyntown's *Chronicle* being in rhyme, he ranks among the poets of Scotland; and he is in point of time the third of the few early ones whose works we possess, Thomas the Rhymer and Barbour being his only extant predecessors. His work is entirely composed of couplets, and these generally of eight syllables, though lines even of ten and others of six syllables frequently occur. "Perhaps," says Mr. Ellis, "the noblest modern versifier who should undertake to enumerate in metre the years of our Lord in only one century, would feel some respect for the ingenuity with which Wyntown has contrived to vary his rhymes throughout such a formidable chronological series as he ventured to encounter. His genius is certainly inferior to that of his predecessor Barbour; but at least his versification is easy, his language pure, and his style often animated."

There are various manuscripts of Wyntown's work, more or less perfect, still extant. The one in the British Museum is the oldest and the best; and after it rank in antiquity and correctness the manuscripts belonging to the Cotton Library and to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

⁵ He even avows his incompetency to write equal to Barbour, as in the following lines:—

"The Stewartis originale

The Archedekyne has trettyd hal

In metre fayre mare wertusly

Than I can thynk be my study," &c.

Cronykil, l. viii. c. 7, v. 143.

Y.

YOUNG, PATRICK, known also by his Latinized name of *Patricius Junius*, a distinguished scholar of the seventeenth century, was the son of Sir Peter Young, co-preceptor with Buchanan of King James VI., and was born at Seaton in Haddingtonshire, in 1584. He was educated at the university of St. Andrews—accompanied his father in the train of James VI. to England in 1603, and was for some time domesticated with Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Chester, as his librarian or secretary. In 1605 he was incorporated at Oxford in the degree of M.A., which he had taken at St. Andrews; and entering into deacon's orders was made one of the chaplains of All-Souls' College. There he acquired considerable proficiency in ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and became profoundly skilled in the Greek language, in which he made a practice of corresponding with his father and other learned men. He afterwards repaired to London, and by the interest of Dr. Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, obtained a pension of £50 a year, and was occasionally employed by the king and some persons connected with the government, in writing Latin letters. The same interest obtained for him the office of royal librarian. In 1617 Young went to Paris with recommendatory letters from Camden, which introduced him to the learned of that capital. After his return he was engaged in the translation of the works of King James into Latin. In 1620,

having recently been married, he was presented with two rectories in Denbighshire; soon after he became a prebend of St. Paul's and the treasurer of that cathedral; and in 1624 he attained, by the influence of Bishop Williams, the office of Latin secretary. Young, whose reputation was now widely extended, was one of the learned persons chosen by Selden to aid in the examination of the Arundelian Marbles. He made a careful examination of the Alexandrian manuscript of the Bible, and communicated some various readings to Grotius, Usher, and other learned men. He also published a specimen of an edition of that manuscript which he intended to execute, but was ultimately obliged to abandon; however, in 1633, he edited from the same manuscript, the *Epistles of Clemens Romanus*; and afterwards published with a Latin version, "*Catena Græcorum Patrum in Iobum*, Collectore Niceta, Heraclie Metropolitæ." In 1638 he published, "*Expositio in Canticum Canticorum Folioti Episcopi Londinensis*, una cum Alcuini in idem Canticum Compendio." Young also made preparations for editing various other manuscripts, to which his office in the king's library gave him access, when the confusions occasioned by the civil war, and the seizure of the library by the parliament, put an end to his designs. He retired during this period to the house of his son-in-law, at Broomfield, in Essex, where he died in 1652.

SUPPLEMENT.

ARNOTT. See WALKER-ARNOTT.

BREWSTER, SIR DAVID. This venerable and revered teacher of science, who, in an age distinguished for the cultivation of physics, was one of the greatest natural philosophers of his day, was born at Jedburgh on the 11th December, 1781. His father, who was rector of the grammar-school in that town, seems to have mainly devoted his sons to the service of the church, and this also with such good effect that three of them held ministerial charges in the Church of Scotland. Of these Dr. Patrick Brewster, minister of Paisley, was an eloquent and popular preacher of the Evangelical school; and although he remained in the Established Church at the Disruption, when so many like-minded with himself had left it, he continued to cherish opinions of his own, and was a democrat in politics and a keen agitator for the "People's Charter." A second of the family, Dr. George Brewster of Scoonie, was a man of much intellectual power and great moral courage, but inert; and although characterized as the most immoderate of the church party called the Moderate, both in theology and church politics, and an absolute devotee of Tory politics in secular rule, he could shake himself loose from his trammels and apathy when questions concerning religious liberty were at stake, and express himself with energy and freedom. A third brother, Dr. James Brewster of Craig, a clergyman universally beloved, belonged to the Evangelical party, and, unlike the other two, became a minister of the Free Church at the Disruption. It will thus be seen that each of the brotherhood had a distinctive character and will of his own.

Of this Levitical family of the rector of Jedburgh academy, David, the subject of this memoir, was also intended for the church, and with that view was sent to the university of Edinburgh when only twelve years old; and during several sessions distinguished himself by his respectable, and often brilliant, performances in the tasks of the classes. He also passed through the appointed courses of the theological hall, and even took license as a preacher in the Church of Scotland, and was offered a presentation by the Duke of Roxburgh. But here he stopped short in his advance to the church, and the offer of a presentation was declined. During his studies his strong scientific tendencies, which he had evinced in boyhood when only ten years old by constructing a telescope, had assumed the predominance, and claimed him exclusively for their own. His health was also so delicate as to be judged a serious disqualification for the laborious duties of a Scottish clergyman. He therefore, after long and matured thought, resolved to devote himself to a scientific life, and the world has profited by the resolution. He was also justified in his choice by the remarkable

proficiency which he had already made in his scientific studies, in which he had enjoyed the acquaintance and aid of Professors Robison, Playfair, and Dugald Stewart. He had also taken the degree of M.A. in 1800. The commencement of his public career in this new path was that series of optical researches which have since made his name so deservedly famous. He had already so greatly benefited by his past instructions, that in maturely examining the bases of Newton's theory of light he succeeded in discovering a new and important fact in optics—that of the influence of the condition of the surfaces of bodies on the "inflection" or changes of direction of the rays of light, which had been formerly accepted as a consequence of the nature of the bodies themselves. An evidence of the value of his discoveries connected with light was soon indicated by the distinguished honours which now began to shower upon him. In 1807, when he was only twenty-six years old, he was made LL.D. by the university of Aberdeen, D.C.L. by the university of Oxford, and A.M. by that of Cambridge. In the following year he was elected a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which he afterwards filled the offices of secretary, vice-president, and president, the last of which offices he held until his death. A literary appointment intrusted to him in 1808 also showed the confidence which was reposed in his talents, for it was the editorship of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, to which he added many important contributions from that date until 1830.

Although such an editorship would of itself have been sufficient for the energies of most men, Dr. Brewster's working powers enabled him to wield it as lightly as if it had been little more than a feather-weight, and during the long interval his scientific achievements were carried on apparently without interruption. In 1813 he published some of the results of his optical researches during the twelve preceding years, under the title of *A Treatise on New Philosophical Instruments*, &c. Having in 1811 turned his attention to Buffon's experiments in endeavouring to discover the nature and produce the effects of the burning mirrors of Archimedes, Dr. Brewster in the course of his researches discovered the construction of what he termed "polyzonal lenses," which might be turned to important account in British commerce. At that time lighthouses were usually fitted up with plain parabolic reflectors, which were often insufficient to pierce through the darkness of the ocean and give timely warning to the ship. Instead of these imperfect reflectors, Dr. Brewster therefore proposed the use of lenses built up of zones of glass, each of which might be composed of several circular segments, arranged concentrically round a central disc, with the effect of strengthening the light, and transmitting it to a

greater distance. His discovery, and the proposal of its use, excited much talk at the time, but unfortunately nothing more, as it fell into neglect at home, while it was adopted in France. In 1815 he was interrupted by an application from the Edinburgh town-council and Professor Playfair to take the place of the latter in delivering the course of lectures on natural philosophy. He complied; but finding that such monotonous every-day occupation interrupted him in his favourite studies, he did not long continue in this intermediate change.

After he had improved upon the experiments of Buffon in his attempts to discover the burning mirrors of Archimedes, Dr. Brewster was to turn those of Malus to a similar account. That French *savant*, in a series of experiments conducted between 1808 and 1812, having improved on the original discovery of Huygens by discovering the polarization of light by reflection, Dr. Brewster commenced an extensive series of experiments to ascertain the polarizing angle of a number of transmitting substances. The authority upon which we chiefly rely thus follows up the labours of the doctor on this head:—"He pursued the subject of polarization in all its aspects, and in all the conditions that modify it, in its relations with the nature and form of reflecting or refracting bodies, in the geometrical, mathematical, and trigonometrical relations of angles and planes according to which it takes place; he established the polarizing properties of a host of new substances; he formulated general laws, completed and rectified the discoveries made in the same region of study by Fresnel, Arago, and Biot; profited by those discoveries to make himself still further advances; and by his own discoveries gave assistance to all the researches which for a long time past have been, and for a long time to come will be, made in the same domain." While he followed out this field of discovery which he made exclusively his own, Dr. Brewster communicated the most important of its results first in 1813, and afterwards in 1815, to the Royal Society of London. The last of these was a paper on the "Polarization of Light by Reflection;" and the society elected him a fellow, and voted him their Copley medal for his discoveries and researches. In the following year (1816) he was honoured by the French Institute with half of the prize of 3000 francs awarded for the two most important discoveries made in Europe in physical science during the two preceding years.

At this time also Dr. Brewster invented the kaleidoscope. During the two previous years, while employed in his researches on the polarization of light, his attention was drawn to certain effects of multiplication produced by the use of reflecting plates of glass placed at angles with each other; but being in pursuit of a different result, he allowed the observation for the present to rest. In 1816, however, while repeating the experiments of Biot on the action of fluids on light, he made use of a trough composed of plates of glass cemented at the angles, and was surprised at the remarkable regularity of the form given by reflection to some small irregular fragments of the cement which had been forced through between the plates. Struck by this phenomenon, he repeated the experiment, first by fixing pieces of glass or other small objects of irregular outline at the ends of the reflectors, and then by making those objects movable—and the result was the invention of the kaleidoscope. Convinced of its importance in scientific investigations on the subject of reflection, as well as the inexhaustible aid which it would give to the patterns of manufactures and other arts into which design largely enters, Dr. Brewster patented the

instrument, and a number of them were made, one of which was shown to the London opticians with a view to their giving orders for it. The secret thus revealed was a secret no longer; kaleidoscopes were made by the thousand, in which scientific rule was sacrificed to cheapness, and the instrument was soon to be found not only in the hands of every man and woman, but every schoolboy. In this way the patent of Dr. Brewster was violated, the kaleidoscope degraded into a mere child's toy, and the great benefits which it was to confer on science and manufactures were never realized.

In 1818 or the following year Dr. Brewster was honoured by the Royal Society of London with their Rumford gold and silver medals. It was noticed many years afterwards, that in announcing the death of Faraday to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, he mentioned that there was one person living who had, like Faraday, taken all the medals of the Royal Society of London—the Copley, Rumford, and Royal medals. That "one," whose name he left unmentioned, was himself. In 1819 he united himself with Professor Jameson in conducting the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*. Ten volumes of this work having been already published, it was changed in 1824 by the two editors into the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*; and in sixteen volumes Dr. Brewster published many interesting papers. During this time he had made important investigations into the mean temperature of the earth and the determination of isothermal lines, and also made various researches in the mineral kingdom, which led to the discovery of two new fluids and their properties. In 1825 he was elected a corresponding member of the French Institute. In 1827 he renewed the subject of the improvement in lighthouse illumination, on which he had suggested improvements in 1813. He now published his *Account of a New System, &c.*, for the better illumination of lighthouses, and offered his services for that purpose to the lighthouse boards of Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing was done in the matter, however, until 1833, when his method was tested by public experiment. The places for trial were the Calton Hill, Edinburgh, and Gullane Hill, having between them a distance of twelve and a half miles; and there the superiority of his "poly-zonal lenses" was proved, for one of these with an Argand burner of four concentric circles was found to give a light equal to nine parabolic reflectors, each carrying an Argand burner. The success of these experiments was so effective that better modes were introduced into the illumination of our lighthouses over the whole United Kingdom.

The reputation of Dr. Brewster was now established wherever natural science was understood and valued, and the recognition was followed by the increase of his personal influence and public honours. In 1830 the Royal Society of London again honoured him by the award of its royal medal for the researches and discoveries by which the field of optical science had been enlarged and its resources increased. In union with Davy, Herschel, and Babbage, he originated the idea of a British Association for the promotion of science by means of annual meetings, and the first of these great intellectual parliaments, held at York in 1831, was so successful that the institution was established, and its anniversaries have since been continued without interruption, and with a constantly growing popularity. In the same year the decoration of the Guelphine order of Hanover was conferred on him, and in the following year he was knighted by King William IV. In 1833 Sir David Brewster was a candidate for the chair of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, but on

this occasion the town-council of Edinburgh preferred the claims of Mr. James D. Forbes, now principal of the college of St. Andrews. It was one of the last exertions of the privilege of that corporation before the reform bill came into action, and much astonishment as well as considerable resentment was felt at the time in consequence of their preference; but this feeling Professor Forbes outlived by his brilliant scientific career. Sir David, however, was not forgot in higher quarters, for in 1838 he received from the crown the appointment of principal of the united colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews.

Events had now commenced in the Church of Scotland which partook of the enthusiasm of the old covenanting spirit; and while the nation was stirred up into all the alacrity of early youth, those events were going on which finally terminated in the Disruption. It might have been thought that as Sir David had found his mission to be elsewhere—to be that of a teacher of religion through the medium of natural science instead of the departments of languages, ethics, and metaphysics—he might have stood aloof from the din, and investigated the light that was transmitted through his own lenses and prisms. But like all decided and strong-minded men who are qualified to advance into the front rank of their species, he was of a combative spirit; he had been a preacher before he was recognized as a philosopher; and his three brothers, all of them benefited clergymen, were in the hottest of the *mêlée*, and on different sides of the controversy. In his theological opinions he had been all along on the side of the “Evangelicals” and “Non-intrusionists;” and while he sat as an elder in the very Moderate presbytery of St. Andrews, neither the length of its speeches nor the heartiness of its symposiums were calculated to convert him from his original leanings. He therefore stoutly advocated the cause of those who were contemptuously termed “the wild men;” and when they left the Established Church he went out along with them. Here was a chance for his illiberal opponents to get rid of him, and they endeavoured to deprive him of the office of principal of the university of St. Andrews by representing that he could not hold the charge because he was a dissenter. But Sir David nevertheless continued in his position until he was raised to a still higher place. This occurred in 1859, when by the curators he was unanimously elected principal of the university of Edinburgh.

In the meantime the studies of Sir David Brewster, and the distinctions that signalized it, had been steadily going on, irrespective of those theological tempests in which so many weaker minds had sunk, or been driven from their original course. In 1849, in consequence of the death of the great chemist Berzelius, the French Institute conferred upon him the highest honour which it could bestow on any one not a Frenchman, by electing him one of its eight foreign associates. In the same year he was president of the British Association, which he had so effectually helped to create. Along with the distinctions already conferred on him, and which we have mentioned, he was a corresponding member of the Royal Societies of St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and several other continental cities. To these scientific titles the King of Prussia added in 1847 the order of Merit, and the French emperor, Napoleon III., in 1855, the cross of the Legion of Honour. At the Great Exhibition in 1851 Sir David exhibited his ingenious adaptation of the stereoscope, that instrument now so universally known, and which in point of popularity has

equalled, if it has not surpassed, the great attractions of his famed kaleidoscope.

A mind so devoted to science and possessed of such remarkable activity would not be content with the mere satisfaction of discovery; what he had discovered he must needs communicate to others, and hence, besides being a close and laborious student, Sir David was a voluminous writer. In the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, the *Philosophical Magazine*, of which he was one of the editors, the *Edinburgh and North British Reviews*, the *Transactions of the British Association*, and the *Library of Useful Knowledge*, it would be difficult to enumerate the many valuable treatises that proceeded from his pen. In the *Transactions of the Royal Societies of Edinburgh, London, and Dublin*, and other learned bodies, many of his most valuable scientific observations and discoveries are recorded. Of the rare qualities by which Sir David was especially fitted for this kind of serial and periodical work the following statement was given by Sir J. Y. Simpson at a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh:—“Professor Fraser told me to-day, what I have heard before with regard to the almost mathematical exactitude and correctness of his mental work, that in the seven years during which he (Professor Fraser) was editor of the *North British Review*, Sir David Brewster contributed an article to every number; and he had been a contributor for years before to this as to other periodicals. But the certainty of his work was more wondrous than even the amount of it. For he was in the habit of stating—as Professor Fraser informs me—not only the day when his first slip of paper would arrive, and the day when his article would be finished, but his manuscripts came as they were written—day after day, and sheet after sheet—without the aid and necessity of correcting the latter by the revision of those preceding. In these literary and scientific articles he thus worked with the methodized precision and regularity of a mechanical rather than of a mental machine.”

The separate works of Sir David Brewster were, a *Treatise on New Philosophical Instruments for Various Purposes in the Arts and Sciences*, with Experiments on Light and Colours,” 1813; a *Treatise on the Kaleidoscope*, 1819; *Notes to Robison's System of Mechanical Philosophy*, 1822; *Letters and Life of Euler*, 1823; “*Letters on Natural Magic*, dedicated to Sir Walter Scott,” 1824; a *Treatise on Optics*, 1831; *Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, 1831; “*The Martyrs of Science*, or Lives of Galileo, Tycho Brahé, and Kepler,” 1841; “*More Worlds than One*, the Creed of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian”—an answer to Professor Whewell's *Plurality of Worlds*, 1854; and *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton*, founded on new documents, and correcting various accepted errors regarding the character and life of the great astronomer, 1855. He also published a translation, with notes and an introduction, of Legendre's *Geometry*.

Of his work and place in the scientific world the following comprehensive statement, given anonymously by one of his admirers who evidently understood the subject, will serve instead of a more minute detail of his discoveries. “With Sir David Brewster has perished one of the last links which visibly connected us with the great philosophers of the early part of the century. When the wonderful genius of Young had thrown a new light on the fundamental phenomena of optics, a vast field was laid open to the natural philosopher; and in this field Malus

made one brilliant discovery before his early death. His place was nobly supplied, as regards the theoretical and mathematical part of the work, by Fresnel; but it is to Brewster that we owe nearly all the most important of the concomitant experimental results. With an amount of patient labour of which few can form a conception, and with a singular experimental skill which rose superior to defects of apparatus, he examined minutely every curious fragment of transparent crystallized mineral which the collections of his numerous scientific friends contained. The tables of refractive indices and dispersive powers which he thus framed would alone, and even with improved instrumental means, represent the results of no mean labour. The same may be said of his tables of the polarizing angles of various reflecting surfaces, and of innumerable other tedious investigations, apparently gone into at first with the sole object of discovering facts, and not laws." In apologizing for his scientific errors, especially on the subject of light, the writer adds, "Liebig is reported to have said, 'Show me the man who never made a mistake and I will show you one who never made a discovery.' The mistakes or misconceptions into which Brewster fell were nearly all connected with the theoretical or mathematical part of a subject; very rarely indeed with the experimental. We may wonder that he never explicitly adopted the undulatory theory of light; let us ask, what should *we* have been inclined to do now had we listened to the teaching of such masters as Laplace and Poisson, to whom the greater part of the scientific world deferred when Brewster was in the first ardour of his career. . . . But the philosopher who first discovered the existence of biaxial crystals, the connection of the polarizing angle with the refractive index, the production of double refraction by irregular heating, and numerous other grand properties of matter—each, as it were, a heaven whose influence was widely felt, and which are even now fundamental principles in science; who explained thoroughly hosts of more simple yet paradoxical phenomena, such as the colours of mother-of-pearl; and who, besides all this, wrote not merely with the earnest exactitude of the true man of science, but sometimes with the impassioned language and verbal imagery of the poet;—such a philosopher appears but rarely, and never fails to leave his mark behind him."

It would have been strange, however, if this progress, so like a triumphal procession, had been unaccompanied by the slave behind the chariot and his dispiriting whisper; and Sir David, amidst his successes, was followed by an evil influence that often marred his satisfaction by depriving him of the reputation of many of his discoveries. The source of annoyance is thus explained by the writer from whom the foregoing passages have been quoted:—"Unfortunately, Brewster's turn of mind was not mathematical, and when he sought to discover the laws of the phenomena which were deducible from his patient measurements, he often found the second task harder than the first. Sometimes, by a species of trial and error, he succeeded brilliantly, as in his discovery (from the two series of researches we have just already mentioned) that the *index of refraction of a substance is the tangent of its polarizing angle*. More often the mere mathematician stepped in, took the toilsome, elaborated facts, and from them in a few minutes deduced (sometimes taking the whole credit of it) the law he would have been utterly unable to seek experimentally. It seems to us that sufficient allowance has not been made for the natural irritation which such treatment was certain to cause,

especially in a high-souled and single-minded man incapable of treating others as he felt himself treated. His biographer will have a painful, but a necessary and salutary, task to perform in gibbeting such thankless parasites. Many a much-praised scientific article, nay, even volume, may be found, where the facts are taken mainly from Brewster, though his name is not even mentioned. He was driven by such treatment into frequent disputes about priority, and in general he was successful, though often, before the final settlement of the question, the obnoxious paper had found its way to a non-scientific public, and even to foreign journals. It is always a difficult matter to determine what the proper course of a philosopher should be under such circumstances. Few have the calmness to rely upon the almost invariably just decision of posterity; and most of those who do so go unrecognized to their graves."

After his appointment to the office of principal of the university of Edinburgh, Sir David Brewster regularly resided in our northern capital, where he was recognized both by natives and strangers as its chief living celebrity. His active person, unbroken by years, and his white, venerable head attracted the reverence of those who passed him in the streets; while in every company the unassuming style of his conversation, and the intelligence with which it overflowed, made him a welcome guest. His ardour in the prosecution of science also continued unabated, so that until within a few days—perhaps it might be even said within a few hours—of his death he was employed in his favourite investigations. To him indeed nature was a gospel on which a revelation was written by the finger of its Creator, and he regarded it as his sacred mission to decipher these written characters and proclaim them to the world. To him indeed the study of a phenomenon in science was not merely an intellectual, but a devotional act. Of this reverential appreciation of his allotted work the following incident was told a few days after his death by a relative who dwelt with him. "When we were living in his house at St. Andrews twelve years ago he was much occupied with the microscope; and as was his custom always, he used to sit up studying it after the rest of the household had gone to bed. I often crept back into the room on the pretence of having letters to write or something to finish, but just to watch him. After a little he would forget that I was there, and I have seen him suddenly throw himself back in his chair, lift up his hands, and exclaim, 'Good God! good God! how marvellous are thy works!'" Remembering these scenes of which he had been informed by the above-mentioned relative, Sir J. Y. Simpson, the medical attendant of the death-bed of Sir David, adds, "I said to him on Sunday morning (the day before he died), that it had been given to him to show forth much of God's great and marvellous works; and he answered, 'Yes, I found them to be great and marvellous, and I have felt them to be his.'"

During the later years of his long life Sir David had suffered repeated attacks of serious illness, but his death was occasioned by an attack of pneumonia and bronchitis. This occurred at his seat of Allerly, near Melrose, on Monday evening, the 10th of February, 1868, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. Even to the last his attachment to science was undiminished, and his solicitude about its progress was manifested on more than one occasion. He wrote calm and considerate farewell letters to the various scientific societies with which he was connected, and among whom his memory is still affectionately cherished. A week before his death he wrote a long letter in his own handwriting, and characterized by

his wonted mental vigour, to a brother professor, showing the liveliest interest in the affairs of their university, and in some optical discoveries upon which the pair had formerly corresponded. A few days after, while his mind was still clear, but his bodily powers exhausted, he dictated a letter to the council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, taking an affecting leave of his old associates and of the society itself, and bequeathed to it as a valuable legacy a research which he had nearly completed. Only three days before his death he was anxious to write several farewell letters, and for this purpose to dress and go into his study; and when his anxious friends besought him to spare himself, he said, "Permit me to rise once more, for I have still a little work to do. I know," he added, "it is the last time I shall ever be in my study." On being asked, when only within a few hours of death, if he wished any particular scientific friend to take charge of his remaining scientific papers and notes, he answered, "No; I have done what every scientific man should do, viz. published almost all my observations of any value just as they occurred." Even at this moment too his scientific enthusiasm broke out like the last flash of an expiring taper, and the account of the characteristic incident is thus given by Sir J. Y. Simpson, from whom we learn most of the incidents of his death-bed:—"He then explained that he had left one paper on 'Film Forms' for the society, and went on to express an earnest regret that he had not had time to write for the society another, descriptive of the optical phenomena which he had latterly observed in his own field of vision, where there was a partial degree of increasing amaurosis, which he thought might be yet found a common form of failure in the eyes of men ageing and aged like himself. He described the appearance of this partial amaurosis minutely and energetically, telling me, for your information, that the print of the *Times* newspaper had begun for a year or two past to look at one part in his field of vision as if the white interstices between the letters 'were lightly peppered over with minute dark powder;' and this amaurotic point was, he observed, latterly extending, like the faint extending circle around a recent ink-spot on blotting-paper. The clearness and the vigour with which he detailed all this and more were amazing in one already so very weak, and near the last ebb-wave of the tide of life."

But not only was the death-bed of Sir David Brewster a scene for scientific men but Christians to contemplate, and in his last hours the devout spirit by which his researches had been pervaded broke forth in its fullest lustre. His language, while full of hope and confidence, was pervaded by a child-like simplicity such as mere science could not have inspired; and to his eldest daughter, who visited him from a great distance before he died, he exclaimed, with the remains of his departing strength, after expressing his confidence of the friends he should meet in heaven, "I shall see Jesus too—Jesus who created all things—Jesus who made the worlds—I shall see him as he is!" His daughter remarked to him, "You will understand everything then," and his fervent "Oh yes!" showed the completeness of his hopes. At another time she said, "I wish all learned men had your simple faith." After a pause he answered slowly, and with emphasis on every word, as if he wished it to be remembered, "I have had the light for many years, and oh! how bright it is! I feel so safe, so perfectly safe, so perfectly happy." And thus one of the greatest of our living sages passed away. How well it would be if those scientific men who follow him as

their guide, or adopt him for their example, could study in such a spirit, and die such a death!

Sir David Brewster was twice married. His first wife was Juliet, the younger daughter and co-heiress of James Macpherson of Belleville, better known to the world at large as the translator of *Ossian*. She died in 1850; and in 1857 Sir David was again married, to Jane, daughter of Thomas Purnell, Esq., of Scarborough, who survives him. The remains of Sir David were interred in the burial-ground at Melrose Abbey, where his first wife and a son lay buried.

BROUGHAM, LORD. Of this remarkable man, whose talents were so great and so varied, whose life was extended so long beyond the usual term, and whose public career produced so deep an impress upon Britain during half a century of one of the most important periods of its history, it is difficult in a work of this limited nature to write a biography however compendious. Even the bare enumeration of his achievements as student, reviewer, author; as lawyer, statesman, and orator; as member first of the House of Commons, and afterwards that of Lords, and chancellor of the realm, would fill many pages, and still give an indistinct impression of his likeness. This, however, is the less to be regretted, as his life is already written in the history of the nineteenth century, with all the principal actions of which he was so conspicuously and influentially connected. It is impossible also but that a biography of Lord Brougham will soon appear, characterized by an amplitude and distinctness worthy of such a subject. All that we therefore can at present pretend to do is to give a silhouette of this remarkable man, leaving it to the judgment of our readers to fill up the outline.

Henry Brougham was born on the 19th of September, 1778, and his claim to be reckoned a Scotsman was in a great measure owing to accident. His father was Henry Brougham, of Brougham in Westmoreland, and Scales Hall in Cumberland. The family of Burgham or Brougham was of great antiquity, as it occupied a high place even before the days of William the Conqueror; but like many others so circumstanced, it had faded before the Norman ascendancy, and sunk into a condition of unnoticed respectability. The Westmoreland squire being sent to Edinburgh to complete his education, was boarded in the house of the Rev. Mr. Syme, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, whose house was at the head of the Cowgate; and here, while still a student, he married Miss Eleonora Syme, daughter of the clergyman, and niece of Principal Robertson, the celebrated historian. On being married the young couple went to reside in the house No. 21 St. Andrew Square, and there the future chancellor, the eldest of a family of six, was born. We are thus particular about the locality of his birth-place, as years afterwards, when he had attained place and distinction, there was occasionally some controversy on the subject; and even in his own hearing he was claimed as a native of Cumberland without contradiction. Why he allowed this mystification to pass it would be difficult to conjecture; but he himself set the question conclusively to rest when he came to Edinburgh to be entertained at the banquet given in his honour in 1859. On that occasion he visited the dwelling No. 21 St. Andrew Square, as the place of his birth; and, as if to awaken the impressions of his early life and become "a boy again," he took a long lingering survey of every room in the house.

Besides being the place of his nativity, Edinburgh was the home of Lord Brougham's infancy, boyhood,

and youth. After the usual preliminary education he was sent to the high-school, then superintended by the learned and amiable Dr. Adams, where his immediate predecessors were Walter Scott and Francis Jeffrey. In the winter of 1795, when he was now fifteen years old, he passed from the high-school of Edinburgh to the university, which at this time was fortunate in possessing Black for professor of chemistry, Robertson for natural philosophy, Tytler for history, Playfair for mathematics, and Dugald Stewart for moral philosophy. Among these teachers and their departments the mind of young Henry Brougham ranged with that restlessness and hunger of knowledge by which his omnivorous appetite was already characterized; and however such an unsystematic course might be condemned, it enabled him to lay in that store of knowledge in every department by which his intellect was strengthened, and his eloquence enriched with illustrations. It was also by this process that he trained himself to that office of a universal instructor which he was so ambitious of becoming. But he was too impatient to await the season of maturity, and before the age of manhood arrived he had made his first attempts in authorship. In 1797, when he was not more than eighteen years old, he communicated a scientific paper to the Royal Society, which was published in its *Transactions*; and in the following year he communicated some theorems in geometry, which were published in the same repository. Feeling also the early stirrings of that volcanic eloquence which was afterwards to upheave established evils from their lowest depths, he became a member of the "Speculative Society" in Edinburgh, at that time having for members several young men who subsequently became the renowned of their day. Still, however much his anxious studies had made him conversant with the theories of oratory, he found it a very different thing to reduce them to practice. But his was to be no common eloquence, and therefore not to be easily acquired; his fiery energy, and profusion of thought and illustration, made selection difficult, and sometimes utterance impossible; and, like Demosthenes himself, whose first attempt was a failure, his earliest displays in the Speculative Society gave little promise of his subsequent success as an orator. By practice and perseverance, however, he attained the full mastery of that eloquence with which he was to delight his friends and confound his enemies; while its rich and massive character, its happy selection of thoughts, and its involution of parentheses within parentheses, which instead of obscuring his subject, as it would have done in meaner hands, only brought out his argument with clearer distinctness—these sufficiently showed the causes of his earliest failures, and the great amount of difficulties which had been successfully overcome. And, truly, to become the first orator of the day was worthy of any probation, however lengthened and severe!

As it was necessary for Henry Brougham to make his own way in the world, the profession of the law was his choice, and the bar the fittest place for his talents to have full scope. In the year 1800 he was admitted into the faculty of Scottish advocates, and two years afterwards he became a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1802 he was one of that choice band who originated the *Edinburgh Review*, and attended that memorable meeting at Jeffrey's house, which was a third-story dwelling in Buccleugh Place. There the plan of the publication was settled; and while a night of storm and tempest was raging without, the company were making themselves merry with the thought of the greater hurly-burly which

they were to let loose upon the literary world. To the *Edinburgh Review* Brougham was a frequent contributor upon a variety of topics, but his articles did not rank among the best in the collection. His authorship required the same gradual maturing as his oratory, and from the same causes. One of his productions in the *Review*, however, must be excepted from any charge of mediocrity: it was his severe but just castigation of Lord Byron's *Hours of Idleness*. Even the *Edinburgh Review*, however, was not sufficient to satisfy his craving for literary distinction, or give exercise enough for his intellectual activity; and in 1803 he published in two octavo volumes a work entitled *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*. That a political work of 1100 or 1200 pages should have been written by a young man of twenty-five was considered by some a remarkable instance of boldness, and by others of audacity; but all were obliged more or less to acknowledge the remarkable talent which it indicated, and it was translated into several European languages. But experience in the right management and government of colonies was still in its infancy, and it was therefore no wonder that "Henry Brougham, jun., Esq., F.R.S.," the author of the work, advanced theories of colonial policy which did not accord with the matured experience of the great statesman Lord Brougham. It was natural, therefore, that this *Inquiry*, however admired at the time, should gradually pass into abeyance and cease to be remembered, or that its author should make no effort to recall it to public notice. It is certain that this publication is now among those books that are difficult to be met with, and that his lordship, so far as we can learn, made no allusion to it in his other writings. He would sometimes, however, in conversation with his intimate friends, advert to it in after-years, and point to the numerous published translations of it contained in his library.

As an advocate at the Scottish bar Henry Brougham's career was not particularly profitable or successful. The merely provincial character into which Scotland dwindled at the union had not yet passed away, and the nation was only beginning to feel its resources and put forth its latent powers. Isolated by their position from contact with public opinion, our impoverished aristocracy regarded the court alone as the true source of distinction, and our judges, trained in the same sentiments, were careful to enforce submission to the powers that be. But Brougham, already distinguished by pre-eminent talents, a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, and a Whig, was obnoxious to the rulers of the court of justice, who interposed every obstacle to his advancement. But he was not to be thus put down, and he retaliated with a fierce withering wit from which the bench of Themis was no protection. Of those judges who were his haters, one of the chief was Lord Eskgrove, of whom, and his bickerings with the impracticable young advocate, Lord Cockburn gives the following account:—"Brougham tormented him, and sat on his skirts wherever he went for above a year. The justice liked passive counsel, who let him dawdle on with culprits and juries in his own way; and consequently he hated the talent, the eloquence, the energy, and all the discomposing qualities of Brougham. At last it seemed as if a court-day was to be blessed by his absence, and the judge was delighting himself with the prospect of being allowed to deal with things as he chose; when lo! his enemy appeared—tall, cool, and resolute. 'I declare,' said the justice, 'that man Broom, or Brougham, is the torment of my life!' His revenge, as usual, consisted in sneering at Brougham's elo-

quence by calling it or him *the Harangue*. "Well, gentlemen, what did the Harangue say next? Well, it said this (misstating it); but here, gentlemen, the Harangue was most plainly wrongg, and not intelligibill."

It was either upon this judge or one of a similar character that Brougham is said to have taken the following grotesque revenge. The circuit was to be opened at Jedburgh, and the lord of session repaired to it under the comfortable assurance that Brougham was not to be there. But while the judges and magistrates in solemn pomp were marching up the long, steep, main street to the court-house, a gig was seen at the top, and in it a man wearing a cocked hat set on the wrong way; in another moment man, gig, and horse came dashing down upon the procession, upsetting every grave functionary who was not nimble enough to skip aside; and instantly after this strange intrusion disappeared before the face under the cocked hat could be recognized. The judges, highly indignant and grievously overblown, were still more incensed on reaching the court-house to find the Harangue seated composedly in his place with his papers arranged before him. Was he the author of the recent outrage? It was strongly suspected, but proof was wanting. Another similar freak, although for a different purpose, is reported of these early days of Brougham. He went to the Dumfries races on Tinwald Downs attired in a red gown, and carried in a sedan chair—an object of wonderment and perplexity to the thousands who were assembled at the race-course. This strange exhibition of the future statesman and chancellor was in consequence of a bet.

In 1804, and when he was only in his twenty-sixth year, Mr. Brougham's public career had its commencement in consequence of his removing to London; a fact bitterly recorded by Cobbet, whose political and national jealousies were equally offended by the arrival, as "an invasion of this devoted country." In England, through a certain Dr. Percival of Manchester, he was recommended to Mr. Wilberforce; and the latter, knowing that Mr. Pitt was in search of an eligible person to visit the Continent and collect information in Spain and Portugal, on the rising of a spirit of resistance in these countries to the domination of Napoleon, he thought Mr. Brougham well fitted for such a task, and accordingly recommended him to his friend the great statesman. "If in the course of any of your calls for proper men," he wrote, "to be employed in any diplomatic business, you should be at a loss for one, you perhaps could not, in the whole kingdom, find any one, in all respects, so well qualified as Mr. Brougham, whom I formerly mentioned to you. He speaks French as well as English, and several other languages. But the great thing is, that he is a man of uncommon talents and address, and for his age—twenty-six—knowledge also; and I told you of his being so long the advocate for your government in Edinburgh. [Here Mr. Wilberforce must have been ignorant of Brougham's Whiggery and his articles in the *Edinburgh Review*.] My mentioning him to you is entirely of my own head; of course he knows nothing of it—indeed he is in Edinburgh—and I only do it (most solemnly, I assure you) on public grounds, and because I know you must often want men for foreign services. He has, besides the qualities I mentioned, great resolution, strength of constitution," &c. Upon the strength of this recommendation Mr. Brougham was sent to the Continent about the end of the year 1805 under the guise of an American, and was enabled to do some service

to the question by his inquiries, more especially in Holland. His acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce also connected him with the subject of abolition, of which he became one of the most energetic and efficient advocates. In 1806 he went again to Holland, but this time chiefly in reference to the slave-trade, and on his return he assisted the then Lord Hawick in drawing up the abolition bill of 1807.

As the Scottish bar afforded such a limited scope for his energies, Mr. Brougham while in England had qualified himself for the English bar. He had already secured for himself a high professional reputation by a visit from Scotland to London in 1807, in order to plead before the House of Lords in a case respecting the succession to the Scottish dukedom of Roxburgh. In 1808 he was called to the English bar, and commenced practice in the Court of King's Bench, and in 1809 his appearance in a case of high political importance added greatly to the fame he had already acquired. It was to plead before the House of Commons the case of the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Manchester, who complained of the injury done to British merchandise by the operation of the famous "orders in council," by which our statesmen sought to retaliate on Napoleon's Berlin decree. It was much that so young a lawyer should have been selected to plead on such a subject, and before so august a tribunal; but although the appeal in behalf of his clients was unsuccessful, the ability with which it was conducted justified their choice. He was now conspicuously a rising man, whose services government would do well to secure. He was accordingly returned to the House of Commons for Camelford by the Earl of Darlington, the patron of the borough. This entrance to parliament through a rotten borough might seem at first sight inconsistent with the public career of a patriot; but let it be remembered that it was not in those days so odious as it afterwards became—that it was in this way Burke, Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, Lansdowne, Plunket, Canning, Romilly, Palmerston, Macaulay, and many others, had been secured for the service of their country—and that in those days a free constituency also meant an enormously expensive constituency. It was not until 1831, fully more than twenty years afterwards, that Mr. Brougham was returned by a popular election, which was that for Yorkshire.

On the 5th of March, 1810, Mr. Brougham delivered his maiden speech in parliament. It was on the occasion of Mr. Whitbread's motion reprobating the conduct of the Earl of Chatham in privately transmitting to the king his narrative of the expedition to the Scheldt. The speech disappointed Mr. Brougham's admirers, who hoped that he would take the house at the first onset; but it was better as it was, for he was new to the situation, and too cautious to commit himself, so that the speech was just and appropriate, but nothing more. The same cautiousness distinguished him during the session, and it was chiefly on the slave-trade that he commanded the attention of the house. It was by a great restraint upon his natural impetuosity that he forbore to commit himself to any class of opinions, or to the persons who held them: he was prudently waiting his time, and surveying the field of action. And for this, too, there was great need, as the period was fraught with important events, under which the whole aspect of affairs was to undergo a change. Toryism was in the ascendancy and threatening to be permanent; the Perceval administration held the reins of government, and was struggling against the overwhelming power of Napoleon; while only in Spain, where Wellington had opened his cam-

paings, a reaction was appearing in our favour. The questions of home division which this foreign policy occasioned embittered the hostility of the two great parties in the state, and both Whigs and Tories exaggerated their differences with a fierceness at which themselves were afterwards astonished. But after he had ascertained the condition of things, and the nature of his position, Mr. Brougham hesitated no longer; he threw himself with his whole native ardour into the conflict, and made the house feel that they had a Titan of eloquence among them. Never, indeed, since the days of Burke, Fox, and Pitt, had there been such an orator in parliament, and of all its members Canning alone was able to confront him. It was well, too, that the style of Canning, though unmatched in its character, was so different from that of Brougham, as the passionate vehemence, unequalled fluency, and remorseless invective, would have made one such speaker sufficient in any parliament; and when the two rival orators met in full encounter, their equipments and manner were so dissimilar, yet so well matched, that the whole house looked on in breathless interest as at a new gladiatorial spectacle.

After this explanation we content ourselves with giving a brief notice of the early part of Mr. Brougham's parliamentary career. In his first session of 1810, on the 15th of June, he brought forward a resolution on the subject of the slave-trade abolition act, and the taking of measures to prevent the evasion of the provisions of the act by foreign states. The address to the crown for which he moved was carried without a division. In 1811 the practice (or rather its abuse) of flogging in the army called forth his denunciations in parliament. He delivered speeches against the "orders in council," on which he had formerly been employed by the English merchants; and through his representations these orders, as far as America was concerned, were rescinded in 1812. He advocated the Roman Catholic claims for emancipation, and for a reform in the government of India. But his principal appearance was as a champion and advocate of the press at a time when its rights were least acknowledged. The Messrs. Hunt, proprietors of the *Examiner*, having in their newspaper denounced several abuses of government, and thereby made themselves obnoxious to the ruling powers, had copied an article indignantly denouncing the practice of flogging in the army from the *Stamford News*. The Hunts being marked with the government brand, were arraigned for the publication of a libel; with Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general, and Lord Ellenborough, both of whom were keen enemies of the liberty of the press, to aid the prosecution; but in spite of this weight of authority against them, the culprits were absolved by the verdict of the jury. Not deterred by this defeat, government next prosecuted the *Stamford News*, being privately instigated, it is said, to this step by the private order of the prince-regent. This prosecution took place at the Lincoln assizes in 1811, and Mr. Brougham, in consequence of his success in the case of the Hunts, was employed by Mr. Drakard, the editor of the *Stamford News*, as his defender. Stripped of the technicalities of law the question was resolved into this: "Has the public a right to discuss a public question, and to condemn a public crime?" In the trial the whole authority of the judge was brought to bear against this right of the press, and the jury returned a verdict against Mr. Drakard. A second time Mr. Brougham was professionally employed in the defence of the Messrs. Hunt. An article was published in the *Examiner* in answer to the fulsome

eulogies bestowed upon the prince-regent, who was belauded and behymned as the noblest, handsomest, and most perfect of mortal men; and because the *Examiner* in contradiction stated what he and the whole world knew right well, their statement was declared by the ruling authorities to be a libel, and a crown prosecution was instigated against the writers and publishers in December, 1812. The tide of authority was in this case too strong to be resisted, the case was prejudged before it was brought to trial, and the eloquence and arguments of Mr. Brougham went for nothing. He was repeatedly interrupted during his pleading by Lord Ellenborough, the judge, and Sir William Garrow, the solicitor-general; and a verdict of guilty having been obtained, the Messrs. Hunt were sentenced to pay a fine of £500 each, to lie in prison for two years, and to find security for five years in £1000 to publish no more unwelcome truths against the prince-regent. Their defence during the trial so greatly offended his royal highness, who thought it even worse than the libel, that he ever after hated Mr. Brougham as one of his worst enemies.

During this last advocacy in behalf of the Hunts Mr. Brougham had no seat in parliament, and thus he continued from 1812 to 1816. In October, 1812, when the administration of Mr. Perceval was succeeded by that of Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Brougham was induced to contest the Liverpool election against Mr. Canning, and such a competition between the two most eloquent of parliamentary orators was regarded with keen public interest. On this occasion Canning was successful. Mr. Brougham then tried for the Stirling boroughs, but was again unsuccessful. It was in this year that the differences between the prince-regent and the Princess Caroline began to attract public attention, and in the beginning of 1813 Mr. Brougham was appointed the princess' counsel. Although the feud between the prince-regent and Mr. Brougham had thus assumed a distinct character, the latter was not thereby secluded from the other members of the royal family; on the contrary, his connection with the princess, whom they regarded as an injured wife, made his friendly intercourse with them more intimate. One important occasion in which he acted as her legal adviser will not soon be forgotten. Alarmed by the fear of being driven by her father into a matrimonial union with the Prince of Orange, the young Princess Charlotte, in a summer evening of 1814, escaped from Warwick House and fled for protection to her mother. Such an arrival of one with whom she had been prohibited to hold intercourse was perplexing to the Princess Caroline, who drove to the House of Commons to ask the advice of her friends; and the chiefs of her party, with those of the regent, including the royal dukes, assembled in Connaught House for the settlement of this vexatious affair. Their chief difficulty lay in the persistence of Charlotte herself, who refused to return to her father; and the hours of the night were wasted in fruitless remonstrances and appeals. In this manner the morning arrived, but it was the morning of the day in the hot month of July in which the excited friends of Lord Cochrane were to assemble for his restoration to parliament. Two such events occurring at the same time in London would be like the meeting of fire and gunpowder. Availing himself of this circumstance, Mr. Brougham led the royal recusant aside to a window when the dawn was breaking, and after informing her of the approaching tumultuary meeting, he assured her that a word or two would be sufficient to turn the fury of the mob against her father's palace. "It will be

levelled to the ground," he added, "blood will be shed, and the people of England will never forgive you." Subdued by this alarming view of the case, the princess yielded, and consented to return on condition that she should be allowed to write a document expressing her resolution never to marry a prince of Orange, that all present should attest it, and that the custody of the document should be assigned to Mr. Brougham. On the 9th of August the Princess Caroline left England for the Continent. It was an ill-advised step, as royal personages of the female sex cannot thus travel at large, especially without the permission of their husbands, with impunity. It would lay her open to foreign espionage and foreign scandal, which it would not be easy to refute at home; and by this act she seemed to abandon her rights as the wife of the prince-regent, and the future Queen of England. For this her imprudent proceeding her counsellor Mr. Brougham was greatly blamed; but succeeding events showed how little his opposition would have availed with one so accustomed to act upon her own impulses.

In 1816 Mr. Brougham was returned to parliament for the borough of Winchelsea, and this time also it was through the influence of the Earl of Darlington. Although he continued to represent that borough until 1830, during the interval on three several occasions—at the general elections of 1818, 1820, and 1826—he contested the county of Westmoreland against the Tory and family influence which then predominated there, but without effect. This interval between 1816 and 1830 was the period of Brougham's highest political celebrity. On his re-entering parliament the great continental war had ended, the fever of the public mind occasioned by the triumph of success had cooled down, and the nation was bethinking itself of what all these wars and victories had cost. A legislative reform was also necessary for the old abuses which had been left untouched, and a new crop had sprung up. The session demanded a powerful eloquent tribune, and such it found in Mr. Brougham. The series of parliamentary speeches which he delivered during this period were scarcely below the number of 300, and with these he thundered and lightened over that august assembly during fourteen years. While he was thus upon the whole the most frequent, he was also the most eloquent speaker in the house, while his eloquence assumed every variety of character and shade, from the sublime to the comic—from the merciless, trenchant, sarcastic, to that of gentle playfulness. His chief misfortune as an orator was, that while certain peculiarities of his youth were abandoned, others were too strong to be relinquished, while his personal appearance and manner were such as somewhat to detract from the effect of his eloquence, especially when he had recourse to impassioned pleading. While the ear was enthralled, the eye could not be blind to the long ungainly form, grotesque countenance, flexible nose or trunk, and fierce ungraceful gesticulations of the speaker, which formed equally the subjects of political lampoon and poetical caricature; and in one of the former he was described as having

"A meagre form, a face so wondrous thin
That it resembles Milton's Death and Sin;
Long arms that saw the air like windmill sails,
And tongue whose force and fury never fails."

The history of Mr. Brougham's parliamentary career during this period may be best indicated by an enumeration of the principal topics in which he bore an influential part, and this has been given in the following brief list by one of his biographers: "In 1816 (the year of his readmission

to parliament) he took a leading part in the debates on the reduction of the army estimates, the repeal of the property-tax, the distresses of the agricultural interest, and other topics natural at a time of sudden transition from war to peace; and in the same session he commenced his long labours in the cause of popular education, by moving and obtaining the appointment of a committee to inquire into the education of the poor in the metropolis. In 1817 he made a speech on the distresses of the manufacturing classes, recurring to the question of the education of the poor in the metropolis, and attacking the foreign policy of the ministry. In 1818 he spoke on the tithe-laws and parliamentary reform, recurring again to the subject of metropolitan education, and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a commission, since so famous, for inquiring into the abuses of the public charitable foundations of the kingdom connected with education. He was not himself nominated on this commission, but he continued to watch its proceedings with the greatest interest, and to keep public attention fixed on it. Thus, in 1818 he published a *Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly upon the Abuse of Public Charities*, which was so popular that it ran through ten editions in a few months. In 1819, besides his other appearances in parliament, he defended the education committee against certain charges of Sir Robert Peel. During the years 1820, 1821, his time was chiefly occupied in proceedings connected with the case of Queen Caroline. . . . Here, whilst burdened with business as the queen's attorney-general, he had not ceased to take part in debates on education, admiralty reforms, the state of Ireland, and other topics. In the session of 1823, when Canning's foreign ministry was beginning a new era in our relations with foreign powers, Mr. Brougham, who had in 1816 stood almost alone in the house in denouncing the holy alliance, and calling on the British government to pursue another policy in foreign affairs than that of the alliance, was able to return to the topic under much more favourable auspices, in a speech attacking the alliance for their armed interference through France with the liberties of the Spanish nation. Canning, though not going so far, may be supposed on this occasion to have sympathized to some extent with his parliamentary rival; but on another occasion, during the same session, the two orators came to a personal quarrel. It was on a debate on Catholic emancipation, and the scene was one of the most memorable that ever occurred in the house. Mr. Brougham, charging Canning with faithlessness to his previous declarations in behalf of emancipation, pressed the charge in a speech of extraordinary invective, which he wound up by pointing to Canning as having been guilty 'of the most monstrous truckling for office that the whole history of political tergiversation could present.' Canning, goaded out of all power of self-control, started up and cried, 'It is false!' and the speaker had to interpose and arrange the matter in parliamentary form by enforcing mutual explanations. In the same session Mr. Brougham spoke on colonial slavery and on delays in chancery. In 1824 his greatest effort was a speech on a motion censuring the Demerara authorities for their proceedings in the case of the Rev. John Smith, an Independent missionary, who, on suspicion of having incited the slaves to revolt, was tried in a very illegal manner, and while under sentence of death expired in prison. In 1825 the expulsion of a missionary from Barbadoes furnished a text of the same kind; and in that and the following session colonial slavery, the Catholic claims, chancery reform, and the corn-laws were the chief topics of Mr. Brougham's

oratory. On the accession of the Canning ministry in 1827, he signaled his independence in the house by defending the chief measures of that ministry, declaring that 'since Mr. Canning had established a system of liberal and manly foreign policy, he should have his support.' On this occasion he even sat on the ministerial benches, though declaring that he had bound himself not to take office under Mr. Canning. In this peculiar position of independence he continued his parliamentary activity under the administrations of Lord Goderich and the Duke of Wellington, after Canning's death; taking part in the debates which led to the famous passing of the Catholic relief bill by Wellington's ministry (April, 1829), but at the same time pressing questions of his own. Among these was law reform, on which, on February 7, 1828, he delivered a speech of six hours' length, containing the germs of many improvements in this important department of administration which have since been carried into effect. In 1829 he had the satisfaction of explaining to the house the proceedings of the great Charities Commission, the appointment of which he had procured eleven years before, and which during that interval had investigated into the condition and history of no fewer than 19,000 of the charitable foundations of Great Britain."

During this period of a most active public life, Mr. Brougham in 1819, and when he was in the fortieth year of his age, found time to marry, and his choice on this occasion was Mrs. Spalding, the widow of Mr. John Spalding of Holm, New Galloway, and daughter of Mr. Thomas Eden. By this marriage Mr. Brougham had two daughters, both of whom died young. It is said that at an earlier period he had been the suitor of Lady Vane Tempest, distinguished both by her beauty and ample fortune, and that his application for her hand was favoured by her guardian, Michael Angelo Taylor. The lady however married Sir Charles Stewart, afterwards the Marquis of Londonderry, and brother of Lord Castlereagh. It was said too that the bitterness of this disappointment was the cause of Mr. Brougham's keen attacks on the public appearances of the fortunate suitor who had supplanted him, but for this there was no better ground than vague suspicion.

The following year, which was fraught with such important public events, had also an important connection with the career of Mr. Brougham. At the beginning of 1820 George III., who for long had been a political nullity, died, and George IV. became king in title as well as reality. But what was to be done in reference to the queen, who had now been six years absent from England, and against whose foreign life, during this long interval, the most scandalous rumours had been propagated. On the accession of the new sovereign, her name was ordered to be struck out in the usual prayer uttered in the services of the church for the members of the royal family, and as George IV. was now head of the Church of England, the order, however unpalatable it might be to personal and private feelings, was implicitly obeyed. But the same order was announced to the Church of Scotland, which recognized no such earthly headships, and this blunder or oversight of the English statesmen was met, as it merited, with universal disobedience: it was an invasion of the sacred and guaranteed rights of their national church, so that many clergymen who would have omitted the queen in their public prayers, brought forward her name with peculiarly distinct emphasis, to show that such orders emanating from the court could not extend beyond the Tweed. But even in the south this change in the liturgy occasioned much angry disputation, and the question was put to Lord Castlereagh in the

House of Commons by Mr. Hume, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Brougham, why the queen's name had been omitted in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and what provision had been made for her as queen. As often as these questions were propounded they were evaded, and thus the subject was unsatisfactorily drifted through the session. When it had closed, Mr. Brougham once more contested the representation of Westmoreland; but although the votes in his favour were more numerous than before, he was again defeated. This rejection showed how little the test of a parliamentary election can be taken as a reward of genuine desert, when it thus vetoed the most eloquent and able champion of the public rights which parliament at that time possessed. Thus defeated, Mr. Brougham for the third time was obliged to betake himself to Lord Darlington's close borough of Winchelsea.

Events necessarily connected with Queen Caroline now drove onward at full speed. Parliament met on the 21st of April, and she arrived in England on the 5th of June. All who truly loved the peace of their country deprecated the immoral details which her prosecution would produce, regretted her arrival, and blamed Mr. Brougham as its cause; but although her legal adviser, it would appear that he had no voice in the case: the same recklessness and self-will that had carried her abroad induced her to return, and she was anxious to brave a trial which she ought not originally to have provoked. There was also the luxury of excitement to her feverish mind in the popular huzzas with which she was welcomed and followed, and the indignation which her appearance excited against her unworthy husband. On the 6th of June, the day after her arrival, Lord Liverpool brought down to the House of Lords a message from the king, calling their attention to her behaviour while absent from the country; and at the same time a similar request was laid on the table of the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh. On each of these occasions a green bag was introduced, crammed to the brim with the most odious and revolting accusations. On the 8th of June a secret committee was proposed for the examination of these papers; but by a message to the commons the queen protested against a secret inquest, and demanded an open inquiry into her conduct. After several adjourned debates on the question, the queen presented a petition to the House of Lords on the 26th of June praying to be heard by counsel at their bar, and this being unanimously agreed to, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, and Mr. Williams appeared as her counsel. Into the particulars of the trial we have no wish to enter; it is sufficient to say that the aims of the ruling party were frustrated, so that Lord Liverpool's bill proposing that Caroline should be deprived of her title, rights, prerogatives, and immunities as Queen of Great Britain, was carried by only a small majority of nine, which compelled its abandonment. It is sufficient to say that throughout the trial the great orator of the case not only triumphed over all opposition, but over himself also. "It was a case," says a writer in the *Times*, "in which even latent powers might have struggled into utterance; but a review of Brougham's conduct of the case would show him rather the subdued, and calm, and elaborate, than the hot and reckless advocate he appears here; and it was rather his art than his anxiety that made him so appear like a man suppressing by effort those impulses which made him ordinarily launch into violent declamation, and give too much license both to temper and to tongue. His allusions to the prosecutor behind the scenes were couched in the most guarded language, as of one who divined his audience. . . . He displayed the shrewdest saga-

city alike in the examination and in the summary of the evidence, by implying more than he said. In his closing harangue the most remarkable feature is the significant pause, the studied omission, the veiled compliment to the acumen of the judges, the negative force gained by hinting at an indefinite argument beyond. This was a kind of skill as admissible in its kind as it was wonderful and unequalled in its degree—it was the triumph of a psychologist." The same writer thus describes the effect his eloquence produced not only on the fate of the queen, but his own celebrity. "Some portion at least of Brougham's permanent reputation will rest upon a piece of oratory which, rendered historical as it is by the nature of the trial and the rank of the accused, will be read and remembered far beyond the circumference of his more useful and uncontested fame; but it made for his instant popularity as much as for his ultimate renown; it established him not only as a man of genius, but as a man whose judgment was not always erratic, or angry, or self-willed. With the masses, to whom the queen, as the object of her husband's hatred, was the object of a compensating enthusiasm, her chief defender became a hero. He knew, but did not encourage, the idolatry; it was, indeed, as the sequel proved, a favour to be lost and won more than once before the distance which settles the perspective of actions should enable men to decide his definite place among orators and statesmen." It may be added, however, that although his reputation was advanced, his professional rise was retarded, by this celebrated advocacy. As attorney-general to the queen he had sat within the bar of the Court of King's Bench, and by the etiquette of the profession a patent of precedence ought to have followed. But this was withheld, so that the silk gown was not conferred on him until just before the Trinity term of 1827. Such a man this distinction could scarcely ennoble, and he accepted it with indifference. During this career of such intellectual and political distinction, Scotland was justly proud of Mr. Brougham, and especially Edinburgh, that could number him among her sons. On this account he was appropriately elected in the spring of 1825 lord-rector of the university of Glasgow. It was a free election of the students themselves divided into nations, according to the old fashion derived from the continental colleges—and the circumstance was the more honourable to Mr. Brougham, inasmuch as the rival candidate was Sir Walter Scott, then at the height of his fame. The votes having been equal between both competitors, the decision rested with Sir James Macintosh, who gave his casting vote in favour of Brougham. On this occasion the new rector's address to the students was regarded as a model of classical and academical eloquence, and would have imparted universal satisfaction, but for one heterodox sentiment, which, like a dead fly, marred the perfume of the whole pot of ointment. It was the allegation that man was not more accountable for his religious belief than for the colour of his skin or the height of his stature. This speech, which was so greatly admired that it was afterwards often printed, was prepared amidst the fatigues of the northern circuit. On the 5th of April, the day preceding his installation as rector, he was entertained at a public dinner, given in his honour in the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms, where 800 gentlemen were present, and on this occasion Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cockburn, who occupied the chair, reviewed the whole career of their honoured guest, from the time when, a young man, he had left Edinburgh for the English capital. Such consecutive labour on the part of Mr. Brougham is only one of many

proofs of his unwearied energy. Whatever might be the amount and variety of labour, he was ready for each as if it had been the sole object of his thoughts, and thus he accomplished all in a brevity of time that appeared miraculous. Thus, some five years afterwards, amidst the bustle of a great political crisis, and while canvassing for Yorkshire, he on one day of the canvass addressed eight several electoral meetings, travelled 120 miles to accomplish this feat, before railways existed, and on the next morning was in the assize court of York at the usual hour, as fresh and vigorous as ever. It is needless to observe, that, as in the case of Napoleon, this inexhaustible power of action was one great secret of his success. In this canvass of Yorkshire he did not fail, for he was returned for that county free of expense, along with Lord Morpeth, the Hon. William Duncombe, and Mr. Bethell. But the prize was worthy of the trial. Hitherto only the aristocracy connected with the county had been elected, but now the suffrage had been won by a commoner and a stranger, and with such a constituency he had far more consideration in parliament than an ordinary member.

This election of Mr. Brougham under such circumstances seemed a fitting prelude to the important measures he contemplated. The chief of these was the great subject of reform, for the introduction of which the death of George IV. and the prevalence of the popular wish had prepared the way. On the 2d of November, 1830, when the new parliament of William IV. was opened, Lord Grey in the Upper House, and Mr. Brougham in the Lower, were confident in the approaching triumph of the cause; and on the 13th Mr. Brougham announced to his friends and supporters his own scheme of reform, the main provision of which was household suffrage. But the ministers elected to take the sense of the house upon the civil list, and in the debate upon it on the 15th, the opposition carried their amendment upon it by a majority of twenty-nine. In consequence of this defeat the administration resigned office, but still Mr. Brougham expressed his determination that this change should produce no impediment to the bill. "As no change in the administration," he said, "can by possibility affect me, I beg it to be understood that in putting off the motion I will put it off till the 25th, and no longer. I will then, and at no more distant day, bring forward the question of parliamentary reform, whatever may be the condition of circumstances, and whosoever may be his majesty's ministers." Until the 19th he continued to express the same resolution, but on the 22d an astounding change shook the parliament and the political world as with an earthquake. On that day, and even before the patent of his peerage had been made out, he passed from the House of Commons into that of the Lords, and took his seat on the woolsack as Lord High-chancellor of England, under the title of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Had the inflexible Gracchus forsworn his principles? Had the incorruptible tribune yielded to the allurements of rank and title? But time soon demonstrated the change to be more apparent than real. He was still a reformer, and would give his whole energies to the cause of his reform—and he had taken office under a Whig ministry that could not carry out the measure without his co-operation. The following apology offered in his behalf is perhaps essentially the true one: "The whole private history of the transaction, and indeed of the formation of the ministry, is yet but obscurely known; but Mr. Roebuck, in his *History of the Whigs*, gives the various rumours of the day, and adopts as the true conclusion,

the supposition that Mr. Brougham was offered the lord-chancellorship simply because Earl Grey found it utterly impossible to construct a government leaving him out, and that Mr. Brougham accepted it simply because to have refused it would have paralyzed the Whig party at the moment of their first return to power, made an eternal separation between him and the Whigs, and ruined his own chances of further usefulness. As the lord-chancellor of a Whig ministry, he had a new career opened up to him, not so congenial, perhaps, as that of a great popular chief in the Lower House, untrammelled by party, but still promising opportunities of great public service.¹

A different, and on the whole a more extensive, plan of reform having been brought forward in consequence of the succession of the Whig ministry, the second reading of the bill was supported by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords upon the 7th of October. On this memorable occasion his speech, while it was considered to surpass all his former displays of eloquence, was also supposed to outdo all his oratorical extravagances. Among these last the climax was what may be called the supplicating scene. After having adduced every argument in favour of the bill, he exclaimed, "I pray and exhort you not to reject this measure. By all you hold most dear—by all the ties that bind every one of us to our common order and our common country—I solemnly adjure you, I warn you, I implore you, yea, on my bended knees [here he knelt on the woosack] I supplicate you, reject not this bill!" This significant pantomime, however it might have suited the Roman forum or French convention, was most uncongenial to the tastes of a staid methodical British parliament, and could only be paralleled by the rhetorical illustration of Burke, when he threw down a rusty dagger upon the floor of the House of Commons. In the second as well as the first instance the speaker was supposed to have suddenly lost his wits—or at least to have been guilty of a violation of order for which no oratorical transport could be considered an apology. The bill, as is well known, after five days' debate was thrown out by a majority of forty-one—the numbers being 199 against 158. In consequence of this rejection of the bill by the lords, while it was favoured by the House of Commons and not opposed by the king, the peers were supposed to be influenced not so much by political opinion as the influence of class, and it was proposed to counteract this influence by the introduction of a new set of peers among them, expressly created for the purpose. This proposal, chiefly attributed to Lord Brougham, perplexed the king and dismayed the aristocracy; but it was a *coup d'état* that was effectual. In the following year, when the reform bill was again introduced, and threatened with a similar discomfiture, the king yielded to Lord Brougham's solicitations, and gave him the following authority in writing: "The king grants permission to Earl Grey and to his chancellor Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the reform bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons.—William R." The opposition of the lords was overcome, and the bill was passed through their house without a vote on the 7th of June, 1832.

After the reform bill had become law, Lord Brougham and his coadjutors were set free to attend to its practical effects, and the measures which were carried in the first reform parliament, from 1832 to 1834, in the passing of which he had an ample share, were neither few nor unimportant.

These, upon which he made speeches in the House of Lords that occupy the greater part of his public collection, are enumerated by himself as the following:—

1. The abolition of slavery in all our colonies.
2. The opening of the East India trade, and the destruction of the Company's monopoly.
3. The amendment of the criminal laws.
4. Vast improvements in the whole municipal jurisprudence, both as regards law and equity.
5. The settlement of the bank charter.
6. The total reform of the Scotch municipal corporations.
7. The entire alteration of the poor-laws.
8. An ample commencement made in reforming the Irish church by the abolition of ten bishoprics.

In the meantime the elevation of Lord Brougham to a seat in the House of Peers had been otherwise than welcome to those among whom he was introduced. A man essentially of the people, he had unexpectedly and at once been promoted to the highest seat in their select conclave; and from his talents, his political opinions, and his temper, it was judged that he would not there rest and be still. Their utmost fears in this respect were more than realized, and bickerings broke out between him and his new associates which arrested public attention, and often provoked the popular mirth. Regarding him as not one of their privileged order, but a mere intruder, and his entrance as the first instalment of that new reforming spirit under which all distinctions of rank and class would gradually be levelled, he was accounted an enemy in the camp whom every one might assail at pleasure. But he quickly taught them that this was no safe experiment, and compelled them to temper their valour with circumspection. Of these assailants, it happened unfortunately that the Marquis of Londonderry, his early successful rival, was the most frequent, and upon him the blows of Lord Brougham could fall with personal as well as political rancour. In a debate on the policy of England towards Belgium, the marquis accused the chancellor of vituperation. "The noble lord," replied the other, "says that I am particularly fond of vituperation. I am not prone to a vituperative style of argument. The noble lord is a person of that sort, that if you were to bray him in a mortar you could not bray the prejudices out of him." On a later occasion, when the two were in controversy, Lord Brougham used such contemptuous terms against his adversary, that the latter expressed himself in language that seemed to tempt the settlement of their quarrels by the decision of the pistol. What an invitation to the guardian of the laws of the realm! Another opponent was Lord Eldon, the ex-chancellor, whose ideas of professional etiquette were most precise, and whose feelings were scandalized by the rough, careless contrast exhibited in those of Lord Brougham. "My lords," said he on one occasion, "you have the commons of England coming up to present bills with the usual forms at your bar, and you have a person proceeding from the woosack in boots, and with his top-coat on, to receive the commons of England in a manner in which, consistently with all former usage, they should not be received."

During this busy period of his political life, when his proceedings and speeches might have seemed more than enough for the energies of most men, Lord Brougham was also discharging the weighty duties of his office as chancellor with a promptitude which few of his predecessors had equalled. But here also his *modus operandi* gave dissatisfaction to the martinets of the legal profession. Like Sir

¹ *Knicht's Cyclopædia*, Biography, article "Brougham."

Walter Scott in the inferior situation of clerk of the Court of Session in Edinburgh, he was in the habit of answering notes of invitation, or correcting proofs for the press, while a case was argued before him. On one of these occasions, Sir Edward Sugden made a pause as often as the lord-chancellor put pen to paper. Lord Brougham at last becoming angry, exclaimed, "I have heard every word you have said. Do you suppose that the mechanical action of placing my signature to papers can distract my attention from your arguments? You might just as well complain when I blow my nose, or take a pinch of snuff." On another occasion he displayed his contempt of the refined quiddibets of the law when they were militant to the plain rules of justice and common sense. After a word of no particular import upon which a long wrangling had been maintained, Lord Brougham gave his decision, and added, "I shall not assign my reasons, nor can I ever do so when counsel are so long as they have been in this case." If Lord Brougham was thus independent and even arbitrary in his decisions as lord-chancellor, it must be remembered that his contemptuous treatment of the heads of the legal profession had been provoked by every device of relentless ingenuity. As one instance of this, Sir Edward Sugden was arguing before him an appeal case arising out of an Irish trusteeship, when the opposing counsel having urged that the fact of Lord Lifford's being one of the trustees might serve as a guarantee, Sir Edward rejoined, "I do not conceive that argument will weigh with your lordship, for your lordship must be fully aware that though a person may be a pretty good *nisi prius* pleader, it does not at all follow that he will be competent as an equity judge." Men had pretended to sneer at him for being no lawyer according to the strictest acceptation of the term, and when he was elevated to the woolsack the charge was repeated with double bitterness. And it was true, so far as he possessed the philosophy of law and the powers of the advocate rather than the special qualities which are adapted to the most unwieldy, intricate, and unsystematized division of the law. But for those defects his clear, accurate judgment, immense perseverance, and incredible activity, more than compensated. So dilatory had been the method of Lord Eldon, his predecessor, that unsettled cases had greatly accumulated, so that nothing less than a legal Hercules was needed to carry off these obstructions, and leave a free course for the ever-flowing tide. And such a Hercules was Lord Brougham in his capacity of chancellor. In the first year of his chancellorship he sat two days longer than Lord Eldon had done, and "by devoting more hours each day to the business of the court, he was enabled in the course of a few months to decide no less than 120 appeals; and instead of leaving, as his predecessor had done, a large arrear of causes, he had the gratification of saying that he had not left a single appeal unheard nor one letter unanswered." While this despatch made his tenure of office a memorable one in the annals of chancery, his judgments also were so carefully and accurately prepared as to refute the charge that he was no lawyer. His manner in the meantime of exercising the patronage of his office, both in church and state, was the subject of general commendation.

After the continuance of the Whig ministry in office from 1830 to 1834, its popularity and influence were in the wane. Great as were the changes it effected, especially during the first two years of its occupation, it was complained of as not going fast enough and far enough; and while Whiggism was striving to effect its appointed work in parlia-

ment, its slowness was blamed by the impatient Radicalism from without, which could see no obstacles and brook no delay. Such is invariably the fate of a political revolution: the original masters of the movement are succeeded or driven out by a more impatient party, who are apt to sacrifice everything to the awakened desire of greater and yet greater progress. At the close of 1834 the ministry was changed, and a Conservative one succeeded; but this lasted only till 1835, when a second Whig ministry was formed, with Lord Melbourne for its premier. In this government Lord Brougham had a place, not however as lord-chancellor, but as lord-keeper of the great seal and chairman of the House of Lords, and without a seat in the cabinet. At this exclusion by his old friends, the public was amazed and his admirers indignant; and while some thought that the exclusion was owing to the overruling wish of the king, others supposed that the milky temperament of Melbourne instinctively rejected an alliance with such a fiery and restless coadjutor as Lord Brougham. The latter, however, has plainly declared that the fault did not lie with the king, and that the cause of his exclusion had never been announced to him. At all events, it was evident that his colleagues were impatient to get rid of him. Accordingly, on the 15th of January, 1836, the *Gazette* announced the appointment of Sir Charles Pepys as lord-chancellor, under the title of Baron Cottenham, and on the 4th of February following Lord Brougham's connection with the ministry terminated.

Although no longer in office, his lordship's political life had not ended; he was still a peer of the realm, with a retiring pension of £5000 a year, and in his place in the House of Lords, or through the press, he still continued to identify himself with the principal events of the period. During the first two years of the Melbourne administration he generously continued to support it, although at wide intervals, his chief appearance on such occasions being a speech in the House of Lords in May, 1835, proposing a series of comprehensive resolutions on the subject of national education. Two years after, when William IV. was succeeded by Queen Victoria, he blazed out into his former activity; and in February, 1837, he introduced two bills, one for the establishment of local courts, and the other for the abolition of pluralities. Two months after, he spoke fully on the subject of Irish emigration, and land-improvement in Ireland; in May, he assailed the government policy regarding Canada; and in June, he moved for a select committee to inquire into "the state of business" in the House of Peers. These were done before the death of William IV., but in the latter part of the same year he was active in the measures then before parliament for amending the laws, supporting the forgery bill, and other alterations in the criminal code (in which he hinted at the desirableness of abolishing the punishment of death entirely), and supporting a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt, except under peculiar circumstances. In December, 1837, he once more brought into parliament a formal bill on the subject of national education. Then succeeded, in 1838, his violent attacks upon the Melbourne administration in reference to the government of Canada; and his three speeches on the subject, which he republished under the title of *Speeches on the Maltreatment of the North American Colonies*, produced an immense sensation, and led to the remarkable return of Lord Durham from Canada. In 1839, besides his share in other parliamentary matters, were published his *Speech moving a Committee of the Whole House on the*

Corn-laws; A Letter on National Education to the Duke of Bedford; and A Reply to Lord John Russell's Letter to the Electors of Stroud on the Principles of the Reform Act. For a few years afterwards his public appearances were chiefly in reference to the great anti-corn law agitation with which the whole country was engrossed. On this occasion his conduct was so independent, and so exclusively his own, as to be characteristic of the man and no other; for while his declarations and votes contributed to the final repeal of the corn-laws in 1846, he denounced the league itself as unconstitutional. But among the various public measures which during these years he either supported or condemned, the chief subject that interested him was the improvement of our legislation; and in 1843 he published *Letters on Law-reform, addressed to the Right Hon. Sir James Graham*; in 1844 he delivered in parliament, and afterwards published, a *Speech on the Criminal Code*; and in May, 1845, he delivered another great speech on law-reform. Notwithstanding this continued activity, a very inadequate idea would be formed of the amount of work performed by Lord Brougham were we to limit our views of it to the foregoing statement. Hitherto we have contented ourselves with a consecutive account of his public appearances, and his publications in connection with them which they originated. But during the whole course of his public career his pen had never been idle, and newspapers, reviews, magazines, and encyclopedias abounded with his productions, some published anonymously, and others with his name, but all of them stamped with the impress of his own remarkable genius, by which, during such a long course of years, had there been nothing else, he would have been constantly kept before the public gaze and the public wonder. Even had he done nothing else, the chief surprise would have been that one man could write so much. After his early production on *Colonial Policy*, in two volumes, in 1803, a long interval succeeded in which his productions were chiefly the fruits of temporary occasions, and appeared in the form of *Letters, Speeches, Essays, and Dissertations*. But in 1835 he resumed the work of authorship in its volume form by publishing a new edition of Paley's *Natural Theology*, to which he appended a preliminary discourse and notes. This work, on which it was said Lord Brougham had been employed for five years, went speedily through three editions—a public favour which was owing to the celebrity of his lordship's name, and to the fact that the "Discourse" was reckoned one of the most eloquent of his writings. A few years later he added two supplementary volumes to the work, under the title of *Dissertations on Subjects of Science connected with Natural Theology*. In 1838 he published the *Collected Edition of his Speeches*, in four volumes, including his principal orations up to that date, with historical notes and introductions, and a "Discourse on the Eloquence of the Ancients." In 1839-43 appeared the first series of his *Historic Sketches of Statesmen who Flourished in the Time of George III.*, and in 1845 his *Lives of Men of Arts and Science who Flourished in the Time of George III.* In 1842 he published his *Political Philosophy*, and in January, 1845, he brought out in French, *Lives of Voltaire and Rousseau*, with some unedited letters of Hume and Voltaire. In 1837 he published his *Dialogue on Instinct* and his translation of the *De Coronâ* of Demosthenes. In 1849 he published a *Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne on the Late Revolution in France*, which went through five or six editions. In 1855 he published, conjointly with E. J. Routh, an *Analytical View of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia*,

which is now used in the university of Cambridge. In 1857 he collected and published his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, in three volumes 8vo. An edition of Lord Brougham's works, entitled *The Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Works of Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S., Member of the National Institute of France, and of the Royal Academy of Naples*, has been published in ten volumes, 1855-58; and so recently as the 17th and 31st of May, 1858, Lord Brougham read to the Academy of Science a very interesting paper on the structure of the cells of bees, in a zoological and mathematical point of view. It is published in the *Comptes Rendus*, &c., 31st May, tom. 46, p. 1024, under the title of "Recherches Analytiques et Experimentales sur les Alveoles des Abeilles." To this long list, which only comprises the chief of his productions, popular rumour attributed to him the authorship of more than one novel. It sounds like a joke upon the grave and earnest statesman, or at least a satire upon his ambition of universal literary distinction. The rumour was chiefly founded upon a novel published in the established three-volume form in 1844, under the title of *Albert Limel, or the Chateau of Languedoc*. But no sooner was it printed than it was withdrawn, so that only five copies are known to exist, while the suppressed work was stated to be the production not of Lord Brougham but of a lady.

Having purchased a property in the neighbourhood of Cannes, his lordship was in the practice, during the latter period of his life, of there spending the summer. This residence naturally brought him into contact with the stirring political events which were going on in France, and especially with the great revolution in the beginning of 1848. Infected by the general fever, or ambitious to take a share in the new but short-lived government of liberty, equality, and fraternity, he announced his intention to the mayor of Cannes of standing as a candidate for the department of the Var, and then wrote to M. Cremieux, the minister of justice, requesting the necessary certificates to be forwarded, and expressing his wish that he should be naturalized as a French citizen without delay. The French minister was amazed at such an application, and warned him of the consequences of its success. "If you become a French citizen," Cremieux wrote in reply, "you cease to be Lord Brougham. You lose in an instant all your noble titles, all the privileges, all the advantages, of whatever nature they may be, which you hold either from your quality of Englishman or from the rights which the laws and customs of your country have conferred upon you, and which cannot be reconciled with our laws of equality amongst all citizens." Becoming sarcastic, the minister added, "I certainly imagine that the late lord-chancellor of England knows the necessary consequences of so important a step; but it is the duty of the minister of justice of the French republic to warn him of it officially. When you shall have made a demand including these declarations it will be immediately examined." The merriment both of France and England was raised at this application, and the rebuff with which it was encountered; and as if to protract the mirth of the two countries, Lord Brougham repeated his appeal. "I never could have supposed," he said in a second letter to M. Cremieux, "that in getting myself naturalized as a French citizen, I should lose all my rights as an English peer, and an English subject in France. I shall only retain all my privileges in England; in France I should be all that the laws of France accord to the citizens of the republic." To this strange reason for urging his claim he added a still stranger

as its cause: "As above all things I desire the happiness of the two countries and their mutual peace, I thought it my duty to give a proof of my confidence in the institutions of France in order to encourage my English *compatriotes* to trust in them as I do." The reply to this which Cremieux returned was final. "In order to become French it is necessary that you should cease to be English. You cannot be an Englishman in England, and a Frenchman in France. In the present state of the case, then, and as long as you wish to remain an Englishman in England—that is to say, as long as you do not choose to abdicate completely and everywhere your quality as an English subject, and to exchange it for that of a French citizen, it is impossible for me to grant your request." Here the matter ended, and the French journals pointed to it as a choice example of English eccentricity. As for Lord Brougham, he immediately and formally renounced his French citizenship, which, by the way, he had never obtained. Here, however, his resentment did not terminate. Irritated at the refusal and the merriment which the whole case had created, he wrote an indignant condemnation of the French republic, which he published under the title of *Letter to the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G., Lord-president of the Council, on the Late Revolution in France*—a goodly pamphlet of 165 pages 8vo, although it was scarcely large enough to contain the overflow of his anger. This production, however, did not impair his popularity, as the work ran through five or six editions. He also spoke on the revolution, its principles and its consequences, on several occasions in the House of Lords, in 1848 and 1849, especially in his "Speech on Italian and French Affairs" on April 11, 1848, and his "Speech on Foreign Affairs" on July 20, 1849.

As Lord Brougham had now exceeded the usual term of human existence, decay began to tell upon his iron frame, making more frequent retirement from action necessary. But he had nobly worked during his day, and could well claim the evening's repose. New political events also had succeeded, and new agents to carry them forward, so that his presence could be better spared. Still, however, he could not wholly rest, and the world was reminded of him by his occasional appearances, in which he acquitted himself with much of his former power. Among the most remarkable of these was his address delivered at Grantham in the end of September, 1858, on the occasion of inaugurating the statue of Sir Isaac Newton. From 1857 to the end, most of his public appearances and his longest addresses were made in connection with the meetings of the Social Science Association, of which body he was preses, and in whose proceedings he took a deep and active interest. In 1859 he was elected chancellor of the university of Edinburgh by a great majority over the Duke of Buccleuch, and in the autumn of the same year he was entertained at a banquet in the Edinburgh Music Hall, the choicest of his countrymen of all ranks and professions being present on the occasion. In 1863 he again visited his native city as president of the Social Science Association, and in the several speeches which he made at their meetings, "the old man eloquent" showed that his former fire was by no means utterly extinguished. We may add, also, that to the last Lord Brougham was devoted to the study of the exact sciences and to natural philosophy. He resumed in 1850 his optical researches, and communicated to the Royal Society "Experiments and Observations upon the Properties of Light;" in 1852 he sent "Further Experiments," and in 1853 a third paper of the same title. Their

argument, based on elaborate experiments, shows the principle on which Sir Isaac Newton established his theory of light to be inconclusive. Later still (1855), as we have already mentioned, he published, in conjunction with E. J. Routh, Esq., his *Analytical View of Sir Isaac Newton's Principia*. Among his honourable titles, Lord Brougham was a Foreign Associate of the Institute of France, to which he had been elected in 1833; he was afterwards a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Naples.

While the last years of Lord Brougham's life were thus chiefly spent at Cannes amidst the peaceful and tranquillizing pursuits of science, his occasional re-visiting among us, which gradually were becoming fewer, were always noted as important public events; and as he passed along our streets the crowds regarded him with reverence as the patriarch of the age, the living chronicle of what the days of their fathers and grandfathers had been. At last he was wholly confined to his foreign residence by infirmity and decay, but even then he showed that his heart was with his country, and that his interest in its public proceedings had not ceased, so that in 1867 he addressed a short letter to the people of England, which he termed his "death-bed legacy," and in which he warned them against the consequences of political corruption. In the important subject of religion it had been usually suspected that amidst the whirl of public business he had lost sight of it—that amidst his universal studies he had omitted the one thing needful—and that the place which it should have held was occupied by a general scepticism, which, among men of large and active minds, is too often adopted as an apology for indifference. But in the latter years of his life a more healthful spirit seemed to predominate, and the cares of the present world to be superseded by his growing interest in a higher and a better. His mind also in this happy return had reverted to the days and character of his early training, and his favourite hymn, which was the 42d Paraphrase used in the Church of Scotland, was adopted into the service of the Protestant church at Cannes, which he attended, under the title of Lord Brougham's hymn, and was always sung the first Sabbath after his arrival and the last before his departure. It was also sung over his funeral. His death, although it occurred at such an extreme old age, was sudden and unexpected. On Thursday night the 7th of May, 1868, he retired to rest in his usual health, and was found dead in bed an hour or two afterwards, having died, it was supposed, in his sleep. At his death he was in his ninetieth year.

It is difficult at present, and perhaps will always be difficult, fully to estimate the character of this extraordinary man. In intellectual power and variety of talent Lord Brougham stood alone not only in his own day, but in the preceding history of his country; and among the most eminent of the records of Great Britain, while none equalled him, only a few have approached him. Better lawyers, more sagacious statesmen, more finished orators, and profound philosophers might indeed be quoted, but when were they all so comprised in one as in the instance of Lord Brougham? But still more remarkable than such capacities was his power of using them, so that while he could make each pre-eminent for the occasion, not one of them was allowed to maintain an exclusive ascendancy, and all were equally subservient to his control. Hence the wideness of their application and variety of action, and the deep permanent impress they have left upon everything that came under their range. To time therefore his memory

may be safely consigned, and as generations pass away the worth of his actions will be better understood and more permanently established.

BURNS, REV. WILLIAM CHALMERS. This devoted, active, and enterprising religious missionary was of a class whose deeds are too seldom recognized by the world, or recorded in the pages of our literature. He was the son of the Rev. Dr. W. Burns, who was first the minister of the parish of Dun, and afterwards of Kilsyth, and member of a race more prolific of clergymen than perhaps any Scottish family of the present age. W. C. Burns was born in the manse of Dun, Forfarshire, on the 1st of April, 1815. In consequence of the translation of his father from Dun to Kilsyth, William was removed to the latter place in 1821. Although he showed in after-life that he possessed original talents of no ordinary kind, the influences of the parish school of Kilsyth, though at that time taught by a very able master, were not altogether of a kind fitted to rouse and develop those latent powers. The effect of this apathetic indifference was shown in the early choice of an occupation made by young Burns, which was that of a farmer; but in consequence of being sent to Aberdeen, and his attendance at the grammar-school there, a new life seemed to have entered into him that was too active and ambitious for agricultural pursuits; and as he lived with his maternal uncle, who was an Aberdeen advocate, the profession of the law naturally suggested itself to him as a more eligible profession. To this accordingly he turned his studies, and after having attended two years at the classes of Aberdeen College, he was, at his own earnest desire, sent to Edinburgh, that he might commence the study of law under one of his uncles, Mr. Alexander Burns, Writer to the Signet. He however completed his literary course at the university of Aberdeen, where he acquired distinction in all the classes, and won a bursary both in classical languages and mathematics. In the meantime a third change had occurred in his choice of a profession. Having been impressed while prosecuting his law studies in Edinburgh with a deep sense of the importance of religion, he resolved to devote himself to the church; and with the purpose of studying for the ministry he entered the divinity hall of the university of Glasgow in 1835. After a theological course of four years, in which he signalized himself by his diligence and proficiency, he was licensed as a preacher in March, 1839.

On becoming a licentiate, the same divine agency which had directed William C. Burns in the final choice of his profession, had prepared a fit school for its training. The apostolic Robert Murray M'Cheyne had laboured in Dundee until his health was exhausted; and as its recovery would depend upon change of air, scene, and occupation, he was sent with a deputation from the Church of Scotland early in 1839 to Palestine, on a mission of inquiry to the Jews, while during his absence Mr. Burns was appointed to supply his place. It was to no ordinary man that such a charge would have been intrusted, but Burns had already approved himself as one of more than common mark. This was evinced by the letter to him from Mr. M'Cheyne, announcing the choice made by the congregation and himself, in which he wrote: "You are given in answer to prayer, and these gifts are, I believe always without exception, blessed. I hope you may be a thousand times more blessed among them than ever I was. Perhaps there are many souls that would never have been saved by my ministry who may be touched under yours; and God has taken this method of bringing you into my place."

While Mr. W. C. Burns was earnestly labouring in Dundee, remarkable events were going on in his father's parish of Kilsyth. A century previous, that town, under the ministry of Mr. Robe, had been remarkable for that religious revival which, commencing at Cambuslang, had burst out in several localities in quick succession, and in none more remarkably than in Kilsyth, where it had wonderfully changed the vicious into upright characters, and persuaded men who had only thought of to-day to be up and doing for eternity. But after that generation had passed away, the former apathy and irreligion had returned, and during the early period of the present century its condition was more hopeless than ever. Such was the condition of Kilsyth when Dr. Burns was inducted into the spiritual charge of it, and his sensitive spirit was grieved by the contrast of the past to the present condition of the parish. At length, on the anniversary of Mr. Robe's death, he took his station on the grave of that good man, and preached upon the words which Robe had caused to be inscribed in Hebrew over the dust of his wife: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." The sermon preached on such a text, and upon such a rostrum, seemed like the rising of the old revivalist from the grave: a sudden shock and arrest was visible upon his people, manifested by an abandonment of their evil courses, and a more serious attention to the ordinances of religion; and this continued until the following year (1839), when the funeral of a near relative required the presence of Mr. W. C. Burns at Kilsyth. He preached there, and the work for which his father had made the preparation broke out, the imprisoned tide burst asunder its feeble barriers, and the old deceased revival became a new living reality. He continued to preach during his short stay, chiefly in the open air, and to congregations which a church could not have contained, being generally from 3000 to 4000 auditors, who were pervaded with the cry of Pentecost, "What shall I do to be saved?" Describing these scenes at Kilsyth, the Rev. A. Bonar writes: "While pressing on the audience immediate acceptance of Christ with deep solemnity, the whole of the vast assembly were overpowered. The Holy Spirit seemed to come down as a rushing mighty wind, and to fill the place. Very many were that day struck to the heart; the sanctuary was filled with distressed and inquiring souls. All Scotland heard the glad news that the sky was no longer as brass, that the rain had begun to fall. The Spirit in mighty power began to work from that day forward in many places of the land."

After about a fortnight of such labours in Kilsyth, where he was every day employed in preaching, or in comforting and counselling anxious inquirers, Mr. Burns returned to his appointed duties in Dundee; but he had only been two days there when the same indications began to manifest themselves that had occurred at Kilsyth, and before the year had closed similar results followed in Dundee, Perth, Collace, Blairgowrie, Strathbogie, Ross-shire, Breadalbane, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Ancrum. And of this immense amount of exciting and exhausting toil he bore the principal part, preaching everywhere, and preaching constantly in-doors or in the open air, while nothing but a frame of iron, supported by an invincible patience, could have borne the burden. And well was it that for such a task as this he was no mere enthusiast or reckless inconsiderate fanatic, as so many might have been apt to imagine, but a man of a strong, considerate, well-poised mind, which all

who came in contact with it were compelled to respect. Nor was his oratory of the kind that is called sensational. "His preaching," we are told, "was as unlike what is usually known as revival preaching as anything well could be; but he was thoroughly in earnest. He believed every word he spoke. You could hardly fail to feel that. It came straight from the heart—from the abundance of the heart—and it went as straight to the heart. . . . The present writer has heard Mr. Burns preach, when every word he spoke seemed as a sharp arrow in the hand of the mighty. The word pierced right and left, and was answered by literal outcries on all sides. Strong men bowed their heads and wept, as if their very heart were literally broken." And yet, without a preparation, independent either of speaker or hearer, even such preaching could at other times pass by unheeded, or be listened to without emotion. "He has heard," the writer adds, "the same man preach equally clearly, equally powerfully, perhaps the very self-same discourse substantially, and yet no visible effects of any kind followed, beyond those which ordinarily follow the full and faithful preaching of the word." With so much preaching also he was never without careful preparation, while his self-possession and command of language enabled him to adapt his extemporaneous utterance to every change or emergency however sudden. One of these, the most disconcerting to an orator, occurred on a fine summer Sunday evening, when Mr. Burns was preaching to a very large crowd at the approach to a railway-station. In the midst of his discourse a tall man somewhat intoxicated stood at the edge of the crowd interrupting the speaker, and by his ludicrous remarks exciting the laughter of those who were near him. At last Mr. Burns paused for a moment, and turning his eyes on the man, said calmly but impressively: "You are tall and strong; but you are not too tall for a coffin, nor too strong for the worms. You are tall and strong; but not too tall for the grave, nor too strong for death. You are tall and strong; but you will soon have to stand forth, one of the crowd, before the great white throne; and how will you face the Judge of the whole earth? Tall and strong as you are, you cannot be hid from God: the rocks and mountains will not cover you: His all-seeing eye is on you now." This awful rebuke slowly and deliberately uttered sobered the reveller; he crouched beneath the level of the crowd, and stole away.

The career of laborious open-air preaching over Scotland, which was also extended into England as far as Newcastle, and into the north of Ireland, was continued until 1844, when Mr. Burns began to feel that his mission in his native country was fulfilled. He had made trial of his ministry, and discovered the work for which he was best fitted; and instead of subsiding into the comfortable life of a parish incumbent, he resolved to devote his energies to evangelistic and missionary labour. He saw that the command was still imperative to preach the gospel to all nations; and provided his proper field could be found, he was indifferent to its remoteness, or the trials with which it might abound. Independently also of the success of his past endeavours which encouraged his choice, his physical frame possessed great power and endurance of nerve, while his aptitude in the acquirement of languages, in which he excelled most of his class-fellows, had made him distinguished at the university. Canada was the first outlying station to which he turned; and having speedily mastered the French tongue, he traversed the greater part of the vast region of Canada, preaching in the open air, in barracks, and in prisons,

wherever his services were judged needful, gratified with many conversions among the mixed population of French and British colonists, and obtaining a proportionable amount of hatred and opposition from the Popish clergy, whose ascendancy his coming had so greatly disconcerted. After having aroused the careless, alarmed the depraved, and occasioned by his preaching an unwonted solicitude about their spiritual and eternal interests, he felt that there too his mission was fulfilled; to rouse to such inquiry was the work for which he was best qualified, and having accomplished this he thought that such a people might be safely intrusted to that gospel ministry with which the colony was provided. He therefore returned home, and awaited the first call to missionary labour that might offer. Nor had he long to wait. The English Presbyterian Church had adopted China as their field of operation, but such obstacles had occurred that they were resolving to change it for India, when Mr. Burns presented himself before the Presbyterian synod at Sunderland while they were holding their sittings there, and offered to go out as their missionary to China. Such an offer from one already so well known, and made in so disinterested a manner, struck the whole meeting with glad surprise, and on asking him when he could be ready to set sail, he pointed to his carpet-bag lying at the bottom of his seat, and replied, "To-morrow." He was accordingly ordained, but instead of being sent off at once, he was detained a few months in England to visit several of the congregations. At length he set sail, and arrived in Hong-Kong in November, 1847, and there he resided about a year, studying the Chinese language, and preaching to a small congregation of British residents. In 1850 he tried to establish himself in Canton, but failing to effect this he repaired to Amoy, acquired a new dialect of the Chinese language, fitted up at his own expense a little chapel, and itinerated as a missionary among the numerous towns and villages of the island of Amoy. But this was not all, for he gave a whole year's salary to the mission for furnishing another missionary to China. In fact, his own expenditure scarcely amounted to a tenth part of his salary; all the rest was devoted to the support of the mission.

In these missionary tours among the villages inland, where Mr. Burns was often a week or more from home, the people collected in great numbers to hear his addresses, which were sometimes as numerous as six in a day, delivered at as many different villages. He usually sent forward his native assistants to distribute copies of the ten commandments, and this was followed up by an earnest address pointing out the only way in which the breaker of that law could obtain pardon and eternal life. In a country where strangers are so hated and despised, and Christianity has been persecuted as a state crime, it required no small amount of courage for Mr. Burns to go into districts where he was wholly unknown, and attempt to convince such a self-sufficient people of the uselessness of the religion of Fo or the philosophy of Confucius to procure their acceptance with God. But he adopted the simplest of all methods, that of the primitive teachers of Christianity, and found it, in spite of the prudence of the nineteenth century, to be the safest and most effectual. Giving an account of his tours among the Chinese he told a friend in England that "he went forth in the morning trusting to the guidance of the Master. So soon as he reached a village he commenced to read his Bible aloud, say, under the shade of a tree. Soon the villagers began to gather, and he explained to them the nature and object of the gospel. Usually some one would ask him about meal-time where he

was to eat? And he as usually partook of what was set before him by some hospitable villager. As evening approached some one would offer him a night's shelter; and thus he often went on from week to week, preaching the word as he went, and lacking nothing."

In 1854 Mr. Burns returned home, but after a stay of only three or four months in his native land, he went back to China. That he now considered as his home and country, the place in which he was to labour, and live, and die; and so prevalent was this feeling, that he adopted the dress of the people, and became not only in language, but in manners and appearance, a Chinese. His constituents and friends in Britain thought that this was carrying his accommodation too far; but he was of opinion that in this way he could more effectually conciliate the arrogant inhabitants of the "Flowery Land," and win a more favourable hearing for his message. In this style he travelled about the country, preaching, teaching, and exhorting, with a Chinese Bible under his arm; and when the "Man of the Book" thus appeared at a town or village, he was generally received by the people with love and reverence. Besides the Decalogue in Chinese which he plentifully distributed, he translated the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Chinese, which he was able to print at a small expense of fourpence or sixpence a copy; and this wonderful production of the Bedford tinker, suited for all time and for every country, found its way into a land of which its author probably knew nothing but the name. But Mr. Burns could not always thus travel and teach at large in a country where the government was so suspicious of strangers without interruption, and on one occasion while pursuing his wonted course, towards the end of 1856, he fell within the grasp of Commissioner Yeh, whose name was afterwards of such portentous distinction in his dealings with the English. As the native accounts of the missionary's proceedings are interesting, we give them as they are embodied in the official report of the high imperial commissioner to the British consul at Canton: "He, Yeh, has before him an official report of the district magistrate of Chaon-chow, in which he finds the following. Inspecting the defences of the place they found three persons seated in a boat on the river, whose appearance had in it something unusual. We, the magistrates of Chian-chow, found in their boat, and took possession of, seven volumes of foreign books and three sheet-tracts; but these were the only things they had with them. On examining the men themselves, we observed that they all of them had shaven heads, and wore their hair plaited in a queue, and were dressed in Chinese costume. The face of one of them had, however, rather a strange look; his speech in regard to tone and mode of expression being not very similar to that of the Chinese. We therefore interrogated him carefully, whereupon he stated to us that his true name was Pin-wei-lin (William Burns), and as a teacher of the religion of Jesus he had been for some time past engaged in exhorting his fellow-men to do good deeds. (After a statement of dates and facts they thus continue:) Wherever he went he made himself acquainted with the language of the Chinese, and by this means he delivered his exhortations to the people, and explained to them the books of Jesus, but without receiving from any one the least remuneration." "Such," adds Yeh, "is the account given by the missionary, William Burns, who, together with his seven volumes of foreign books and his three sheet-tracts, was given over to the charge of an officer, and brought by him in custody to this office." The commissioner was evidently puzzled by such a capture; his cruelty

and avarice could derive no gratification from it; for the missionary, as a British priest, was too important a subject to be executed or put to the torture, and too poor to be *squeezed* according to the usual fashion of Chinese justice; and accordingly Yeh thus ends his statement: "I have directed Hen, the assistant Nanh-hae magistrate, to hand him, Mr. Burns, over to the consul of the said nation, in order that he may ascertain the truth respecting him, and keep him under restraint; and I hereby, by means of this declaration, make known to the consul the above particulars."

Such is a very brief sketch of the missionary labours of Burns in China from 1847, when he first landed there, until his death. They can only be understood however by a full detail of them, which has been given in the *History of the Chinese Missions of the English Presbyterian Church*. In prosecuting his task he mastered five dialects of the Chinese, each so different from the other, that it was almost equal to the acquirement of five languages. His incessant toiling in the good work, so like that of a primitive apostle, was crowned with apostolic success. And so full was his self-denial and his unrestrained benevolence to the close of his career, that scrip or purse would to him have been superfluities, for he gave as fast as he received. After a life of such active religious usefulness in Britain and Ireland, in Canada and in China, it could scarcely be otherwise than that he should be prematurely worn out, and a severe shock which his health sustained from the privations he endured in a native vessel while sailing to Nieu-chwang, and afterwards at that place while prosecuting his missionary duties, brought on his last illness. He soon saw that there was no prospect of recovery, so that while announcing the tidings to his mother he wrote: "Unless it should please God to rebuke the disease, it is quite evident what the end must be; and I write these lines beforehand to say that I am happy and ready, through the abounding grace of God, either to live or to die. May the God of all consolation comfort you, when the tidings of my decease shall reach you; and through the redeeming blood of Jesus, may we meet before the throne of God!" His death was in entire harmony with his life. About six or seven days before it occurred, a few of his English friends residing at Nieu-chwang were collected at his bedside, and a very interesting religious conversation was going on. "Finding a decided change for the worse, and great distress in breathing, the gentleman read and repeated several portions of Scripture, among others Psalm xxiii. Hesitating at the verse, 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,' Mr. Burns took it up, and in a deep, strong voice continued and finished the psalm. He also greatly relished John xiv., 'Let not your hearts be troubled,' and on closing the exercise with the Lord's prayer, Mr. Burns suddenly became emphatic, and repeated the latter portion and doxology, '*For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory,*' with extraordinary strength and decision. This was the last time he manifested any power of mind. Afterwards he only evinced recognition, and at last hardly spoke, or even opened his eyes. Thus he passed away." He died on the 4th of April, 1868, when he had just entered his fifty-fourth year.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, D.D. As a Dissenting minister and a journalist he occupied an influential position, which he attained by his unaided energy and talents. He was the son of Alexander Campbell, surgeon in Kirriemuir, near Dundee, and was born October 5th, 1795. A short time after his birth his father died, and the helpless infant was thrown wholly upon the charge of his mother, who

however fulfilled her task to the best of her ability; and after being taught to read, which he learned with remarkable facility, he was sent to the parish school, where his gentleness and good behaviour made him the favourite of the schoolmaster. Along with a desire for general knowledge which he gratified by miscellaneous reading, he was very partial to mechanical operations that required dexterity and inventiveness, and in this way became a Jack-of-all-trades without excelling in any one in particular. His wayward and impulsive spirit was at last enthralled by the perusal of *Dampier's Voyages*, so that he resolved to become a sailor and see the world, and with that view went secretly to Sunderland, bound himself to a shipowner in that port, and made several voyages. Soon finding, however, that the romance of the sea was a very different thing from its severe realities, he resolved to quit the occupation of a sailor, and this he did in defiance of his indentures by stealing one night from the deck to the ship's boat while it was anchored in a bay off the coast of Norfolk. It was nearly a mile to the shore, and on descending into the boat he found that there was no oar in it! In this dilemma he suspended himself by the stern of the boat, using his feet in the water as paddles, and by this irregular kind of rowing at length managed with great labour to reach the landing-place in the bay. Having then made fast the boat to another ship's cable, that its owners might find it in the morning, he returned home cured of every sea propensity, and resolved that all his future endeavours should be confined to dry land.

The first occupation of John Campbell after settling at home was as a blacksmith in the shop of a relative in Dundee, where he distinguished himself as a first-rate hand in shoeing horses; and afterwards he was employed in a foundry of the same town. In none of these occupations, however, had he found his proper vocation, and from his talents it was evident that he was fitted for something higher and better. At length the power of religion, under which he now came, consolidated his wishes and directed his choice: he would be a preacher, the office for which he was best qualified; and as he had joined the community of Methodists, among whom a learned education was not essential for a religious teacher, he preached among them, and afterwards among the Independents, a body which he had thought fit to join, supporting himself meanwhile by teaching a school. His sense of deficiencies, and his aspirations for still higher excellence, having grown by the practice of preaching, he was anxious to qualify himself for his sacred duties, to which he had resolved that his whole life should be devoted. Accordingly he turned his attention to a university education; and to fit himself for entrance into the college he studied Latin under private tuition. He repaired to the university of St. Andrews in October, 1817. How diligently he had qualified himself for the work of a student may be surmised from the fact that on entering college he won one of the Latin bursaries by competition, although he had previously no purpose for such a bold trial, and was only incited to it by the urgency of a fellow-lodger. As he found it easy to prepare the lessons for the class, Campbell had abundance of leisure to gratify his love for general knowledge, and this he pursued so voraciously that he was one of the most frequent applicants at the university library. But besides this, he also gratified his ardent love for discussing and haranguing. Of this instinct, which he manifested when a child, the following instance is given by his biographer. "When about five years of age, seeing a troop of soldiers proceeding along the highway,

the boy ascended the stump of a tree, and began to make a speech to the men of the red coat, loud and vehement, to their great amusement. One of the soldiers stepped aside, and laughing in the child's face, gave him a piece of roll, saying, 'Go on, my little fellow; you will be a preacher some day.'" Campbell became a member of the university Forum, where he soon obtained a foremost place; and not satisfied with this, he established another weekly society for debate which became very popular in St. Andrews. But while distinguishing himself by eloquence and readiness in discussion, and gathering by reading an immense amount of knowledge on every variety of subject, John Campbell was still under the necessity of teaching to support himself at college; but on this occasion it was a higher kind of instruction than that which he had formerly attempted. Having obtained a public room in St. Andrews, he established an elocution class to correct the barbarous manner in which his fellow-students pronounced their native language; and the endeavour was so respectable that the French professor and several gentlemen became his private pupils.

After having studied two sessions at St. Andrews, Mr. Campbell resolved to complete his curriculum at the university of Glasgow. Here he entered the gown classes, and at the same time became an auditor of the lectures of Dr. M'Gill, professor of theology. But while advancing in scholarship, he still made his sacred duties his chief concern, and preached not only in buildings but the open air, especially at Partick, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, with increasing popularity. In 1824, however, this acceptance was the cause of involving him in a whole world of difficulty. There was no Congregational church in the town of Kilmarnock, while there were only three poor weavers in it who belonged to that persuasion; but being abundant in zeal, and perhaps in ambition, they resolved to found a church of their own in the locality, and to that effect sent a requisition to the Congregational head-quarters at Glasgow. It was favourably received, and in consequence of their expressed preference for Mr. Campbell, he was sent to Kilmarnock by Dr. Wardlaw to collect and establish there a congregation of Independents. Confident of success, these poor weavers had rented the Music-hall, although they were unable to pay for it; and as the speculation turned out a failure, in consequence of the Presbyterian tendencies of the town-folks, Mr. Campbell had not only to become responsible for the rent of the hall, but to support himself into the bargain. Finding that he could not collect a congregation from the other churches, he went out into the lanes and highways of Kilmarnock and the neighbouring towns, preaching in the open air to those who did not enter a place of worship, and the result was, that after a short time the Music-hall was filled to overflowing, so that he was obliged to transfer the meetings to the Masonic Lodge, which was more commodious for the purpose. There he established four services on the Sundays, until at last he was obliged to meet his numerous auditory in the town-green. Notwithstanding this great increase of his duties in Kilmarnock, he continued his favourite practice of open-air preaching, and the popularity he acquired by this kind of ministerial labour was testified in the increase of his own particular flock.

Encouraged by these promising symptoms, Mr. Campbell now resolved to convert his precarious preaching station into a regular church, according to the Independent model, and this resolution involved him deeply in the mortar-tub. He planned the building of a church and manse, for the cost of

which he guaranteed his own responsibility, and when they were erected he set out upon a preaching tour to collect funds for the purpose. This was the more necessary, as, notwithstanding the number of his audience, it had collected from liking to himself rather than the sect to which he belonged, which they knew nothing about, or regarded with Presbyterian aversion, so that the only Independents of his flock still continued to be nothing more than the original three poor weavers. He therefore had recourse to a preaching tour through some of the principal cities and towns of Scotland for the collection of funds, and was so successful that he was enabled to clear the expenses both of church and manse. Having thus surmounted the difficulty, he settled down in this locality as a permanent charge, and married a young lady, Miss Agnes Crichton, a school-mistress in Irvine, whose tastes and character corresponded with his own, and whose affections he had engaged soon after his arrival in Kilmarnock.

During the five years of his residence and ministry in that town, Mr. Campbell had no fewer than five tempting calls for removal to other pastoral charges, one of these being from Edinburgh, and another from Dublin. His fame as an eloquent and effective preacher had been widely diffused by his preaching tour for the collection of building funds, in which he had visited not only many parts in Scotland, but also of Ireland and England. The whole five invitations were rejected, but another which followed could not be so briefly disposed of. While in England collecting money for his manse and chapel, he was invited to supply the pulpit of Hoxton Chapel for six weeks during June and July, 1828. He gladly accepted the call, and preached in that large church to overflowing audiences with an acceptability seldom accorded by English congregations to pulpit orators from the north; and this difference is sufficiently explained by the intellectual tendencies of the two nations. It is distinctly shown by Campbell in the following words of a letter written at the period. "A great preacher in Scotland might utterly fail here. Excitement, excitement, effect, effect, these are everything. Profound exposition and accurate views of the gospel are nothing, or next to nothing, with many. They care not to be taught, but to be touched and moved." During his stay in London he was almost overwhelmed with preaching invitations, and had now become one of the pulpit lions of metropolitan Dissenterism. On his engagement with Hoxton Chapel having expired, he returned to his flock at Kilmarnock: but his admirers in London had not lost sight of him, and soon after he received a formal invitation to supply the services at the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Road Chapels, commencing his labours in the month of October, and officiating during eleven Sundays—an invitation with which he closed. Circumstances had now occurred which in course of time were to settle him permanently in London. The minister of Tottenham Court Chapel, a man in his eighty-third year, and one of the most popular preachers and influential leaders of his communion, was the well-known and justly celebrated Mr. Wilks. Feeling that his end was approaching, and anxious that his place should be adequately filled, he silently studied the character of Mr. Campbell, and conceived him everyway qualified for the succession. One trial of this kind, among several, seemed to indicate such a conclusion. Being in the pulpit, and too unwell to continue the service, and learning that Campbell was among his hearers, he sent to him a request that he should preach, with which the other immediately complied. When he stepped into the

vestry previous to ascending the pulpit, Mr. Wilks joined him, and taking off his gown and bands in silence, he put them on Mr. Campbell. The Puritanism of the latter, which had never submitted to such insignia, was somewhat startled; but controlled by the fatherly and authoritative manner of Mr. Wilks, he uttered no objection, but went thus draped to the clerical duty of the day. The sermon which he delivered on the spur of such an occasion to an audience that filled the whole of that vast building, was of such remarkable power that the venerable Wilks had no cause to regret the investiture which he had symbolized with his robes of office. On returning to the vestry the old man, pointing to a chair which had belonged to the celebrated Whitfield, said to Campbell, "That is Moses' seat, sir; sit down." "If so," replied the young man, "it is not for me, sir, but for yourself." "Do what you are bid, sir," rejoined Mr. Wilks. The result of all this was, that the minister and managers were in favour of Campbell's succession to Mr. Wilks; and as a touch of Presbyterianism still lurked in the Scottish bones of Mr. Campbell, he also obtained what he valued most of all—the expressed wish or call of the congregation that he should be their minister. Almost immediately after, Mr. Wilks died, and Mr. Campbell entered into the vacant charge.

On succeeding Mr. Wilks, it was as minister of the Tabernacle, as Tottenham Court Road Chapel, in consequence of a change in the disposal of the property, was no longer an Independent place of worship. At the Tabernacle, however, Mr. Campbell, at his entrance, found several established usages with which he could not conscientiously comply, and these he set himself to remove with his wonted firmness and decision. One of these was the practice of kneeling at receiving the communion, which had prevailed among a part of the congregation since the days of Whitfield. Another was a frequent communion service held as early as six o'clock in the morning, to the great discomposure of family order and comfort. A third was a prohibition by the managers of the chapel for the minister to read any portion of Scripture in the public religious services of the chapel, under the plea that the people could read the Bible for themselves at home. To these and other obstacles which had been obstinately kept up from the time of Whitfield, without any regard to change of time or progress of improvement, Mr. Campbell systematically opposed himself until he had procured their abrogation. Still self-educating, and making advances in various departments of intellect, Mr. Campbell in 1831 combined authorship with preaching by becoming a contributor of articles to the *Patriot* newspaper and the *Eclectic Review*; and by this step he brought himself into contact with several eminent literary characters, in whose society and conversation he found the best cure for that clerical exclusiveness which so often mars the efficiency of our public teachers of religion.

It was in 1834 that the keenest and most important of Mr. Campbell's controversies commenced; and it was not with opponents outside the Tabernacle, but a party composed of his own flock. Dissatisfied with his reforms which he had introduced into the church-service, and perceiving that he was too well established in the affections of the people to be removed, the managers abdicated, and made over the lease of the chapel to certain men who formed themselves into an oligarchy for its future government. And sufficiently despotic it was, for they arrogated to themselves the power not only to choose a minister for the congregation, but to

remove him at their own pleasure, without regard to character, doctrine, or pastoral efficiency. It was a natural result into which *Independency*, whether religious or political, is so often seen to fall. To find time to establish their illegal authority, they endeavoured to keep the change a secret from their pastor, but he was soon apprised of it. He was at this time supplying a vacant pulpit in Edinburgh, and preaching to a congregation that wished to have him for their minister; and from this vantage-ground he sent a letter to his London managers of which the following is an extract:—"If I must submit to the domination of men whom I never saw, whose authority I never recognized, and hold to be usurpation; men who can have no scriptural or reasonable connection with my charges or with myself;—if such men are to control my procedure, decide my merits, and regulate my subsistence; if such men are to rob my people of their rights to manage their entire affairs, to choose and depose pastors, either as a body, or as represented, and having their authority concentrated in their own managers, who are of themselves—if such men shall have the privilege, as often as they please, to convene the managers at Tabernacle House, and in their presence to criticize all the doings of a pastor, misrepresenting and maligning him; to rob him of his character, and ruin his usefulness, while to him is denied all means even of explanation or defence;—if these things, and as much more as the principle, or rather want of principle, renders possible and practicable, are to exist any longer, and if by a legal instrument they are to be rendered perpetual, then I must, my dear Christian friends, with all the esteem which I bear you, be permitted to intimate, with the utmost decision, with all solemnity, and much sorrow, that our connection is at an end."

In consequence of this express alternative it was necessary that Mr. Campbell should ascertain by actual experiment whether he could reduce the managers to reason, or must himself yield to the storm, and be minister of the charge no longer. He accordingly at the close of the week returned to London, and on Sunday presented himself in the Tabernacle for the usual discharge of his public duties. But there an opposition had been organized against the attempt, which would have been simply ludicrous but for its profane indecency. The pulpit had been secured with a lock, and turned into a sentry-box in which a man had remained all night upon watch and ward. The door at the foot of the pulpit stairs was also secured with a lock, and a guard of policemen and church-managers drawn up before it to confront and hinder the first advance of the minister. These were the military arrangements of a Sunday morning in a Christian church, and all to try conclusions with the pastor, and prevent him from the performance of his sacred public duties. Nor here did the painful farce terminate; for a gentleman—a professed friend of Mr. Campbell, but who had lately become a member of the oligarchic clique—first gave out a hymn to the congregation, thanking God for their minister's safe arrival, then prayed with great fervour for his welfare—and finally took his stand with his back to the pulpit-door to keep him out. Not for one day also, but for six months, was this strange display of recusancy maintained unbroken.

During this warfare, although Mr. Campbell presented himself every Sunday at the appointed hour for the performance of his duties, there was no relenting on the part of the conspirators, so that he withdrew in silence as he came, and preached to nine-tenths of his congregation in a large hall, the

use of which had been secured for these services. Not content also with this annoying opposition, which shocked the feelings of the serious in London and furnished food for the merriment of the profane, the enemies of Mr. Campbell attempted to blacken his character both as a minister and a man. He was not only, they asserted, heterodox in doctrine, but too practical in his preaching to be evangelical—that he was Arminian rather than Calvinistic, and an Arian rather than a Trinitarian—that he was loose in the admission of members into the flock, so that the church at the Tabernacle was no better than an open communion—that his Bible-classes were mere debating clubs—that in public and private he was addicted to insincerity and falsehood; and that, in short, there was scarcely anything too mean and worthless at which he would stop short for compassing his ends. There are limits in the endurance of injuries beyond which patience ceases to be a virtue, and on the 18th of December, 1834, this vexatious case was brought for adjudication into the vice-chancellor's court. Thus reduced to a question of legal right, its merits were intelligible, and a conclusion made simple and express. It was against the arrogant claimants, and in favour of Mr. Campbell and his congregation, who were left in quiet possession, while the oligarchy was so utterly scattered that it could not afterwards be found. In reviewing this case many years afterwards, Mr. Campbell writes in a grateful spirit, "I have reason to reflect, with no small degree of satisfaction, on the general course adopted by my friends and myself. Even at this day I see very little on their part, or my own, to cause regret. Never did churches more lovingly, generously, and faithfully uphold a pastor, or more boldly, steadily, or perseveringly stand by a cause—the cause of truth and righteousness, justice and liberty. I count it an honour to have served such a people in the gospel of Christ, and to have shared with them in so noble and virtuous a struggle."

While Mr. Campbell was watching his case through the court, and studying the characters of the choice ornaments of the bar, all this was not enough for his active mind, and during these hours of waiting and suspense he occupied himself in planning one of his best literary works. It was a prize-essay offered for competition by a benevolent Christian gentleman, who wished that members of the Congregational denomination, although not educated for the ministry, should be more extensively employed than hitherto in the work of Christian teaching among the community at large, and who announced a prize of one hundred guineas for the best essay on this employment of a lay agency. It was a subject according to Campbell's own heart, upon which he also had large experience; and during the progress of the trial he had sketched out and prepared a large portion of the work, which finally appeared at the close of 1839 under the title of *Jehro, a System of Lay Agency in connection with Congregational Churches*. We are not informed of the number of competitors, but the judges had little hesitation in awarding the palm of superiority to *Jehro*, and on being published its popularity was almost universal. It is, on the whole, the most intellectual and elaborate, and perhaps the best, of all its author's writings.

Having now been borne into tranquil waters, he was enabled to resume his pastoral cares which had been so rudely disturbed; and as Tottenham Court Chapel, which by the late decision had been returned to his charge along with the Tabernacle, was dwarfed into a mere preaching station, he was

earnest in restoring it to more than its former amplitude. He accordingly established for it day and Sunday schools, a body of deacons for the care of the poor of his flock, prayer-meetings for the congregation, monthly meetings for supplying them with missionary intelligence, school and congregational libraries, which he extensively supplemented from his own collection, and district-meetings for Christian fellowship among the members of the church. The same course he pursued at the Tabernacle. He was also careful to obtain the best preachers from every evangelical nonconformist communion to assist him in supplying the pulpit of his two chapels. While his preparations for the pulpit were most carefully studied and prepared, and his public appearances as a preacher frequent, he had also had recourse to the press for the purpose of teaching his flock. He commenced by publishing a small volume reviewing the condition both of the churches and congregations, and setting forth what he deemed necessary to restore their efficiency. He published three catechisms for families and schools, with a text-book for Bible-classes. He added a series of letters on the subject of district-meetings, pastoral visitation, and other matters; and he published a hymn-book for the congregation and another for his schools. To facilitate the religious instruction of his Bible-classes and helpers' meetings, he published in 1836 the "*Youth's Guide to Sacred History*," a Catechism on the Facts of the New Testament Scriptures; and in 1854 another catechism on the *Facts of the Old Testament Scriptures*, both of these works distinguished by their simplicity as well as careful study and research. In 1836 he published his *Theology for Youth*, on the doctrines, experience, and duties of the Christian system—a work much needed, and which is highly valued by all who are engaged in Bible-class instruction. To complete the series of works on religious instruction and church discipline he also published his valuable treatise on *Church Fellowship*, with an *Essay on Marriage*. But his greatest work at this period of his authorship was, *Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions considered in their Mutual Relations*. The merit of these numerous publications, and the high place which their author held in the religious world, were not lost sight of in our northern seats of learning, and the diploma of D.D. was conferred upon him by the senatus of the university of St. Andrews.

The next important enterprise in which Dr. Campbell was engaged was the emancipation of the Bible from the fetters of monopoly, a deliverance which already had been achieved in Scotland. Against the monopoly of the royal printer for Scotland the Rev. Dr. Adam Thomson of Coldstream had entered his public protest in 1834, and had persevered in it so strenuously that in 1839, when the printer's patent expired, it was not renewed. The ordinary competition established in the printing of other books was now obtained for the Scriptures, and cheap Bibles of excellent type and paper were in circulation over Scotland at a price which would formerly have appeared fabulous. This example inspired Dr. Campbell. Could not the monopoly be also broken in England, where there was still greater need for its overthrow? He commenced the warfare by a series of letters in the columns of the *Patriot* newspaper, and afterwards, in conjunction with Dr. Thomson, made a tour over the principal towns and cities of the kingdom, explaining the enormity of the evil and suggesting the remedy. The conversations and public speeches of such an agitator did not fall unheeded, and the cry for cheap Bibles became one of the popular demands of the day. It

was not indeed the monopoly itself as the cost of the Scriptures which Dr. Campbell denounced as the head and front of the evil; and he suggested the four following remedies, with any one of which he would have been satisfied:—

"1. Let the Queen's printer's patent be forthwith abolished.

"2. Allow the importation of cheap Bibles for schools and the poor.

"3. Permit the British and Foreign Bible Society to print its own books.

"4. Let the patentees supply the Bible and Testament which the Bible Society was lately selling to schools at the prices for which the Society sold them—that is, at cost price."

Any of these measures, Dr. Campbell added, "would go far to meet our views of the exigency of the case. If you abolish the patent, and if you think that justice requires it, by all means compensate its holder, unless he be satisfied with the enormous gains already realized from the hard-earned pence of the poor peasantry, and the penniless children of our Sunday-schools. If these most reasonable overtures be rejected, then there remains only one course—England must force it. The voice of her millions will prevail." When the battle terminated the monopoly was not destroyed, but rendered almost innocuous, and copies of the Scriptures became so cheap that the Bible could be purchased for sixpence, and the New Testament for twopence. Some of Dr. Campbell's best friends, among whom was his efficient coadjutor, Dr. Thomson of Coldstream, were indignant that he should content himself with such a partial surrender. These cheap issues, they maintained, would only be temporary, and that when all was lulled into peace and forgetfulness, the monopoly would resume its ascendancy. But by the many his successful labours were applauded, and the general satisfaction was expressed by several gratifying testimonials.

In 1830 was formed the Congregational Union of England and Wales. Its object was to unite into closer union and co-operation the many Independent congregations, which, in consequence of their ecclesiastical organization, acted as separate bodies, and were too apt to lose sight of each other by the separation. One plan by which cohesiveness was to be given to this union was the establishment of a denominational literature in the form of a monthly magazine; and in drawing up the plan of it, the experience and sagacity of Dr. Campbell pointed him out for the task. He set himself as editor of the future work to plan its character, departments, and mode of operation; and in 1844 he commenced his editorial duties upon the magazine, termed the *Christian Witness*. Only two years after, he originated the plan of the *Christian's Penny Magazine*, of which also he was appointed editor. The success of these periodicals justified alike his planning and his superintendence. At first they had a large and almost unprecedented sale compared with other religious magazines. During the year 1846 no less than 1,600,000 copies were issued from the press, being an average monthly sale of 31,000 of the *Witness*, and 100,000 monthly of the *Penny*. At the end of twenty years the total numbers printed were more than 14,000,000, represented by a profit of £11,655, 14s. 6d., the larger part of which was devoted to the securing of deferred annuities to many of the Congregationalist pastors, and annual distributions to distressed brethren—the rest was invested in government securities as a permanent fund for the benefit of aged and afflicted Congregational ministers. After continuing editor of both periodicals during twenty-one years, Dr. Camp-

bell resigned his editorship, and the trustees and managers indicated their sense of the value of his services by a gratuity of £500, which they voted to him on his retirement from the charge.

In the formation of the London City Mission by Mr. Nasmith, Dr. Campbell took great interest, although at first he viewed it with distrust, feeling that one of the evils of the day was the endless multiplication of new societies, through which the old were neglected. When Nasmith died five years afterward exhausted by his heroic labours, Dr. Campbell, who had been acquainted with him in Glasgow when a youth, was thought the fittest person to write his biography. And well and affectionately he fulfilled this duty in the *Memoir of David Nasmith*, which he published in 1844. But however home and city missions might interest him, it was to foreign missions that his enthusiasm was chiefly devoted; and when the news arrived of the untimely death of John Williams, who fell a martyr to his missionary zeal, being murdered by the natives of one of the South Sea Islands, the writing of his life also was devolved upon Dr. Campbell. This choice was appropriate, as Williams had received his first spiritual impressions and religious education in the Tabernacle; and well did the minister of the Tabernacle satisfy the general expectation, by *The Martyr of Erromanga*, in which the character, labours, and death of the devoted missionary, as well as the philosophy of Christian missions, are so eloquently portrayed.

In 1846-7 Dr. Campbell was involved in a personal controversy in consequence of having written a series of articles in the *Christian Witness* upon Wesleyan Methodism. The reply of the party was characterized by such bitterness and calumny that the Doctor could not do otherwise than refute it; but while doing this both ably and satisfactorily, he caught the infection from his opponents, and returned their asperity in no stinted measure. It was in no such contests that he was best qualified to shine. A more congenial occupation in which he employed himself at this time was the preparation of a volume of *Sermons on Self*, delivered to his congregation, for the press, "to promote the present gratification and the future welfare of an affectionate flock." The chief topics of these discourses, ten in number, will give by their titles a general idea of the work, and are as follows:—"Self-examination," "Self-approval," "Self-condemnation," "Self-denial," "Self-indulgence," "Self-distrust," "Self-confidence," "Self-preservation," and "Self-destruction."

For some time past Dr. Campbell had been impressed with regret at the immense numerical superiority of the pernicious immoral newspapers as compared with the counteracting works of the Bible and Tract Societies, and although already the editor of two magazines, he also wished to have a newspaper of his own in which he could maintain a daily and hourly opposition to the preponderating evil. While his thoughts were in this direction, he received a letter from the committee of the *Patriot* newspaper intimating the means by which his wishes might be gratified. His observations in the *Christian Witness* had suggested the project, and they were anxious to establish a new weekly periodical, devoted to the interests of benevolence and religion, and connected with those of nonconformity—and of this they earnestly desired him to undertake the editorship, otherwise the attempt must be abandoned. To insure its success, they also offered to relieve him of his pulpit duties for twelve months by procuring substitutes for their performance, while future arrangements might be made according to contingencies.

After several weeks of deliberation he decided on accepting the offer, moved by these words of Mordecai: "If thou altogether hold thy peace at this time, then shall enlargement and deliverance arise from another quarter; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed; and *who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?*" He undertook the management upon the express condition that beyond having his pulpit supplied he was to receive no emolument whatever; he drew up the plan, and announced the principles upon which this periodical, to be called the *British Banner*, would be conducted. "We will never cease to insist," he thus announced, "that national can only be the effect of individual regeneration. On these grounds, not simply rejecting, but resenting the idea that the ignorant, the idle, the improvident, the vicious can be raised to happiness and respectability by mere legislation, the conductors of the *British Banner* will strain every nerve to elevate the moral character of the people, as the only path which will infallibly place them within the pale of the constitution. Politics, in their columns, will occupy much the same proportion as, in their judgment, they should in the mind of a superior Christian citizen. As to social economics, while they contend for the rights of labour, they will boldly assert the claims of capital, not forgetting, however, the duties of the capitalist. They will take the moderate common-sense practical view of all subjects, to the exclusion of crotchets; and they will in no case waste their breath in the pursuit of the airy, to the rejection of the substantial; but notwithstanding this, their motto will be—PROGRESS IN EVERYTHING."

The new journal first appeared at the commencement of 1848, and its early success was unparalleled: no religious newspaper had hitherto commenced under such promising auspices. Year after year it continued to display the force of its public influence and the choice character of its editorship. Dr. Campbell was also enabled to commit himself more exclusively to the work, as at the commencement of his labours on the *British Banner* his voice broke down, and from this and other causes he was unfitted for his ministerial work, which he was obliged to resign into other hands. His literary energy and perseverance were remarkable. When his newspaper was started he had four amanuenses established in his office at Bolt Court, who were successively summoned to his room, each of whom received from him almost a quarter of an hour's dictation either written in short-hand or dictated extemporaneously; for his habits of extemporaneous preaching had given him great quickness of thought, and remarkable facility in language. While thus so closely occupied, he was impatient of interruption, especially by frivolous callers; and when any of these appeared, he would look at his watch, which was always placed in front of him, and say, "Now, sir, two minutes is all I can give you. What do you want? Come to the point." But his busiest day was Thursday, in which none, under whatever pretence, was to enter his room; and when this rule was transgressed, the Doctor invariably said to the intruder, "I cannot see anybody, I cannot see even angels to-day." On one occasion, when a visitor strongly recommended, and coming on urgent business, came upon him thus occupied, he only heard him for a few moments, and added by way of apology, "If the angel Gabriel was to call, I should ask him to retire and walk up-stairs." The management of his *Penny Magazine*, *Witness*, and *Banner*, independently of the pastoral duties of Tottenham Court Road Chapel and the Tabernacle, which he still retained—each of which would have

been occupation sufficient for one mind—will not only explain his solicitude about freedom from interruption, but apologize for his bluntness when his privacy was invaded. So early, however, was his work commenced in the morning, so effectual his method of saving time, and so much thereby accomplished in a single day, that he could find leisure to write *Popery and Puseyism Illustrated*, which was published in 1851. The work consists of four essays, in which the unscriptural claims of the Papists and Puseyites are exposed and refuted, and the superiority of genuine Protestantism vindicated. In 1853 Dr. Campbell published a little work, entitled *Counsels on the Choice of Pastors*. In 1856 he published six letters on the moral and spiritual condition of the metropolis, pointing out their diseased condition, and suggesting the best means of cure.

Great as were the merits and wide the popularity of the *British Banner*, it was unfortunate that Dr. Campbell should have undertaken its management. Highly talented though he was, it was not the kind of work in which he was best fitted to excel, and the cause of this is so well explained in Campbell's obituary, written in the *English Independent* of March 28th, 1867, that we cannot refrain from quoting its statement. "The truth is, that the mind of Dr. Campbell was not well adapted for the work which, in the newspaper line, he had undertaken. It embraced a large variety of subjects, some of which he had but little studied. It required more various and more special information than he had collected. It exacted a readiness which he never possessed, and for which no amount of mere labour could suffice as a substitute. It involved an art only to be acquired by much practice, of which he had none. Above all, it called for a power of dividing attention among a dozen subjects at once; whereas the power in which he excelled, both by nature and by habit, was that of concentrating attention exclusively upon one. It is therefore no disparagement of Dr. Campbell's just reputation to say that he never proved equal to himself as editor of a newspaper. That he worked hard and rendered useful service in the two journals which he originated, is not denied even by those who sometimes thought his efforts misdirected, and were compelled to take exception to the methods which he used; but to his warmest admirers, no less than to observers who watched him with a critical reserve, it cannot but have been apparent that nearly every effort which gave a character of energy, not to speak of success, to the labours of Dr. Campbell as a newspaper editor, consisted in a series of epistolary compositions addressed to real or imaginary correspondents, and strictly limited to one subject or class of subjects." It was not, however, owing to this deficiency that his connection with the *Banner* was dissolved, but his uncompromising earnestness for what he conceived to be the cause of truth, and the unsparing manner in which he advanced its claims, be its obstacles or opponents what they might. This involved him in controversies which he did not always conduct in the best of tempers, and the *Banner* which he carried so boldly into these affrays was apt to sustain damages which its proprietors did not care to hazard. After some bickering with them on this account, his editorship of the newspaper terminated at the close of 1856, and the *Banner* itself became extinct.

But although the Doctor thus threw down the *British Banner*, it was only to take up the *British Standard* in its stead—a newspaper as like the former in character and spirit as the one name was like the other, but free from the incumbrance of managers or

proprietors; and he triumphed in the thought that by the absence of such restrictions he would be able to express his sentiments without check or limit. Very soon after it was established an important occasion presented itself, and he rushed into the field of controversy. In a republication of Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, Dr. Davidson, one of the professors of Lancashire Independent College, had produced an additional volume which was considered as having a tendency to unsettle the faith of inquirers regarding the authenticity and inspiration of parts of the Old Testament. Shocked that a teacher of the future teachers of religion, and one belonging to his own particular church, should have been guilty of so extreme an inconsistency, Dr. Campbell proclaimed his opposition. His desire was to keep the colleges untainted by heresy; and the letters which he published on the occasion were thought to have had a large influence in producing that important result.

On the death of his old friend, the Rev. J. A. James of Birmingham, Dr. Campbell published the work entitled "*A Review of his History, Character, Eloquence, and Literary Labours*, with Dissertations on the Pulpit and the Press, Academic Preaching, College Reform," &c. &c.

The solicitude of Dr. Campbell for the welfare of British Protestantism, and his alarm at the progress of Popery in our island, was manifested by the publication of his work, *The Conquest of England: in a series of Letters to the Prince Consort*. Desirous also that its influence might extend in head-quarters, he sent a copy of these *Letters* to the Earl of Shaftesbury, to each member of the Episcopal bench, and to many of the leading clergymen of all denominations.

In 1862, in consequence of the opening up of China to British commerce, and partly to British rule, Dr. Campbell, who had made the Christian development of that vast empire an important subject of his studies, now wrote a series of articles in the *British Standard* on the conversion of China, which he represented as being, in connection with India, the great field of enterprise for modern missions. The letters also reappeared in the *British Ensign*, and produced such an impression that it was proposed to publish 100,000 extra copies of the *Ensign* for general circulation. The proposal was acceptable, and the paper was subscribed for by individuals not for a few copies but a thousand. This success excited the ire or envy of the *Saturday Review*, and in a bitter article upon the subject they characterized Dr. Campbell's zeal in behalf of missions to China as a device "to make a losing paper go." They also asserted that the subscription lists were not authenticated, that the subscribers themselves were mere myths, that the letters from correspondents all bore the mark of one hand, and that the whole plan was a deception contrived for purposes of gain. These were serious moral charges, for which Dr. Campbell demanded a public recantation and apology; and when these were refused he brought an action against the printer of the *Review*, and the case was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench in April, 1863. The result of the trial was that a verdict was found in favour of Dr. Campbell, and the opposite party sentenced to a fine of £50.

In 1865 the Doctor published his work on "*Popery, Ancient and Modern*;"—its Spirit, Principles, Character, Objects, Prospects, Checks, and Extirpation; with Warnings and Counsels to the People of England." This work he intended to be the last he should ever write, and he considered it as a bequest to his countrymen. It was characterized not only

by all his wonted power in controversy, but also a double portion of his controversial bitterness—and for this he justified himself by the example of Luther and the early reformers. But he forgot that in the simple manners of those early ages an explicitness of language was used which could not now be tolerated; and that words which in those days were simply expressive of dislike, are now denounced by the common consent of society, and punishable by law as subversive of the public peace. In that war at outrance which must be waged against Popery, the cause of truth will scarcely be benefited by using in the nineteenth century the spirit and phraseology which characterized the sixteenth.

In the same year Dr. Campbell published his *Essays on Baptismal Regeneration*. In these essays, fifteen in number, he discusses the different views entertained by different churches of the nature and efficacy of baptism, and denounces the views of it as held by the Church of England. "The subject," he declares, "is vital not only to her real usefulness, but to her very existence as a Protestant institution. The universality of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration will be the sure prelude to her overthrow, and the re-establishment of the Church of Rome, with all her darkness and bondage, misery and wickedness. . . . The doctrine of salvation by sacraments is a deadly delusion, the overthrow of the gospel, the destruction of souls, and the path to perdition."

So early as about the year 1834 Dr. Campbell had contemplated writing a life of Dr. Whitfield, whom he justly regarded as the chief of modern preachers and reformers; but the magnitude and importance of the subject were such that it could not be lightly commenced, while the throng of occupations which succeeded left him no leisure for sitting down to it in earnest; and when in old age he would have renewed the attempt he found his decayed strength incompetent to such a task. Another enterprise which he also meditated was to write his own autobiography, but in this he proceeded no farther than the outline of certain chapters coming down to the time of his appointment as successor to Mr. Wilks.

Having outlived most of his distinguished contemporaries, Dr. Campbell resolved that when he had reached the age of seventy years he would retire from the editorship of his magazines, the *Christian Witness* and the *Christian's Penny Magazine*. So many were now the religious periodicals in the field that he thought denominational serials unnecessary, and that it was in vain to contend with the cheap press in its varied and manifold resources. He therefore announced his resignation to the trustees and managers in March, 1864, who received it with regretful acquiescence, and voted to him a gratuity of £500 as a testimonial of the value of his editorial services during twenty-one years. But while this token was confined to two of his periodicals, a movement, commenced in Glasgow, had been going on among his friends at large to make his old age comfortable, and the result was the subscription of a testimonial to him of £3000. In 1865 he resigned the pastorate of the church and congregation of the Tabernacle. On doing this he wrote: "Our last load is now being packed, and in an hour or two we shall turn our backs for ever on our old house. I shall do so with emotion, but not with sorrow. I feel I have done right in giving up the Tabernacle. I have had quite enough of it, and I feel that my mission there is ended. I have done much and suffered much for its good, and a generation is risen which 'knows not Joseph.' There is a time to go as well as a time to come. The former is my case, and I go with cheerfulness."

Being thus freed from the greater part of his incumbrances, Dr. Campbell retired, but not to solitude or a sick chamber; he had been a widower for eight years, his private disposition was domestic, companionable, and affectionate, while his health promised that years of tranquil enjoyment were still in store for him. He therefore entered a second time into marriage, his choice on this occasion being Mrs. Fontaine, a lady of large fortune, and they were married on the 13th of January, 1866. Except the management of the *British Standard*, and the preparation of his own autobiography, Dr. Campbell had got free of his intellectual labours and public duties, and was anticipating the comfortable rest of old age after a life of active toil and trouble, when it was unexpectedly changed into the rest that is enduring, for he died on March 26th, 1867, in the seventy-second year of his age—and he died as he had lived, rejoicing in the faith which he had been so earnest to teach to others.

From the foregoing sketch, necessarily a very summary one, of a long and very active life, it will at once be seen that Dr. Campbell was no ordinary character. Born in a humble rank of life, and surrounded by many impediments, he set himself in earnest to become an intellectual leader of men of thought, and never rested until his high aim was accomplished, for in the department he had chosen, which was that of a nonconformist minister, he became an authority by which a large portion of society was directed in its opinions. And truly not without toil was such pre-eminence won! As a preacher he was more abundant in labour, as well as more painstaking, than most of his clerical brethren. As a literary workman, besides his monthly and weekly oversight of his journals, and his constant communications to their columns, he was the author of separate published works that would fill at least twenty octavo volumes. And as a controversialist he dealt such tremendous blows as few were able to resist. In fine, we extract the following just description of him from his funeral sermon: "His endowments and attainments were multifarious and marvellous. He was a man of iron will, of untiring energy, of unflinching courage, and of vast information. Few men that ever lived have been able to work so hard—speak and write so much. He might not be in the highest poetical sense of the word, a man of genius, yet he had a fine imagination, though he dealt largely with matters of fact. He might not be in the highest sense a deep philosophical thinker, or an acute and accurate scholar, yet he was in himself an encyclopedia of knowledge. He was unacquainted with science, but was a well-read divine, had all but exhausted religious literature, and had a power of expression and utterance vivid, striking, forcible, overwhelming."

"In the pulpit he was always interesting; on the platform he was sometimes matchless; in private he was a child with children, tender as a woman, firm when required, ever cheerful, and always grateful. To sum up his whole character, he was 'a faithful man.' He is gone: gone gently as goes down the summer sun in a cloudless sky."

CLARK, THOMAS, M.D. This able chemist and professor of chemistry was born in Ayr, on the 31st March, 1801. His father, who was captain of a merchantman, was distinguished by singular energy, integrity, and circumspection, and during a long professional career had sailed in every sea without sustaining any serious disaster; while his wife, a woman of strong and reflective mind, originated the well-known Ayrshire needlework. Their children showed

themselves worthy of such a parentage, those of them who grew up to maturity evincing strength of character in various ways, and this was especially the case with the subject of the present memoir. Thomas was educated at the Ayr academy, attended at that time by upwards of 400 scholars, many of whom afterwards won distinction by their talents and attainments; and the course of education pursued in it was of a most liberal character, comprising French, classics, and mathematics; while the rector, Mr. Jackson, afterwards professor of natural philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, gave occasional lectures in experimental science. At this school, however, young Clark at first made little perceptible progress, so that he was considered a heavy, dull boy until about his thirteenth year, when he began the study of mathematics, and became one of the most distinguished boys of the institution. It was then, too, that the original inquiring spirit by which he was to be distinguished through life broke out, and the strange schoolboy theories and schemes which he propounded obtained for him the nickname of "Philosopher Tom." Among his contemporaries at the academy who were afterwards to attain distinction were Lord Cowan; Mr. Weir, editor of the *Daily News*, and talented miscellaneous writer; and Mr. McClelland, accountant in Glasgow.

In 1816 Thomas Clark, accompanied by Mr. McClelland, went to Glasgow, and entered the counting-house of Charles Macintosh and Co., the inventors of the waterproof cloth, as book-keeper and cashier. At that time the principal business of the firm was the preparation of the material known as "cudbear," which was used as a scarlet dye, more especially in the manufacture of cloth for the army; and before Clark left their employment they had commenced the manufacture of the india-rubber cloth. Mr. Macintosh also, from a mineral found in the margin of the coal formation, had created an extensive alum manufacture. It was in these, rather than in book-keeping, that Clark discovered where his strength lay; his mind was exclusively directed to mineralogy and chemistry, and their application to the arts; and on discovering the bent of his mind, the Macintoshes, through their recommendation, obtained for him the situation of chemist in Tennant's chemical works at St. Rollox.

It was in 1826, after he had left St. Rollox, and when as yet he was only in his twenty-fifth year, that Clark commenced his public life in consequence of his appointment as lecturer in chemistry to the Glasgow Mechanics' Institution. He had already followed up his original investigations, and in the programme of his lectures for the above-mentioned year he gave his table of chemical elements and formulæ, from which the advancement of his views on the atomic theory, and the theory of salts, may be inferred. Of this the following statement read before the Royal Chemical Society is worthy of notice:—"That theory of the constitution of salts in which they are represented as uniformly consisting of a metal or hydrogen united with a radical, simple or compound, no doubt originated in Davy's discovery of the composition of chloride of sodium; and the credit of the generalization is generally ascribed to that philosopher. But it does not appear that Davy ever expressed the view in precise terms. In objecting to the rival view—of the presence of acids and oxides in salts like the sulphate of potash, and in illustrating his binary theory of certain other salts—he looked upon the former class as triple compounds of metalloids, metals, and oxygen. He admits, though with inaccurate numbers, that the atomic weight of hydrogen is 1, of oxygen 16, of

carbon 12, and of sulphur 16; water being composed of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen. But the new theory, particularly in its relation to the function of hydrogen in the hydrated acids, appears to have been first properly appreciated and fully developed by Dr. Clark in his early chemical lectures of 1826. It was sagaciously applied by him to explain the proportion of acids in salts of peroxides, like sulphate of alumina, and was a manifest advance upon the canon of Barzelius, that the oxygen of the acid is always a multiple of the oxygen in the base. Dr. Clark also interpreted the atomic theory less rigidly than most of his English contemporaries, and more in accordance with modern views. He allowed portions of an equivalent to be represented, as $\frac{2}{3}$ Fe, the quantity of iron united with one equivalent of oxygen in the peroxide, which he could thus assimilate to a protoxide in constitution. He exercised also a free judgment in fixing the atomic weights of elements, and we find in his table of 1826 carbon made 12 and oxygen 16, in reference to hydrogen as 1."

It was in this memorable year 1826, when he surprised the scientific world by new and startling theories, that Dr. Clark published his papers, the first on the *Pyrophosphate of Soda*; the second on the *Arcaniate of Soda*; and the third on a *New Phosphate of Soda*. It was on the first of these that his chemical reputation was the most permanently established—to wit, his discovery of the pyrophosphate of soda, in consequence of the effectual support it gave to the doctrine of isomerism then struggling for existence, and to the important influence of the phosphoric acids in opening up the more recent ideas of polyatomicity. Sir John Herschel, in his *Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy*, declared Clark's research, by which he discovered the existence and the use of pyrophosphate of soda in chemical history, to be "one of the most felicitous examples of a successful induction."

In 1827 he entered the university of Glasgow as a medical student, and took the degree of M.D. in 1831. It was not however with a view to practise as a physician, but to teach chemistry in a medical school. In 1829 he became apothecary to the Glasgow Infirmary; and while holding that appointment, he contributed to the *Glasgow Medical Journal* the three following articles:—1. "On the Pharmaceutical Preparation of the Precipitated Carbonate of Iron." 2. "A Chemical Examination of Singleton's Golden Ointment, with an Improved Formula for Preparing the Red Precipitate Ointment." 3. "On a New Process for preparing Medicinal Prussic Acid."¹

In 1832 Dr. Clark published in the *Westminster Review* a very elaborate inquiry into the whole system of existing weights and measures—an article which attracted great attention at the time, and the interest of which has not yet wholly subsided. Another article on the patent laws was contributed by him to the same magazine. In 1834 he took an active part in the matter of patents. The use of the hot-blast in furnaces for the expeditious smelting of iron having been patented by Mr. Neilson of Glasgow, in whom the discovery originated, a long litigation followed to defend his right from invasion, in which Dr. Clark acted as scientific adviser to Mr. Rutherford, afterwards lord-advocate, the counsel for the patentee. He also published a paper on the working of the process, which led some unreflective people into the idea that Dr. C. was not merely the expositor, but the inventor of the hot-blast.

In 1833 an important change for the better oc-

¹ *Glasgow Medical Journal*, Nos. 11, 12, 14.

curred in his scientific position. The chair of chemistry in Marischal College, Aberdeen, having become vacant, Dr. Clark became a candidate for the professorship, which was to be filled by a competitive examination. It was a keen competition, and in spite of his high reputation, obstructions were interposed to his election. It was declared, for instance, by four members of the *senatus*, that he had not an academical education, as was required by the rules of election for the chair; that under these his diploma of M.D. was not sufficient, and that he ought also to be Master of Arts. A different view, however, was taken by the rest of the professors, and the election of Dr. Clark as professor was decided by the casting vote of the principal, Dr. Dewar. As usual in such cases, his appointment occasioned considerable umbrage in the *senatus*, against which he was obliged to make way as he best could; but he soon showed that as professor of chemistry he was the right man in the right place. His mode of lecturing is thus described in the article of the *Journal of the Chemical Society* from which we have already quoted:—

"As a chemical lecturer, he had strongly marked peculiarities. Applying his thoroughly original and independent mind to chemistry, as to everything else, he took nothing on trust himself; and it was his aim to bring before the students whatever doubts and difficulties attended the subject, and to exhibit the evidence, experimental or theoretical, for each position. He also paid great attention to the manner of stating and expounding his science. Instead of commencing with the generalities of the atomic theory, he described in detail a few of the leading elements—as oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, sulphur—stating, as matters of fact, the proportions of each in the several compounds, water, carbonic acid, &c., without making any references to the theory of combination. He next took up the atomic theory, and expounded it minutely, showing how far it was hypothetical, and how far an expression of experimental truth. Then followed the usual detail of the elements and their compounds, interspersed with discussions of leading points, as the constitution of the salts and acids, the theory of muriatic acid, the theory of the prussiates, &c. He devoted occasional lectures to leading processes in the arts, as the manufacture of coal-gas. His method of describing these was carefully studied, but was chiefly resolvable into the practice of starting from known and familiar elements, and showing how they became transformed in the course of the operation to the more recondite products. Many of his students probably remember to this hour the manufacture of sulphuric acid, as depicted by him from his acquaintance with the works at St. Rollox." Of the method and arrangement of the subjects on which he lectured, the same writer thus informs us:—"There was what many parties considered a want of order in his course. He did not proceed by following out a systematic and exhaustive classification of the elements, as in an ordinary chemical text-book. He rather selected important and typical bodies, making them the representatives of general classes and doctrines. This was especially his way with organic chemistry, under which he merely adverted to a few important substances. Neither was he systematic in dealing with the chemistry of drugs; a few substances that he had thoroughly mastered being all that he took notice of. Indeed, system was never his strong point; he disliked the empty vagueness often disguised under a systematic array, and preferred the minute and thorough investigation of single and isolated facts. The accurate determination of any

fact, however limited its place in a system, or even its utility, was always to him an intense satisfaction."

Although the election of Dr. Clark to a university professorship gave him a high as well as definite position in science, it could not offer him the substantial profits he might have obtained as a commercial chemist. In this capacity his practical turn of mind and his experience in chemical manufactures would have been certain to lead him into extensive practice, from which his exclusive position, and distance from the seats of our great commercial manufactures, had now removed him. Only one tenure of this kind he held, and occupied for several years: it was that of adviser to a chemical company in Staffordshire; but owing to disputes among the proprietors, the business was interrupted, and his connection with it dissolved. When he went to his chair in Aberdeen, two subjects had chiefly employed his investigations, one of which was the theory of hydrometry and the practice of hydrometer-making. In this he succeeded so well, that he constructed an instrument which gave at once by its own readings the true specific gravity of liquids, instead of requiring a calculation by a formula. The other subject was the detection of arsenic, which he had chiefly studied in connection with the soda and mineral acid manufactures, and he discovered methods of detecting the slightest quantity of arsenic in every one of these manufacturing products. So satisfied was he with the success of these discoveries, that although his account of them would have been very profitable, he never prepared any paper on the subject. He was content with their results in the improved methods employed in his own laboratory for purifying the sulphuric and hydrochloric acids, and for testing arsenics in poisons.

In 1835 Dr. Clark published his paper *On the Application of the Hot-blast in the Manufacture of Cast-iron*, in consequence of his connection with the defence of Mr. Neilson's patent, and in this he gave the true explanation of the great benefits arising from the process. In 1836 he published his letter to Mitscherlich on a *Difficulty in Isomorphism, and on the Revised Constitution of the Oxygen Salts*.

But of all his chemical discoveries, Dr. Clark is best known by those which he made in connection with water. To soften the hard waters of chalk districts was the public desideratum, and about the year 1840 he had thought of effecting it by the application of a fact already known—to wit, that lime-water, poured into a water containing lime in solution, as chalk, threw down the old hardening matter with the new, and softened the water on the whole. Hitherto the knowledge of this fact had been only held as a vague theory; but convinced that there was truth in it, he set his whole mind to ascertain its precise mode of operation, and the best means of accurately and easily testing the hardness of water. For this he devised what is called the soap-test, which was found so accurate, that for more than twenty years it has been universally employed in testing waters, and has decided in the choice of that element for several of our towns. Having advanced thus far, he proposed by its agency to soften chalk waters by lime in the exact measure of the requirement. Many of our large provincial towns being supplied by water from the chalk, and having London for the chief sufferer in the evil, Dr. Clark naturally hoped that his process would be favourably received by the water companies in the metropolis, and therefore took out a patent for his invention in 1841. But the London companies rejected his remedy, and have continued to reject it to the present hour. And yet it has been well tested, for

it was first applied at Plumstead, Woolwich; next at Castle Howard, the seat of the Earl of Carlisle; then at Catherane, Surrey; and recently at the Chiltern Hills—and in all of these cases with perfect success. It is possible that the plan may come into more extensive or even general use, but like many such cases of tardy conviction, the change will come too late to benefit the inventor. In 1845 his patent expired, but after a hearing before the judicial committee of the privy-council, it obtained the rare privilege of being renewed for seven more years; no benefit, however, was derived by Dr. Clark, but rather trouble and expense, although he had reasonably hoped that his invention, being a great national boon, would have secured him an ample fortune as well as fame. Upon it he had spent a large portion of his life, his water-tests were everywhere employed, and their correctness universally acknowledged—and he was still left what he was before—a poor professor of Aberdeen.

At the beginning of the session 1843-4 the question of the abolition of university tests was taken up by the senatus of Marischal College in a series of resolutions moved by Dr. Clark. In the preparation and correction of these he spent, as was usual with him on great occasions, an enormous amount of labour, and was greatly excited by the subject. This told upon him in the course of the session, as he became seriously ill of disease in the brain, by which his lecturing was interrupted, and he never afterwards was competent for the work of his class. He was obliged to leave Aberdeen; and for several years he resided, first in his mother's house at Glasgow, and afterwards at Rothesay, while his malady continued to be so severe as constantly to torment him with headaches, and often confine him to bed. After four years of such suffering, he was induced in 1848 to try the hydropathic cure, then only coming into practice; and derived from it such benefit, that although he was not entirely cured, he was renewed for much of the business of active life. In 1849 he married, and in the same year he resumed his residence in Aberdeen, with the hope of being able to prosecute his college duties; but he found that his strength, although improved, was still unequal to the task. He made himself useful however to the college in the struggles that ended in the union of the Aberdeen universities, which led in 1860 to his being superannuated. But he had already laid the university under a debt of gratitude, not merely by his excellence as one of its teachers, but by his active labours in its behalf. In all the discussions connected with medical education he always took a leading part. He was the chief promoter of the scheme of examinations pursued at Marischal College, and an improver of their strictness and severity. He was also deputed by the senatus to watch over the medical bills introduced into parliament in 1844 and 1845, and spent many weeks in London for that purpose.

Although the brain disease by which Dr. Clark was attacked in 1844 compelled him to quit his regular occupations, it could not extinguish his mental activity, or prevent him from intellectual exertion. When he was obliged to abandon his laboratory, it was only to betake himself to a new field of inquiry, which was the transition of the Anglo-Saxon into the English language. Had it indeed been a transition from one dialect to another? Hallam and others have maintained that such was the case, and that less than a century sufficed for the change. This hasty conclusion, however, was too much for Dr. Clark, and he proceeded to a laborious examination of the Anglo-Saxon chronicles of Eng-

land in connection with the early English of the thirteenth century, within which space the assumed transition period was comprised; and he came to the conclusion that our modern English was a dialect coexisting with the Anglo-Saxon, instead of having been derived from it. Leaving nothing upon this subject of difficult inquiry but notes, which may aid the investigations of some future philologist upon the question, the Doctor's next study was the reformation of our English spelling—a subject which excited much interest about twenty years ago, and still awaits a settlement. After a long series of experiments upon various forms of a phonetic alphabet, he at length settled upon a scheme of vowel pronunciation, which was thought by others as well as himself sufficient for the difficulties of the case. He also tried new forms of alphabetic characters for some of our consonants, and even went so far as to study the reformation of the whole, for the purpose of making them more distinct. This philological enthusiasm was one of his original characteristics he had never lost sight of, and the manner in which it was exercised is thus described by his biographer:—"From early years he gave great attention to English style, and made the idioms of the language a matter of special research. He investigated a number of authors of different ages, and made many interesting notes of their peculiarities. He made a careful inquiry as to the English relatives, and pointed out the characteristic effect of 'that' as compared with 'who' and 'which,' showing by decisive instances the benefit that would accrue by keeping up this distinction as it had been generally observed in our older writers, and is still attended to in good conversation.¹ He also showed privately many illustrations of the placing of adverbial words, as 'not' and 'only,' on which the ordinary grammars were either silent or confused. He applied a severe criticism to all vagueness and indistinct reference in the pronouns generally, and especially censured the indiscriminate use of 'it,' and pointed out peculiarities in the pronoun never adverted to by any English grammarian or critic. He took pains to correct the phraseology of the students' written exercises, and often gave invaluable aid to authors, young and old. Although he freely communicated the results of these various grammatical inquiries, his note-books are probably still unexhausted of their interest. It was only to be expected that his own compositions should afford traces of these studies. His style could not be characterized in a few words: it is strongly marked with his individuality; and a good service will be rendered to students by the collected publication of his scattered writings. Many a volume has been composed with far less care and thought than he bestowed upon a pamphlet."

Among the many questions that occupied his active mind was the historical evidences of Christianity, which he thought still in an imperfect state, and he was of opinion that much could be done for that important subject by careful investigation. Accordingly, in 1848 he turned his attention to the historical origin of the Gospels with more than his wonted application, and having prepared a series of comparisons of the four Evangelists, he pasted them in columns side by side, the parallel passages making four sets of comparisons, one in the order of each Gospel. Certain conclusions as to the verbal dependence of the Gospels on each other were suggested to him by a minute study of these parallelisms. But

¹ The result of these inquiries has been published in Professor Bain's *English Grammar*.

a question as to verbal agreement or discrepancy must ultimately be referred to the Greek original, and he felt the necessity of qualifying himself to examine it from this point of view. Here, however, he was met with the uncertainty arising from the recent introduction of numerous and various readings into the Greek text, which he was obliged to study also, and many years were employed in this anxious and difficult research before the question could be determined. Seldom, indeed, if ever, was such elaborateness of inquiry manifested by the most patient and painstaking of theologians. The result, however, was satisfactory, as he thought that the determination of nine out of ten of the various readings were in favour of the established version of the Greek Testament—a discovery which he announced with peculiar pleasure. Thus far he had advanced in his tabulation of the readings of the first three Gospels, and it was hoped that his assistants would be able to complete the work on the plan he had established. He also appointed a scholar of the highest competence to superintend the publication of the work in the event of his dying before it was completed.

The other writings of Dr. Clark were chiefly connected with university reform, of which he was a strong advocate from the beginning. So early as 1833 he published a pamphlet entitled *Reform in the University of Glasgow*, in which he drew out a plan of a complete university constitution, with a new governing body, approaching in resemblance to the recently constituted university courts in the Scottish universities. The pamphlet also contains a minute examination of Mr. Oswald's bill for the university of Glasgow. Soon after his appointment to the chair in Marischal College, the question of the union of the two Aberdeen universities into one, which had occasionally been agitated, was brought up by Mr. Bannerman's bill, and again by the royal commission of 1836. On this occasion Dr. Clark, who had carefully studied the subject, produced a letter to the commission, which, says his biographer, "may one day be looked back to with interest." In January, 1850, a pamphlet having appeared challenging the right of the Marischal College to grant degrees in divinity, law, or medicine, Dr. Clark wrote an answer to it, arguing the question from a decision of the House of Lords, under Lord-chancellor Hardwicke, in 1745. This pamphlet of Dr. Clark was remarkable for its style, elaborate statements, and forcible conclusive arguments, in which he ably vindicated the rights of his university in granting degrees. The question of the union of colleges in consequence of the introduction of the Scotch universities' bill, and its clauses for uniting King's College and Marischal College into one university, again called Dr. Clark into the field of controversy, and he opposed such union by many published statements and memorials. As they at present existed, he thought the Aberdeen colleges, from the manageable dimensions of their classes, were well adapted for effective teaching; but this advantage he apprehended would be lost if the colleges should be fused together, and every class have its numbers doubled. Besides these intellectual labours connected with university reform, Dr. Clark was a frequent contributor of leading articles in the journals upon the important public events of the day. Being an ardent politician of the liberal school, he was animated by the march of progress, and his articles, which were distinguished by pungency and pertinacity, generally appeared in the editorial column, and thus took the front rank in the contest. Such was his career to the close—the action of an intellect

that knew not how to rest, and with which every subject in turn was of the highest importance. The various qualities of his character are thus comprised in the article read before the Royal Chemical Society on the 30th March, 1868:—

"A much more extended notice would be necessary to give an adequate impression of Clark's various labours and many-sidedness. His industry between the ages of twenty and forty must have been enormous. His intellectual faculties belonged to the highest class. His strongest feature may be expressed by sagacity, and his delight was to attain his ends by the simplest and often the seemingly most unlikely means. He had essentially a practical mind; his originality and his sagacity took the direction of practical suggestions. His love of minute accuracy, so valuable in itself, was carried to a pitch of extravagance, which was perhaps his chief foible as an investigator. He never knew when to have done refining and improving; hence the unfinished state of so many of his inquiries. His attention to style was an additional source of embarrassment and delay when he had any work to publish.

"The energy and vehemence of all his determinations made him urgent and imperious; and while increasing his sway over others, often excited no small hostility and dislike. He was furious in his onslaught when roused by opposition, yet he could also control himself and employ all the resources of his cultivated expression in suavity, courtesy, and conciliation. His loves and his hates were alike on a large scale, but his amiable side greatly preponderated. His generosity and sympathy were manifested both in public spirit and private benefits. He was looked up to and beloved by the whole circle of his intimate friends."

For two or three months before his death Dr. Clark had been ailing, but not so much as to alarm his friends. On the morning, however, of the 27th of November, 1867, he was unable to rise as usual; he soon became insensible, and expired at two o'clock in the afternoon. He left a widow, but no children, his only child, an amiable and gifted boy, having died a few years previous to his own decease, by which bereavement the close of his own career was sensibly affected.

CRAWFURD, JOHN, F.R.S. In this distinguished individual were comprised the characters of a great traveller, an accomplished Oriental scholar, an able administrator, a sound geographer and ethnologist, and an accurate statist. His father, Mr. Samuel Crawford, a man of sense and prudence, and brought up to the medical profession, having visited Islay, married Margaret Campbell, daughter of James Campbell, of Ballinaley, the proprietor of a small estate which had been for several generations in the family, and there their son John was born on the 13th August, 1783. He received his early education in the village school of Bowmore, and from the instructions of its teacher, Daniel Taylor, Mr. Crawford used afterwards to say, that he was chiefly indebted for his advancement in life. The medical profession being chosen for him, although he had no particular liking for it, and never excelled in it, he went to the university of Edinburgh; and after studying three years in its classes, he obtained in 1803 a medical appointment in the Indian service. He embarked for India in April of the same year, landed in September, and was almost immediately immersed in the active duties of an assistant-surgeon in the Company's military service. Thus he served under Lord Lake, when that general invaded the dominions of Scindiah, and was also present at the siege of Delhi. In the

following year he accompanied Colonel Monson's troops in the advance to Ougain, and in their retreat before the army of Holkar. In 1805 he was so fully employed that twelve companies of Sepoys were under his medical charge in the fortress of Rampoor.

After five years of service in the North-western Provinces of India, Mr. Crawford was transferred in 1808 to Penang; and there he commenced those studies of the Malay languages and people which ultimately enabled him to compose that remarkable work, the *Malay Grammar and Dictionary*. His knowledge of the Malay tongue having recommended him to the notice of Lord Minto, at that time governor-general of India, he accompanied the latter, in 1811, in the important expedition which effected the conquest of Java. It was in consequence of his acquaintance with the Malay languages that Mr. Crawford was also left in that island as a representative of the British government at the court of one of the native princes, and for nearly six years he filled some of the principal diplomatic offices of Java. During this time, also, he made extensive journeys and voyages, and collected those copious and diversified materials in ethnology, natural history, and geography, which, after his return to England in 1817, he published in 1820, under the title of *History of the Indian Archipelago*.

After a residence of four years at home, Mr. Crawford went back to India in 1821, and was appointed by the Marquis of Hastings, then governor-general of India, to the diplomatic mission sent to Siam and Cochin-china. His difficult duties in this important station were so ably discharged as to obtain for him the highest credit from the Indian government. Indeed, his general services in India induced the public men employed in its government to betake themselves to his counsel and advice, and the most eminent among them—Colebrooke, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and many others—were his intimate friends and correspondents. In 1823 Mr. John Adams, *ad interim* governor-general, appointed Mr. Crawford governor of the new settlement of Singapore, on the resignation of its founder, Sir Stamford Raffles; and in that position, which he held during three years, he concluded with the native chiefs to whom the district belonged, that convention by which we hold its sovereignty. By this and his wise management and negotiations, through which that place attained such an important position, he has been justly regarded as the second founder of Singapore. In 1826 Mr. Crawford returned to Bengal, and was immediately appointed commissioner in Pegu by Lord Amherst, the governor-general, and afterwards, on the conclusion of peace, he was appointed envoy to the Burmese court. But amidst this political life, in which he was so well qualified to rise to high station and distinction, he retained his love of scientific pursuits; "and thus it was," says his friend Sir R. Murchison, "that in his voyage up the Irawadi to the capital of Ava, in 1826, he collected those fossil bones of mastodon, large tortoises, and crocodilia, &c., which were described by Dr. Buckland and Mr. Clift, and which gave to the former the opportunity of generalizing on the important fact, that there existed in the Indian regions formations analogous to the tertiary and superficial deposits of Europe." Sir R. Murchison adds: "It was when these remarkable collections were the admiration of geologists that I became better acquainted with Mr. Crawford; and from that day, now forty-two years ago, our intimacy strengthened with each succeeding year."

Mr. Crawford's personal connection with India terminated in 1827, when he permanently returned VOL. III.

to England; and in the following year he published an account of his mission to Siam and Cochin-china, and in 1829 another of his mission to Burmah. For some time, also, after his return he endeavoured to connect himself with political occupation—a tendency which he had perhaps acquired from the nature of his life in India. Having large and liberal views on the subject of free-trade, he took an active and influential part in the support of his friend, Mr. Joseph Hume, in breaking up the old commercial monopoly of the East India Company, in consequence of which the price of tea was so much reduced that this commodity was placed within the reach of the poorest. He also ably seconded Mr. Cobden in favour of free-trade, who highly estimated his aid, as is shown in the *Westminster Review* of 1832. The ambition of Mr. Crawford was also to obtain a seat in the House of Commons, where he could have better served the Liberal cause, and with this view he presented himself as a candidate both for Glasgow and the Stirling burghs; but both applications were unsuccessful, so that he was left to those literary and scientific pursuits in which he was best qualified to excel. "I have often rejoiced at these political failures," Sir R. Murchison says with no little professional triumph; "for from that moment the strong mind and untiring energy of the man were devoted almost exclusively to his favourite topics of philology, ethnology, geography, and statistics; the fruits of his laborious studies first appearing in the *Malay Grammar and Dictionary*, the preliminary dissertation to which is a remarkable work in itself. Tracing the affinities of a vast number of the languages of the Indian Archipelago, and even in parts of the Pacific, to the Malay root, he ascribed this wide diffusion to the insular character of this vast region. His first-rate merits as a philologist have indeed been canonized in the writings of William von Humboldt, in his great work *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Inseln Java*. In it the illustrious Prussian expressly stated, that without the valuable contributions of Mr. Crawford he could never have succeeded in mastering the Javanese and Kawi languages; and he expresses the very great obligations of his brother Alexander von Humboldt and himself for the highly valuable contributions of our deceased associate."

The *Malay Grammar and Dictionary* was published in 1825, and in 1826 its author published his *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries*, which was a completion and extension of his original work of 1820, entitled the *History of the Indian Archipelago*. The *Descriptive Dictionary*, illustrated with an interesting map of the Asiatic Archipelago, and limited to 459 pages 8vo, contains within that compass a surprising amount of accurate geographical, ethnological, and statistical knowledge.

In 1861 Mr. Crawford was elected president of the Ethnological Society, and until the day of his death his spirit continued to animate and pervade it with a fresh existence. This will be understood when the number and excellence of his papers contributed to the society are taken into account. These, which were produced between his seventy-eighth and eighty-fifth year, thirty-eight in all, give a wonderful idea, not only of the energetic industry of the old man, but the unabated vigour of his intellect, and remarkable variety of his knowledge and attainments. Of this the following list of some of these, published in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, may help to furnish some conception:—"On the Connection

¹ Address of Sir R. Murchison to the Royal Geological Society, May 25th, 1868.

between Ethnology and Physical Geography.”—“On Numerals as Evidences of the Progress of Civilization.”—“On the Antiquity of Man from the Evidence of Language.”—“On the Commixture of the Races of Man as affecting the Progress of Civilization.”—“On Colour as the Test of the Races of Man.”—“On the Relation of the Domesticated Animals to Civilization.”—“On Language as a Test of the Races of Man.”—“On Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, and Huxley's *Evidence on Man's Place in Nature*.”—“On the Sources of Tin for Bronze Tools and Weapons of Antiquity.”—“On the supposed Infecundity of Human Hybrids or Crosses.”—“On the supposed Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages of Society.”—“On the so-called Celtic Languages in reference to the question of Races.”—“On Cannibalism in relation to Ethnology.”—“On the Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Negro.”—“On the Origin and History of Written Language.”—“On the Ancient Hindu Sacrificial Bell found in the Northern Island of New Zealand.”—“On the Invention of Writing Materials in reference to Ethnology.”—“On Cæsar's Account of Britain and its Inhabitants.”—“On the History and Migration of Cultivated Plants.”—“On the Dissemination of the Arabian Race and Language.”—“On the Migration and Cultivation of Sacchariferous Plants.”—“On the Plurality of the Races of Man.”—“On the Animal and Vegetable Food of the Nations of Australia in reference to their Social Position.”—“On the Classification of the Races of Man according to the Form of the Skull.”—“On the History and Migration of Cultivated Plants, and on Condiments.”—“On the Antiquity of Man” (second memoir).—“On the Ethnology of Abyssinia and Adjacent Countries.”

The last article was read before the Ethnological Society, Nov. 12, 1867. After that contribution Mr. Crawford continued to read certain papers to the society, including one on his objections to the Darwinian theory, and another on “Coffee and Other Plants.” He left also behind him sixteen papers which had never been published. In summing up his literary achievements, his friend Murchison thus affectionately speaks of him:—“Including his frequent contributions to reviews and weekly newspapers, particularly the *Examiner*, Mr. Crawford has perhaps written more than it has been given to any one author of this century to accomplish. I may here also observe, as a striking illustration of the logical accuracy of his thoughts, and the strength of his memory, that his writings on the statistics of commerce, geography, philology, and ethnology, scarcely ever required a correction; for they exhibit fewer *pentimenti*, or alterations, than are to be seen in the original manuscripts of Walter Scott, or any other author of works of fiction. . . . Yet, with all this incessant literary labour, he found time to read extensively, and store up in his surprising memory all the knowledge that he had ever acquired. He also found leisure to hold much social converse with his many friends, both young and old; and few of the members of the Athenæum Club will now enter its great vestibule, in which he was generally to be seen in the afternoon, without mournfully regretting the absence of the cheerful countenance and friendly grasp of the hand of dear John Crawford. Let me add that he was equally popular with the gentler sex, who could not fail to be attracted to him by his genial address, and his happy and simple manner of conveying information. Well has it been said by an able writer in the *Times* who commemorated his deeds, that ‘all the members of the Geographical and Ethnological Societies will miss the tall form of

the evergreen veteran, who scarcely ever failed to take part in their discussions, and who, while stoutly maintaining his own views, showed a forbearance and courtesy which might well be imitated by all members of learned societies.’”

Mr. Crawford died at his residence in Elvaston Place, South Kensington, on the evening of 11th May, 1868. He was twice married. His first wife, having lost her health in India, was returning home with her child, when the ship was lost and all on board perished. In 1820 he secondly married Miss Horatia Perry, who died in 1855, leaving one son, Oswald, now British consul at Oporto; and two daughters, both of whom are married.

GRAHAM, THOMAS, D.C.L., F.R.S., an eminent chemist and master of the mint, was born at Glasgow on the 21st December, 1805. He was the eldest of a family of seven, and his father, who was a prosperous manufacturer, gave him a good education. He was sent to the school of Dr. Angus from 1811 to 1814, and afterwards to the grammar-school, where he acquired the classical languages under the well-known Dr. Dymock, and the rector Dr. Chrystal. On finishing the five years' grammar-school course he entered the University in 1819, where, having passed through the curriculum of arts, he graduated M.A., April 28, 1824. Thus far he seems to have studied with a view to the Church, in which the influence of friends would have obtained him preferment. His attention, however, was probably diverted to physical science by finding himself more and more interested in the work of the mathematical and natural philosophy classes, and in the lectures on chemistry of Dr. Thomas Thomson, of whose class he seems to have been a member during the last sessions of his arts curriculum. He was at the same time engaged at home in experiments by which he was acquiring the indispensable art of manipulation. Instead, therefore, of entering the theological faculty according to the wish of his friends, he gave himself up wholly to chemistry, and retired to Edinburgh to pursue his studies privately. He worked in Dr. Hope's laboratory, and while there made his first appearance as an author at the age of twenty-one, by the publication in the *Scotts Mechanics' Magazine* of a paper “On the Absorption of Gases by Liquids,” reprinted afterwards in Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*, xii. pp. 69-74, 1826. In it he tries to show that, when absorbed by a liquid, a gas is first of all condensed to the liquid form, and that the two liquids then mix together. In this way he reduces the absorption of gases to the same class of phenomena as the miscibility of liquids. This paper is followed in the same volume of the *Annals* by another “On the Heat of Friction,” and a third “On Alcohol from Bread,” while the *Philosophical Magazine* for 1827 (i. pp. 107-109) contains an article “On the Finite Extent of the Atmosphere,” in which he tries to explain how the lowness of the temperature in the upper regions of the atmosphere may counteract its continuous expansion. These, which were written in 1826, were all his contributions to the journals during his residence in Edinburgh. The following year he returned to Glasgow, where, to avoid proving burdensome to his family, he opened private classes for mathematics, under the patronage of Dr. Meikleham, professor of natural philosophy. Either he gave up these classes very soon (at furthest he may have conducted them for a year), or he must have continued his investigations independently, for during 1827 he wrote on “Longchamp's Theory of Nitrication” (a paper which has escaped the notice of

Cloëz in his recent lecture on the subject) and other topics, and communicated his first paper to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. It appeared in the *Transactions* for 1831, and contained a description of a class of bodies which he called alcoates, and which he formed by dissolving certain deliquescent salts in alcohol and crystallizing. By this process bodies were obtained, which, instead of water, contained "alcohol of crystallization." At the same time he read some papers to the Society for the Promotion of the Useful Arts in Scotland, of which he became a member in January, 1828. A few months later he described to the Royal Society of Edinburgh (*Edinburgh Journal of Science*, vol. viii.) the results of experiments on the absorption of vapours by liquids, by which he showed that solutions of salts inhale as readily as exhale vapour, according to the atmosphere in which they are, and that a measure of this power, which Graham styled "power of invaporation," is to be found in the temperature at which the solution boils. He was shortly after elected a fellow of the society, and he then sent another communication upon supersaturation.

This year he gave up the teaching of mathematics, but during the winter session of 1828-29 he attended the classes of anatomy and chemistry in the University, and besides conducted the business of a laboratory which he opened in connection with the Portland Street medical school. He remained here until, in 1829, he succeeded to the lectureship of chemistry in the Mechanics' Institute, in room of Dr. Thomas Clark, who had been appointed professor of chemistry in Aberdeen. The following session, 1829-30, he gave a formal attendance upon the remainder of the medical classes; but although already enrolled in six, he took the chemistry lectures over again. In 1830 he resigned his lectureship, on being appointed to the same post in Anderson's Institution, where he replaced Dr. Ure, the technologist and author of the *Chemical Dictionary*, who had removed to London. Graham had now attained a definite position, and his success had reconciled his friends to his choice of a profession to which he was strenuously devoting himself. For one or two years he published only a few notes, but he was working hard upon subjects, one of which, the function of water in salts, occupied much of his attention at this period; the other, the diffusion of gases, was never long absent from his thoughts to the very close of his life. His shorter papers appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Science* for 1829, and were on "The Oxidation of Phosphorus," in which he shows the effect of traces of the vapour of turpentine, ether, naphtha, and many other gases, in preventing the action; "The Diffusion of Gases," in which the relation between their specific gravity and diffusibility is first pointed out; and one or two other notes. In the *Glasgow Medical Journal* (1831) he published, along with W. B. Lorraine, an analysis of the Rothesay sulphuretted water.

In December, 1831, he laid before the Royal Society of Edinburgh the fruits of his labour during the preceding year, in the form of an experimental verification of the law according to which gases diffuse into one another (*Edinburgh Roy. Soc. Trans.* 1834, vol. xii.) As the result of a long series of experiments on ten different gases, Graham arrived at the conclusion, that when gases diffuse, they do so inversely as the square root of their specific gravity. The numbers he got agree so closely with theory—in the case of oxygen they agree absolutely—that his proposal to employ the diffusion of a gas as a means of ascertaining its specific gravity seems fully warranted, and the law has been accepted as

the true expression of the phenomena. For this paper he received sometime later (May, 1833) the Keith medal—the highest prize in the gift of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

It was in 1833 that his first paper was read to the Royal Society of London (*Phil. Trans.* 1833). It contained his beautiful investigation into the constitution of the phosphates and arseniates, and while it cleared away confusion which had existed respecting these bodies, it revealed water performing such unexpected functions, that Graham's conclusions, backed though they were by most satisfactory experiments, were not at once accepted universally. On the Continent, however, they were published in the principal chemical journals, as leaving no doubt on the subject, and they have long since become the recognized views in this country.

The year following he was elected a member and chosen vice-president of the Glasgow Philosophical Society, and about the same time, or perhaps some months earlier, was made member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. He was busily engaged with researches on the remarkable spontaneously inflammable and non-spontaneously inflammable states of phosphoretted hydrogen, by which he proved that the difference was due to some body analogous to an oxide of nitrogen present in the spontaneously inflammable gas in minute quantities, and it is noteworthy how in this paper Graham has anticipated several of the analogies which have since led to the classification of nitrogen and phosphorus in the same group of elements. The explanation of the difference between the two phosphoretted hydrogens based upon isomerism, which had been advanced by Rose, was objected to by Graham, who, from his discovering that the two states could be changed into one another by various substances, and from his observing that other cases of so-called isomerism were due to certain differences of composition produced by differences in preparation, seems to have rejected isomerism altogether. Full of these subjects he attended the British Association meeting at Edinburgh in 1834. He there summed up his views in a paper upon the function of water in different kinds of salts, and showed that many anomalies classed under isomerism could easily be explained by taking water into account (*B. A. Rep.* 1834). The complete paper on phosphoretted hydrogen was afterwards read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh (*Trans.* xiii. 1836).

Graham's reputation as an unwearied and accurate investigator was gradually widening, and he was beginning to receive those honours which flow in upon success. He was chosen one of the committee of the chemical section of the British Association for 1835; in the same year he became a corresponding member of the Berlin Academy; and in 1836 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. At this time he was still engaged with the constitution of hydrated salts, on which he published various papers (*Edin. Trans.* xiii., and elsewhere).

In 1837 his connection with the Andersonian came to an end by his removal to London. He applied for the chair of chemistry in University College, which had become vacant by the death of Professor Turner. The testimonials he got from foreign chemists were most laudatory, and he had the goodwill of such men as Faraday. The election, however, was so close that it is doubtful how it may have gone, had not the decision been referred to Lord Brougham, who happened to come late into the room. He gave his vote for Graham; and the way in which the latter held the professorship for eighteen years shows, as has been remarked, how good the decision was.

For a few years after settling in London, the course of his investigations was interrupted, partly doubtless from the calls made upon his time by the work incidental to a new office, and partly from his being engaged in writing his *Elements of Chemistry*. A paper which he read to the British Association at Birmingham in 1839, upon "The Theory of the Voltaic Circle," appears to have been suggested by his having to consider the chemistry of the battery in the physical part of his treatise.

Two years later, in 1841, the Chemical Society was founded, and Graham was chosen the first president. He attended the meetings of this society with great regularity, and communicated several notes and papers to it, which are published in the early volumes of its *Memoirs*—in particular an elaborate investigation into "The Heat disengaged in Combination," carried out in 1842. It referred solely to the heat evolved when fluids are mixed together, and when salts in various degrees of hydration are dissolved in water. The data obtained afford a means of discovering salts belonging to the same natural class, in the same way as in a previous investigation he discovered the relations existing among certain hydrated salts, by their loss of water on heating and the substitution of part of it by other salts.

By the death of his father in this year, Graham fell heir to an estate in Stirlingshire, and to some other property. The income he received from his chair and as assayer to the mint, an office which he obtained after he went to London, seems to have been amply sufficient for a man who from his earliest days had never been very anxious to accumulate money. Accordingly, with a generosity towards his family which at the very beginning of his career manifested itself upon the first opportunity, he resigned to his sisters a considerable part of the fortune he had just acquired. This year also saw the publication of his *Elements of Chemistry* in one large volume, which was very favourably received at the time. It was at once translated into German by Professor Otto, and both the original and translation have enjoyed a wide reputation. The latter has passed through several editions, and though now (1870) it has swollen to great proportions, and has become in every part an original work, it still retains Graham's name on the title-page, thus showing the value originally attached to it.

About 1843 Graham began to be employed on a kind of work which would have proved more remunerative than investigation, but of which he never undertook much. This was to draw up reports on various topics of public or commercial interest, where the special knowledge and skill of the chemist cannot be dispensed with. One of the earliest of these was upon the question of removing the duty upon alcohol for use in the arts, by mixing it with some cheap substance which would render it quite unfit for domestic use, and while leaving its solvent and inflammable properties unchanged, would be practically not separable from it. The substance proposed by Graham, wood spirit, or methylic alcohol, the lowest member of the series of which ordinary spirit of wine is the best known, was adopted, and the introduction of the cheap methylated spirit has been one of the greatest boons both to the scientific and manufacturing chemist. The other reports on which Graham was engaged were carried out in company with Drs. Miller, Stenhouse, and Hofmann, some years later. These were, on the "Supply of Water to London;" another upon "Original Gravities," addressed to the Board of Inland Revenue, and published in 1853 (*Quarterly Journal of Chemical Soc.* vol. v.); and a third which was undertaken at the urgent request of

the Messrs. Allsopp, in consequence of the belief that had taken possession of the public mind that strychnine was used instead of hops to impart the bitter flavour to their beer. Graham at first was unwilling to comply, and asked a fee which he thought would be sufficient to deter the company from prosecuting their request. But on receiving a cheque for double what he had asked, he could no longer refuse, but associated Dr. Hofmann in the inquiry. The report showed in the first place that the quantity of strychnine which would be required to adulterate the pale ale annually made at Burton, would amount to about sixteen times the quantity of that alkaloid manufactured all over the world; it showed further, from actual chemical tests, delicate enough to detect the 1-1000th of a grain of strychnine, that the pale ale was devoid of even that minute trace; and, finally, that the quantity required to make the ale bitter becomes a poisonous dose in half a gallon. It was concluded, therefore, that strychnine was not only absent from the ale, but was one of the substances least adapted for such adulteration. But though this settled the scientific aspect of the question, it was some time before the sale of the article recovered from the shock which the alleged impurity had given it. The only other reports which Graham published were one upon "The Adulteration of Coffee," more especially with chicory (*Chem. Soc. Quart. Journ.* ix. 1857), and one addressed to a committee of the Privy Council for Trade (*Edin. New Phil. Journ.* liii. 1852) upon "The Cause of Fire in the Ship *Amazon*." In the latter he explained that it was due to the spontaneous ignition of a quantity of cotton waste saturated with oil. The methods of detection pursued in the former were chiefly indirect, and consisted in mixing the coffee with certain proportions of other vegetable products, and subjecting the mixture to various tests.

To the close of the year 1848, Graham's chief investigations referred to the motions of gases. In 1845 he read a short note on the subject at the British Association meeting in Cambridge, and published the complete paper the following year in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The origin of the inquiry was his discovery of the fact that gases which diffuse through a porous septum or an aperture in a plate into each other, or into a vacuum, with velocities inversely as the square root of their densities, exhibit quite a different series of motions when the septum becomes a tube of sensible length. To the first of these, the motion of a gas through an aperture into a vacuum, Graham gave the name "effusion," and showed by experiments conducted under varying conditions of mixture and pressure that the rate was a function of the density. The other he termed "transpiration," and by an equally elaborate series of experiments proved that the rate of motion of a gas through a long capillary tube does not depend upon its density.

The difference between diffusion or effusion and transpiration is sufficiently indicated by the fact, that while the motions in the former case are not influenced by mechanical pressure, in the latter they depend to a very great extent upon the force pressing the gases through the capillary tubes. Moreover while gases of the same specific gravity have equi-diffusive volumes, the gases of equal transpirability are as diverse as possible in their specific gravities. In fact the motions of transpiration have not been brought into any relation with the specific gravity of the gases or the other motions depending upon that.

In addition to this investigation, Graham, in 1845,

made a fresh analysis of the explosive gas of the Newcastle coal-mines, which he found to consist mainly of marsh gas, and published one or two notes besides. During the years 1846-48, a good deal of time must have been taken up with instituting the Cavendish Society, of which he remained president to the last. The first volume of *Reports and Memoirs* was translated by Dr. Day, but Graham's name appears on the title-page as the editor. Besides this presidency, he was elected in 1847 vice-president of the Royal Society; the year following he attained to one of the highest honours within reach of a scientific man, election as a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences; and not long afterwards he received for the second time the Royal medal. The first award was made in the year 1838, and was an acknowledgment of the value of the first two papers he had published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, namely that upon the arseniates, and the other upon the constitution of salts, nitrates, oxalates, &c. The second was made in 1850, for the investigation into the motions of gases which has just been mentioned.

While working upon this he must have been carrying on at the same time a different series of experiments, which he laid before the Royal Society in the Bakerian lecture for 1849. The subject was the "Diffusion of Liquids," and the papers appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1850. Upon this and the preceding research into the motion of gases, as the earliest of his great investigations, Graham's fame in his later life rests. He was now forty-five years old; he was familiar with the whole field of chemistry; he was a consummate experimenter, a keen speculator, but cautious theorizer; his name was familiar to the physicists and chemists of Europe, and his ability had been acknowledged in various ways by the principal societies. What has been found true of the greatest men in all spheres of mental labour is fully applicable to Graham. After a preliminary training of twenty or five-and-twenty years, replete with activity of thought and work, the student of natural phenomena is only at the threshold of his highest discoveries. Fertility or rapidity of production may diminish, but concentration, insight, and power become intenser. Graham's papers were fewer in number during his later years, but their importance increased. Possibly his health and bodily strength were to some extent impaired, for at no time had he been very robust, and his labours may have been thus interfered with; but the nature of the investigations themselves also caused a diminution of their frequency. They were devoted chiefly to liquid and gaseous diffusion, and involved a prolonged set of observations and experiments under very different circumstances, in order to arrive at the laws for which they had been instituted.

The phenomena of the diffusion of different saline solutions into pure water, and into other saline solutions, he compared aptly to the volatilization of a liquid into a liquid atmosphere. An interesting deduction from the very numerous experiments made, relates to the salts of equal diffusibility. As a general rule they are isomorphous substances, that is, they have similar chemical composition and assume the same crystalline form. With regard also to the times of equal diffusion, a certain analogy with those of gases was indicated. For as in the latter the squares of the times are in the ratio of their specific gravities; so in the former it is not unlikely that the solution molecules have specific gravities in the ratio of the squares of the times of equal diffusion. But the exact law is realized in practice only under special conditions of concentration.

The substances which were employed in these experiments were crystalline, and exhibited a ready enough tendency to diffusion. Certain other bodies, however, of which gum-arabic and egg-albumen were the most notable, were besides mentioned, of which the diffusion was very much less. Upon this marked difference in diffusibility Graham afterwards founded a classification of substances, and applied it to their separation.

The interval between this and 1854, when he was again appointed to read the Bakerian lecture, was occupied chiefly with the preparation of the reports already alluded to. An examination of Liebig's theory of etherification also belongs to this period.

The subject of the Bakerian lecture for 1854 was "Osmose," a term which means "impulse," and which is used to denote the effect produced by allowing two saline solutions or other fluids to mix with each other through a porous septum. Under these circumstances it frequently happens—just as in the case of gaseous diffusion—that there is an accumulation of fluid on one side or the other of the septum. Graham reviewed the different explanations given of the phenomena, showed that the motion was due to chemical action upon the septum, that the highest amount of osmose is produced when opposite chemical states exist on the different sides of the septum, and pointed out the important function osmose may discharge in producing the flow of the sap in plants.

The year following, 1855, the degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, and in April, upon the retirement of Sir John Herschel from the mastership of the mint, he was appointed to that post. In one sense Graham's career culminated in this appointment, and it was a not unsuitable reward for the laborious investigations he had conducted. At the same time he reflected equal honour upon the office, so that, however much the abolition of it since Graham's death may be regretted, it is matter for congratulation that the now extinct title will be always radiant with the lustre it derived from one of the greatest scientific luminaries of the century.

During the five years following his acceptance of this charge we hear comparatively little of Graham. His report on coffee adulterations came out in 1857; in 1858 appeared the second edition of his *Elements*, which was revised by Mr. Watts, the laborious translator of Gmelin's *Handbook* and editor of the *Dictionary of Chemistry* and other works; and in 1860 he was again chosen vice-president of the Royal Society.

In 1861 however he described to the Royal Society the continuation of his experiments upon liquid diffusion (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1861, *Philosophical Magazine* [4], vol. xxiii. 1862). He first recapitulates the difference between the diffusive and non-diffusive substances. The former he calls *crystalloids*, the latter *colloids*, from their general analogy to gelatine.

While in the colloidal state bodies are possessed of certain relations to diffusion which are not exhibited by crystalloids. In particular, while they are quite pervious to crystalloids, they present an almost impassable barrier to other colloids. This was exemplified in the power of a sheet of unsized paper to separate a mixed solution of sugar and gum. In twenty-four hours the crystalloidal sugar had passed through, while the colloidal gum was retained. To this separation of substances by colloidal septa the name *dialysis* was given, and the apparatus finally adopted was called a *dialyser*. Having found that by this process the separation of crystalloids from

colloids was easy to effect, Graham took advantage of the method for two purposes. One of these was to get colloids in the soluble condition, the other was to separate, in medico-legal cases, crystalloids, such as arsenic and antimony compounds, or the vegeto-alkaloids, from the colloidal matter with which they are usually mixed.

Simultaneously with this paper Graham published (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1861) another upon liquid transpiration, that is, the flow of liquids through tubes of very fine bore. His starting-point was the fact incidentally mentioned by Poiseuille, fifteen years earlier, that the degree of dilution at which a mixture of alcohol and water exhibits the greatest amount of condensation is also that at which it offers the greatest resistance to transpiration. Graham extended this observation to other fluids, and showed that ordinary alcohol is not by any means a peculiar substance in this respect, while among homologous bodies the increase in the weight of the molecule is indicated as surely by diminished rate of flow as by decreased volatility. For these splendid papers the Royal Society, during the following year, conferred upon the author the Copley medal, their highest honour.

For some time subsequent to this Graham's labours were devoted to following up the topics upon which he had been recently engaged. He gave a description of silicic acid and other colloids (*Chem. Soc. Journ.* 1864), adding some new examples to his previous lists, and he made a further investigation of the phenomena of the diffusion of gases, particularly when they are under pressure and have to pass through a porous diaphragm (*Ibid.* 1864). It was in these experiments that he made use of Brockedon's graphite, instead of the plug of stucco which he had used twenty years before, but the results corresponded with those he had previously obtained. It was observed, however, besides, that in diffusion under pressure through a porous plate, a mixed gas passed not only in a shorter time than it would do if the motion was one either of effusion or of transpiration, but that after diffusion the gas was also different in composition. This separation of gases by diffusion Graham called *atmolysis*, and comparing it with the dialytic separation of fluids by colloids, Graham next attempted to find if colloids could be also employed for gases, and the results of his trials he described to the Royal Society (*Philosophical Transactions*, 1866). At the outset he showed that the action of a colloidal septum on a gas is not strictly dialytic, but is really due to condensation of the gas to the liquid state. The liquified gas is absorbed by the septum, diffuses and dialyses as a liquid through the septum, and then on the other side resumes its gaseous form by evaporation. In this way though a thin caoutchouc balloon has no pores penetrable by a gas, yet by the action just described gases can pass through it with more or less readiness.

In the second part of this paper Graham brings forward a striking discovery of Deville and Troost respecting the passage of gases through a plate of platinum or of iron at a red-heat, and asks if there is not an analogy between the passage through colloidal india-rubber and through the metallic plates which at a high temperature may be to some extent colloidal? To answering this question, this and his remaining investigations were devoted.

A large number of gases were made to pass through plates of different metals, and it was found that while by some gases the plates were to a certain extent permeable, and by others not at all, to hydrogen they exhibited most singular relations, allowing it to pass in very large proportions, and even decom-

posing compound gases containing it. Still influenced by the view that the metals are colloidal, and considering that according to theory the gas is condensed and dissolved in the septum before it passes through, Graham next examined the metals as to whether they retained any of the gas which was permeating them. He found as a matter of fact that platinum at a red-heat absorbed a quantity of hydrogen, which it retained for an indefinite period at temperatures below redness. This new property of platinum he designated a "power to occlude hydrogen, and the result the occlusion of hydrogen by platinum." Repeating the experiments with palladium instead of platinum he found that while the latter metal at a red-heat occluded from three to five times its volume of hydrogen, the former occluded from 500 to 600 volumes of hydrogen. Next in interest to the relation of hydrogen to platinum and palladium, is its relation to iron. Deville and Troost had showed that a steel tube was quite permeable by hydrogen gas; in carrying out his experiments Graham confirmed this, and found besides that "pure iron takes up at a low red-heat, and retains when cold, 4.15 volumes of carbonic oxide gas." When it takes up and occludes hydrogen, which it does to a small extent, it becomes white; but the occlusion of carbonic oxide does not appear to modify either its physical or chemical properties. Its occlusion, however, is probably of importance in the conversion of iron into steel, which may take place not at the surface of the iron merely, but through the whole mass by its being previously permeated by carbonic oxide.

A year later Graham read a short paper to the Royal Society (*Proceedings*, xv.; 1867: *Philosophical Magazine* [4], vol. xxiv.), "On the Occlusion of Gas by Meteoric Iron." A piece of the meteoric iron of Lenarto on heating yielded a quantity of gas, consisting chiefly of hydrogen. The conclusion arrived at from the analysis was, that this iron had come from or passed through a hydrogen atmosphere, and had brought to us some of that hydrogen, which has been recognized by the spectroscopy in the stellar world, occluded within it, and that the atmosphere from which it had been extruded was very dense, since it contained three times the amount of hydrogen with which malleable iron can be impregnated under our atmosphere. If this discovery, which flows so naturally from the whole course of Graham's investigations, surprised the public, who were ignorant of the steps, and interested them by its unexpected confirmation of the spectrum analysis of solar and stellar light, not less interested were chemists by Graham's final discoveries in this department, and the still more striking confirmation of ideas long entertained theoretically, but never so closely realized in fact. He now submitted the compound of palladium and hydrogen to a more minute examination, and communicated a paper on the subject to the Royal Society in 1868 (*Proceedings*, xvii.) He showed that palladium could absorb hydrogen not only when heated in the gas, but also under other circumstances. At ordinary temperatures, even in a vacuum, the hydrogen evinced no tendency to escape, and it was not till the temperature was raised that an evolution of gas took place. From the very great absorption of the gas by palladium, and the peculiarities of the compound formed, Graham regarded it as a definite chemical substance, and styled it accordingly hydride of palladium.

During the autumn of 1868 he still continued the investigation. He had been elected an honorary member of the German Chemical Society at Berlin, and in a letter to the president, Dr. Hofmann, his

friend and former coadjutor, he acknowledges the compliment, and then surprises him by the question, "What do you think of hydrogenium, a white magnetic metal, of specific gravity 2?" The paper containing the grounds for this statement was read to the Royal Society on the 15th January, 1869. It begins by a reference to the belief that hydrogen is the vapour of a very volatile metal, and then proceeds to give the proofs in support of the view that palladium with occluded hydrogen is an alloy with this volatile metal. He then closes: "The general conclusions which appear to flow from this inquiry are, that in palladium fully charged with hydrogen (as in the portion of palladium wire now submitted to the Royal Society) there exists a compound of palladium and hydrogen in a proportion which may approach to equal equivalents; that both substances are solid, metallic, and of a white aspect; that the alloy contains about twenty volumes of palladium, united with one volume of hydrogenium, and that the density of the latter is about 2, a little higher than magnesium, to which hydrogenium may be supposed to bear some analogy; that hydrogenium has a certain amount of tenacity, and possesses the electrical conductivity of a metal; and, finally, that hydrogenium takes its place among magnetic metals. The latter fact may have its bearing upon the appearance of hydrogenium in meteoric iron in association with certain other magnetic elements."

In a subsequent note, read 17th June, 1869, Graham mentioned that palladium-alloys with gold, silver, and platinum could also absorb hydrogen. As the result of these experiments, a considerably smaller specific gravity was calculated for hydrogenium, and as the mean of all his experiments he finally accepted 0.733 as the specific gravity of hydrogenium, and from a consideration of its chemical properties suggested that in the palladium-alloy we have probably the active form of hydrogen, analogous to ozone the active oxygen.

This was Graham's last paper. Tired by the exertion he had gone through, he went down to Malvern in September for rest. Coming in heated after a long walk he lay down on a couch near an open window and fell asleep. A chill was the result, and this occasioned inflammation of one of his lungs. Hurrying back to London he got medical advice, the inflammation was subdued, and after a short but severe illness he was pronounced out of danger. But the sharp treatment to which he had been subjected proved too great a strain for his exhausted frame. He became gradually weaker, and expired at his house, 4 Gordon Square, London, at nine o'clock in the evening of Thursday, September 16th, 1869. Seven days later his remains were borne to their last resting-place in the High Church burying-ground, Glasgow.

His death has caused a blank among chemists, which it will be found difficult, if possible at all, to fill up. It is not merely that he was distinguished as a successful and energetic discoverer, but the field in which he laboured, and which he was the first to open up, he tillied by himself alone.

In every respect Graham's work bears the stamp of genius. Original in his choice of subjects, he was equally original in his method of working, in his reasoning, and in his results. His labours are dominated by one or two great ideas of which he tried to prove the objective existence in outer nature.

The vividness with which he perceived these ideas in his own mind enabled him to dispense with complicated experiments. There were never results of such great general application obtained by such

direct and simple means. At the same time they guided him in his choice of details, so that one investigation grew gradually out of another. From his first inquiry "into the absorption of gases by liquids," when he shows that there is no line of demarcation between these two states of matter, to his last, the absorption of hydrogen gas, the lightest of all bodies, by a colloidal metal, and its probable condensation to the solid state, there is a consecution, a logical development of thought, which if paralleled, is not surpassed, in the writings or discoveries of any other chemist.

The external circumstances of Graham's life hardly differ from those of any student. It is in the inner life that the interest lies, the inner life revealed in his papers. In these one contemplates a buoyancy and an unflinching perseverance, a keenness of vision, and a sureness of aim, which while it is useless to try to imitate or acquire, are in the highest degree stimulating.

At present Graham's eminence is known to but few; as his discoveries become more widely studied, and as their applications become more generally perceived, his reputation will widen—it can hardly rise higher. So long, however, as his papers are scattered through sixty or seventy volumes, few will take the trouble to read them. No more appropriate monument to Graham's memory could be erected than a complete edition of his works.

JERDAN, WILLIAM, born at Kelso, 16th April, 1782; died at Bushey Heath near London, 11th July, 1869. He was the third son and seventh child of John Jerdan and Agnes Stuart. His father was the descendant of a long line of small landowners in Roxburghshire. The fortune of the family, however, only sufficed to provide for the sons a good education, and to start them in life. William Jerdan first attended the grammar-school of his native town; and subsequently he was sent to Edinburgh, where he studied law for more than two years in the office of Mr. James Hume, writer and distributor of stamps for Berwickshire. But his bent was for literature, not law, and this he attributes chiefly to the influence of Dr. Rutherford, author of *A View of Ancient History*, &c., who had removed from Uxbridge, Middlesex, to settle at Maxwellleugh. With that gentleman he became a favourite, and from him learned much. On his birth-day in 1801 he sailed from Berwick in a smack, and reached London in nine days. For some time he was occupied as a clerk in the city, and in his leisure hours busied himself with composition in prose and verse.

He gradually formed acquaintances in literary circles, and at length he became a reporter. His diligence and fidelity in this capacity obtained for him the favour of men of high position, and opened the way to that extensive intimacy with the leaders of politics and literature which he afterwards enjoyed. On the afternoon of the 11th May, 1812, he was proceeding to his duties in the House of Commons, when he was passed in the lobby by Mr. Spencer Perceval, who was, almost the next moment, shot by Bellingham, the bankrupt merchant. Jerdan seized the assassin and handed him over to the officers who were presently in attendance. That was one of the events which brought him into notice, and by which he will be remembered. In his profession he displayed considerable fertility and activity. One particular circumstance marks his character: when editor of the *Sun*, in 1818, he was the first to introduce reviews of new books as a regular feature of newspaper journalism. He afterwards started the *Literary Gazette*, which during its first year circulated weekly

nearly 1000 copies stamped, and 250 unstamped. In its second year the circulation increased, and its influence grew until it became one of the most important organs of literature. The promoter of it lived to see the *Gazette* wane and die about six years ago.

He wrought himself into a good position, and his personal acquaintance with nearly all the most celebrated men and women of his time rendered his conversation welcome everywhere; but he appears to have laboured under difficulties even in the midst of his success. Writing in 1852, he says, "My life has been one of much vicissitude, of infinite struggle, and latterly of very grave misfortune." The precise nature of his misfortune is not stated. In his autobiography (four volumes, 1852-53), a work which contains many anecdotes and sketches of the notable personages of the previous thirty years, he urgently warns young men not to adopt literature as a profession. He was, however, always a kindly adviser of literary aspirants, and in that way assisted many who have since won for themselves distinction in letters and art. Amongst his protégés was L. E. L. (Miss Landon), whom he first introduced to the public, and with whom he remained on terms of intimate friendship till the period of her sad death.

He was a prolific miscellaneous writer, and besides his London work, continued for a long time to contribute leaders to provincial journals. He was a zealous advocate of the Royal Literary Fund, and in support of it produced his work *Illustrations of the Plan of a National Association for the Encouragement and Protection of Authors and Men of Talent and Genius* (1839). Of his other works the principal are: *The National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the 19th Century, with Memoirs* (1830-34); *A Voyage to the Isle of Elba; The Rutland Papers; The Perth Papers; The Paris Spectator*; "*The Works of the Rev. G. Herbert, with Remarks on his Writings, and a Sketch of his Life*" (1853); "*Men I have Known*," illustrated with Facsimile Autographs" (1866). He continued to contribute to the metropolitan magazines till within a few weeks of his death; and the number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* issued at the beginning of the month in which he died contains the second portion of one of his sketches. During his latter years a pension of £100 per annum was paid to him by government, in acknowledgment of his services to literature.

LAING, ALEXANDER. This minstrel of rural scenery and lowly social life, and who worthily won the local distinction of being entitled "The Brechin poet," was born at the town of that name, on the 14th of May, 1787. His father, James Laing, was only a day labourer, with a family of two sons, of whom Alexander was the second, and a daughter. As Alexander was only two winters at school, while his summer occupation was to herd cattle, his education was both limited and desultory; but his mother, whose name was Isabel Thomson, supplied these deficiencies by teaching him reading at stated hours, while she was employed at her spinning-wheel, while his day's progress was regularly examined and catechised in the evenings by his father. In this way the whole expense of his education amounted to nothing more than five shillings. In tending cattle, to which he was sent when he was only eight years old, he was wont to carry his books, chiefly consisting of poetry and songs, to the fields, that no intervals of leisure should be lost; while every penny he could get was expended in enlarging his little library. In this way his early youth was familiarized with the works of

Fergusson, Tannahill, and Burns, and the best of our Scottish poets both old and new.

When Alexander Laing had reached the age of sixteen, he was apprenticed to the occupation of flax-dressing for fourteen years, and during this period his poetical inspiration found vent in some of his best songs, which he sent to the Montrose and Dundee newspapers; and having obtained slip copies of these from the printers, he afterwards stitched them together, and distributed them among his friends. The occupation, however, of a flax-dresser he was obliged to exchange for that of a travelling merchant or packman, in consequence of being disabled by a plank of wood falling upon his shoulder, while engaged in repairing the dam dyke. The change, if not a more lucrative, was certainly a more poetical one, as it was full of variety and excitement, and brought him more in contact with those persons and scenes that constitute the chief element of poetry. He was cautious, however, in committing himself to authorship, and his first important appearance in that capacity was as editor of a neat and correct edition of Burns' poems, published at Montrose in 2 vols. 32mo. The same caution or timidity prevailed in the publication of his first original work, which did not appear until 1827, when he had reached the ripe age of forty years. The production was the poetical tale of *Archie Allan*, which was printed at Forfar—a slim pamphlet in paper boards, price fourpence. It is enough to say that seldom has such excellent poetry been committed to so humble a vehicle. The language in which *Archie Allan* is written, the Scottish dialect, besides being characterized by poetical harmony, is true to nature and pictorial power, but without coarseness or vulgarity; while the simple tale itself delineates the consequences of an old man's marriage with a young reckless wife, in consequence of which he is reduced to poverty, beggary, and a premature death in a wretched barn where he was grudgingly sheltered:—

"O sirs, it was sair;
Had he no hae'n a wife, he had never been there!
Cauld, cauld at their backs thro' the evenin' he sat,
An' cauld was the bed an' the beddin' he gat,
The floor on the roof-tree was a' they could spare,
An' he lay down, alas! but to rise never mair."

The author of the poem, speaking in the third person, records of it with honest pride the following simple incident: "Soon after its first appearance he happened, on his way to a friend, to fall in with a little boy who had it in his hand. Being somewhat doubtful, from his extreme youth, whether he could read it, the boy promptly replied to his inquiry, 'I can read it very weel: I ha'e it maistly a' by heart.' This gave him more pleasure, he confesses, than what he chooses to express."

The rest of Mr. Laing's literary appearances were chiefly in an editorial character. A second time he edited the poems of Burns, when they were published by Scott and Webster, London, and supplied most of the foot-note glossary. This edition had an extensive sale, but Laing would receive no remuneration for his labours except a gift of books from the publishers. He supplied Allan Cunningham with notes for his edition of the *Scottish Ballads*. In 1833, when the *Angus Album* was published, he was a considerable contributor to the poetry, and compiler of biographical notices of the Angus poets. He supplied some drolling incidents to the *Laird of Logan*, a publication so called, and edited the works of his favourite author, Robert Tannahill. He contributed some happy imitations of Irish songs to R. A. Smith's *Irish Minstrel*, and had now become so distinguished as a song-writer, that several of his lays were not only introduced into some of our best

collections of Scottish song, but translated into German. While thus employed, no department of editorial labour by which the lowest and youngest of society might be improved was beneath his notice, and the new edition of the chap-books or "ballants," which might be purified, as they could not be extinguished, owing to their wide popularity, were revised and pruned by him for the Brechin editions, with short historical or biographical notices appended. He also collected and revised the annual series of hymns and prayers for the Sabbath evening scholars of the Relief church in Brechin, to which communion he belonged.

As it had been a subject of regret to the friends of Mr. Laing, that his poems, so well entitled to distinction, had not yet appeared in a collective form, he yielded in 1846 to their solicitations, and published them in a single volume, under the title of *Wayside Flowers*, by subscription, at the price of three shillings a copy. The first impression of 700 copies was speedily sold, and four years afterwards a second was published at the price of one shilling, which went off with equal rapidity. The work being soon out of print, a third edition of *Wayside Flowers*, the copyright of which had been purchased by Blackie and Son, Glasgow, was published by that firm in 1857, and Laing, who had revised the work and supplied illustrative notes and additions, survived until this impression was ready for issue, several copies of which were sent to him a few days before his death, which occurred on the 14th of October, 1857. He was survived by his widow, who was also a cousin of his own, to whom he had been married in August, 1827; and upon his grave was afterwards placed a handsome marble tablet, bearing the following inscription:—

"In memory

of

ALEXANDER LAING,

Author of *Wayside Flowers*, &c.

Born at Brechin, 14th May, 1787, and died 14th October, 1857.

This Tablet is erected over

His remains, by the United Presbyterian Congregation of High Street, Brechin, in commemoration of his Christian worth;

And in grateful remembrance of his untiring labours amongst them, both as Elder, and Superintendent of the Sabbath-school, From the formation of the Congregation in 1837, Till the time of his Death.

"The footstep of time hastens on in its power;
And soon we must fall like the 'wayside flower';
But again we shall blossom in beauty and power,
Where the foot never falls on the 'wayside flower.'"

In the simple record of the life of Alexander Laing we see much to admire. Although a poet and genius of no mean degree, and sorely tried by the poverty and uncertainty of his lot, he was neither led astray by the eccentricities of a lively fancy, nor allured into the vicious habits of a wandering and precarious life; and having bravely undergone his probation, he settles down quietly in his native town, and secures the esteem of all classes, not only by his literary fame, but his social and domestic worth, and his consistent upright conduct as a Christian. Of few poets indeed, born to poverty and toil, can so much be said, so that his example in this respect stands out with marked distinctness. Of his poems the following sketch of Adam Glen, an old piper who married eight wives successively, and fell in the battle of Sheriffmuir at the age of ninety, is a strongly drawn and happy specimen of caricature.

"Pawkie Adam Glen,
Piper o' the clachan,
When he stouter ben,
Sairly was he pechan;

Spak a wee, but tint his win',
Hurkit down, an' hostit syne,
B ew his beik, an' dicitit' een,
An' 'whaisl't a' forfoughten.

"But, his coughin' dunc,
Cheerie kyth't the bodie,
Crackit like a gun,
An' lengh to Auntie Madie;
Cried, 'My callans, name a spring,
'Jinglin' John,' or anything,
For weel I'd like to see the fling
O' ilka lass an' laddie.

"Blythe the dancers flew,
Usquebae was plenty,
Blythe the piper blew,
'Tho' shakin' han's wi' ninety.
Seven times his bridal vow
Ruthless fate had broken thro':
Wha wad thocht his comin' now
Was for our maiden auntie!

"She had ne'er been sought,
Cheerie hope was fadin';
Dowie is the thocht
To live and dee a maiden.
How it comes we canna ken,
Wanders aye maun wait their ain,
Madge is hecht to Adam Glen,
An' sune we'll ha'e a weddin'."

M'KENZIE, WILLIAM, M.D. This skilful oculist and excellent teacher in his department of medical science, was born in Glasgow in 1791, and was educated first at the high-school, and afterwards at the university of his native city. There he became a student of theology, but gave up this subject for that of medicine. Like most medical students who have the time and means at their disposal, M'Kenzie resolved to complete what he had learned at the university of Glasgow by continuing his studies in the foreign universities; and accordingly he studied at Paris, Vienna, and other distinguished medical schools of the Continent, where the healing art was in highest account. After completing his course at the continental colleges, he returned to this country, and in 1817 commenced practice as an oculist in London. When two years had been spent in the metropolis, he settled in Glasgow, and there pursued his profession to the close of his long and well-spent life. When in London he published a little book on the lachrymal organs; and about 1823, when he was in Glasgow, a description of the human muscles.

The life of a medical practitioner thus permanently settled can offer few points of interest to the unprofessional reader. It is enough, therefore, to state in general terms that the superior talents of Dr. M'Kenzie were recognized, that his practice grew in reputation and extent, and that as an oculist, patients repaired to him, not only from every part of the island, but also from abroad. To his practice, also, he added the office of lecturer, and delivered courses of lectures on anatomy, materia medica, and medical jurisprudence in the Andersonian University and other institutions. In 1824, in conjunction with Dr. Monteith, he established the Glasgow Eye Infirmary, an important institution the prosperity of which he greatly advanced, and in which he discharged the office of consulting surgeon till the period of his decease. For more than forty years, also, Dr. M'Kenzie was lecturer on the eye in connection with the university of Glasgow—an important addition to its course of medical training—and the funds of the Waltonian lectureship were appropriated for his remuneration.

While thus diffusing scientific knowledge by his lectures, Dr. M'Kenzie was also careful to disseminate it by the press, and in 1830 he published his great work on *Diseases of the Eye*, a work which was so greatly valued by the medical world, that it went through four editions in Britain, and was trans-

lated into French and German. Of this publication, a supplement, containing annotations by the author and others, was published in France in 1865, by which the knowledge of the subject which had been accumulating since the work first appeared, was brought up to the progress of the period. In 1841 he published a book on the *Physiology of Vision*. Besides these important publications, Dr. M'Kenzie for two years edited the *Glasgow Medical Journal*, and was a frequent contributor to that and other medical periodicals. One of the most important of his minor writings was an article "On the Vision of Objects on and in the Eye," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* for July, 1845. The celebrity which he had acquired in his particular department of science obtained for him the appointment of surgeon-oculist to her majesty in Scotland, and he was also elected a member of various scientific societies on the Continent. So wedded also was Dr. M'Kenzie to his constant round of active usefulness, that it had become a necessity of life, so that as years advanced and the frailty of age increased, he still continued at his post. This was the case until almost the very day of his death. When his last short illness came, it found him at his consulting rooms. He seemed better in the evening, but the following morning his malady returned, and he died in the course of the same day, July 30, 1868.

Dr. Mackenzie's professional learning was immense, and was not confined to his favourite department. He was a good classical scholar, and had a knowledge of general literature such as is rarely met with among men actively engaged in professional pursuits. He methodically carried out the practice of taking notes of everything that struck him as valuable in the course of his professional reading. As a writer and lecturer he was remarkable for the clearness and elegance of his style. As an operator he was distinguished for deliberation, adroitness, coolness, and resource. In private life he was genial and humorous; and he was singularly free from pretension.

THOMSON, REV. THOMAS NAPIER, was born at Glasgow on the 25th February, 1798, and was the fifth son of Mr. Hugh Thomson, a West India merchant, but the lineal descendant of John Thomson, who after the death of Edward Bruce in Ireland, led the remains of his army back to Scotland. While receiving his education at the schools of his native town, he early manifested an extraordinary love of reading, and as the somewhat rigid principles of his father rather discouraged the pursuit of light literature, he was necessitated to search for it away from home. As cheap editions and circulating libraries were as yet unknown in Glasgow, his pocket-money was spent at a neighbouring book-stall in the purchase of works of fiction, which, when read, he exchanged for others of the same character. These he enjoyed seated in an old cradle in a garret that served as a lumber-room, whence his bursts of laughter resounded through the house as he relished the humour of Smollett or Cervantes, and where he was sure to be found when missed by the family circle, absorbed in the higher delights of poetry and romance. In this manner, before he had reached his fourteenth year, he had stored his mind with the works of Shakespeare, Milton, and the best of English poets and dramatists, besides the earlier novelists; which were thus so indelibly imprinted on his memory, that he could recollect every character and event, and quote long passages from them, to the latest period of his life, often applying, with the happiest effect, their quaint remarks and antiquated phraseology to the topics of the passing hour.

About the year 1812 Mr. Thomson removed with his family to London, where he held a government appointment connected with the distribution of prize-money. The associations thus formed, with the warlike enthusiasm then prevalent, naturally led to a boyish fancy for the naval service, for which, however, Thomas was disqualified by an accidental injury to his right hand during infancy, and he was placed at a boarding-school near Barnet to continue his studies preparatory to entering the university. But, unfortunately, the school was conducted in a manner formerly but too common, and neither bodily nor intellectual vigour could be sustained upon the miserable allowance of food doled out to the famishing pupils. Upon being removed, it was found that the boy's health had become seriously impaired: a bronchial affection which never entirely left him, caused great alarm to his parents, and he was sent into Ayrshire on a visit to an uncle, where country air and exercise, with an unlimited supply of milk and eggs, had so beneficial an effect upon his constitution, that he was soon enabled to resume his studies with renewed ardour. He entered the college of Glasgow in October, 1813, by the name of Thomas Thomson, having dropped his second appellation in consequence of some disagreement with the Napier family.

A period of Mr. Thomson's life now commenced upon which he always looked back with feelings of pleasure. Distinguishing himself in every class, he attracted around him a number of students of similar tastes and habits, who thus formed a group as remarkable for their intellectual culture as for their moral excellence. Of many of these it was Mr. Thomson's painful task to write the biography, as one by one they dropped away, and the few who now survive will cherish the remembrance of the gifted companion of a well-spent youth. Bringing the treasures of his already well-stored memory to enliven the severer studies in which he was now engaged, he illumined the whole by the fervid glow of an exuberant fancy, while his refined taste and strict principle rejected everything that was coarse or trivial, and preserved him from many dangers that beset the path of inexperienced and high-spirited young men. Indeed, the plain style of living of the Glasgow students fifty years ago, and the simple pleasures in which they found delight, seem almost incredible at the present day; and it would be found as impossible to reproduce them now as to restore the respectability of those dwellings which surround the ancient college, in which the young men of that time could find lodgings, which, though economical, in no way detracted from their position in society, or lowered them in their own estimation.

It was at this time that Mr. Thomson made his first attempt as an author, and this, as might have been expected from his early predilections, took the form of poetry. In 1818 he published a small volume, entitled the *Immortality of the Soul*, and other Poems, his only publication in verse; for though he occasionally wrote poetry for his own amusement, and sometimes contributed a short piece to periodicals, he had too modest an opinion of his own compositions to repeat the experiment of publishing them.

Having completed his preliminary studies, Mr. Thomson resolved to devote himself to the ministry, and entered the divinity hall. But scarcely had he done so when he received a communication from his father, announcing that in consequence of heavy losses in his mercantile speculations, he was unable to continue to maintain him at college. Undeterred, however, by this disappointment, the young student

determined to persevere, and to turn his already acquired knowledge to account for the means of continuing his curriculum. For one who bore so high a character, not only among his fellow-students, but with all the professors under whom he had studied, it was not difficult to procure employment as a private tutor, and in that capacity he was received into several families, where his amiable disposition procured him many faithful friends. But desirous of higher distinction, and emboldened by the commencement he had already made, he resolved to try authorship, and published a tale called *Richard Gordon*, which, being favourably received, was soon followed by another, under the title of the *Christian Martyr, a Tale of the First Century*. This, unquestionably the best of his early works, was published in 1823—a year in which he obtained the two highest prizes in the university of Glasgow.

Having thus completed his college curriculum with the highest honours in the power of the university to bestow on a student, Mr. Thomson now obtained license as a preacher, and it might naturally have been expected that his superior talents, combined with his high character for morality and piety, would have speedily obtained him a presentation. But, unfortunately, inferior qualifications are sometimes essential to success in life. Singularly unmindful of his own interests, he never took any pains to secure the favour of either patrons or congregations when a vacancy occurred; and though he preached with great acceptance in many parts of Scotland, and in the Presbyterian congregations of Newcastle and Birmingham, years passed away without his obtaining a settlement in any parish. Meanwhile he published two other small works, *A Visit to Dalgarnock*, and the *City of the Sun*, besides contributing occasionally to the *Christian Instructor*, then conducted by his esteemed friend, Dr. Andrew Thomson, of St. George's, Edinburgh.

It was during this period, also, that Mr. Thomson, taking advantage of the newly awakened interest in literary pursuits commenced by the labours and examples of Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, and other female writers, delivered in Glasgow a course of lectures on the "Philosophy of History," addressed exclusively to ladies. These having become deservedly popular, he was induced to repeat them in Edinburgh the following year, where they were attended by many ladies, some of whom subsequently attained high literary celebrity, and upon which all who now survive will look back with pleasing remembrances. It was after this commencement that Professor Leslie followed his example by delivering a course of lectures on chemistry, which have been recently mentioned as having been the first lectures addressed exclusively to ladies in Scotland.

In the year 1827 Mr. Thomson obtained the appointment of assistant to the Rev. Laurence Adamson, minister of Cupar-Fife; and it was hoped that in this capacity his talents would naturally secure him high distinction as a preacher. But his physical powers now proved inadequate to the demands made upon them. Mr. Thomson's voice was naturally weak, and his endeavours to make it audible to the congregation of a large church brought on a recurrence of the bronchial affection which had attacked him in his early youth. Dangerous symptoms began to appear, and a cessation from public speaking, with a removal to a milder climate, were recommended as the only means of averting consumption—a disease which had already proved fatal to two of his brothers.

Under these circumstances it was natural that Mr. Thomson should be induced to look with favour upon

a proposal to emigrate to Australia. The Rev. Dr. Lang, a well-known minister of the Scotch Church at Sydney, had arrived in Scotland with the view of carrying out emigrants to New South Wales. As he had chartered a vessel, and was to reap a pecuniary advantage from every passenger she carried, he held out inducements suitable to various classes of persons. He was erecting a college in Sydney, in the building of which not only architects, surveyors, and mechanics of all kinds were to find employment, but professors of all kinds were to be engaged to teach the various classes. He also represented that there were numerous congregations of Scottish Presbyterians in different parts of the colony, all desirous of the settlement of a regular minister among them. These considerations, combined with the well-known salubrity of the climate, prevailed with Mr. Thomson; and having been ordained by the presbytery of Glasgow to the pastoral charge of the "Scotch Church in the district of Maitland, Lower Hunter's River, in New South Wales," on the 11th of May, 1831, he set sail, accompanied by his youngest brother and sister, bearing the highest testimonials in his favour, and the warmest wishes for his success, from the ablest professors and the most distinguished ministers of the Church of Scotland.

On arriving in the colony, his health being already considerably improved, Mr. Thomson at once repaired to Maitland, ready to enter upon the duties of the office to which he had been ordained. But he found matters very different from the expectations he had been led to form. There was neither church, manse, nor congregation, while by the few Scotsmen scattered at considerable distances over the surrounding country, the settlement of a minister among them was neither expected nor desired. There was no choice but to retrace his steps, and make the attempt in a different locality. He therefore visited Bathurst, then a township containing only four houses, but surrounded by the extensive farms of thriving settlers, many of whom were of Scottish origin. By these he was hospitably and kindly received, and forming themselves into a congregation, they invited Mr. Thomson to the pastoral office on the 13th July, 1832.

Being now, as he thought, permanently settled for life, Mr. Thomson's next step was to marry, naturally hoping that the ordinary comforts of a minister's home would fall to his lot. But as the novelty of his position wore off, many disadvantages began to appear. Perhaps, indeed, no man was ever less fitted for a colonial life than Mr. Thomson. Disqualified for manual labour, and ignorant of the common processes of agriculture, he could take no interest in the pursuits of the people by whom he was surrounded, and interpreted but too literally the command to take no thought for the morrow, while his amiable and unsuspicious disposition rendered him an easy prey to the depredations of his convict servants and their confederates. Besides these discomforts, it is well known that an important part of the duties of a colonial minister consists in visiting his scattered congregation, preaching to a few families who assemble at different stations, at perhaps from twenty to forty miles from his own residence. To a man accustomed to a sedentary life, these journeys, performed on horseback under the scorching sun, were productive of so much exhaustion and dizziness as to incapacitate him in a great measure for his duties, besides which, being an unskilful rider, he suffered frequent falls from the spirited horses he rode. He also felt keenly the want of the literary and intellectual society to which he had been accustomed, and began to dread the idea of bringing up

a family who must necessarily come in contact with convict servants. For these reasons, after the birth of his second child, Mr. Thomson determined to resign his charge and to return to England, there to devote himself to the profession of literature.

During the tedious voyage home, the ill-managed ship in which Mr. Thomson sailed being obliged to put in at Bahia for a supply of provisions and water, the British residents in that town earnestly requested him to remain and settle among them as their minister; but declining the generous offers they made him, he adhered to his purpose, and arrived in London in September, 1835. It was some time, however, before his literary talents met with the encouragement they merited. The years he had spent and the connections he had formed while devoting himself to clerical duties availed but little in the new line of life he now pursued; the works that had been so successful but a few years previous were already out of date, while his modest and retiring disposition forbade him from thrusting himself into public notice. But one friend of his early days, Mr. George Lillie Craik, was now settled in London, a popular and successful author, as well as a man of the most amiable and benevolent disposition, and by him Mr. Thomson was introduced to the eminent publisher, Mr. Charles Knight, of Ludgate Street. Mr. Knight engaged him to edit and remodel Henry's *History of England*, but as Mr. Thomson proceeded in the work, so many alterations were found necessary that it was at length resolved to abandon Henry altogether, and to commence a new work upon a similar plan, allotting, however, the different chapters to different contributors, which finally resulted in the well-known *Pictorial History of England*. To this work, which appeared in 1838, Mr. Thomson contributed the first four chapters on religion, and the whole of those on manners and customs. But as the work was published in a serial form, and as considerable intervals sometimes elapsed between these chapters, they did not afford sufficient employment for Mr. Thomson's active mind, and he therefore contributed articles to various periodicals, some of which are of great merit. It was at this time that Mr. Thomson formed those habits of punctual and systematic study to which he always adhered. Rising and breakfasting at a moderately early hour, at nine o'clock every morning he seated himself at his desk, either in his own house or in the reading-room of the British Museum, where the late Sir Henry Ellis gave him the name of "the Indefatigable," by which he became known to the subordinate officials and frequenters of the library. Thus pursuing his literary labours, with a proper interval for exercise and refreshment, during the day, he avoided all study by night—a practice which he considered injurious to bodily and mental vigour. These regular habits not only enabled him to perform a great amount of work, but to calculate the time it would employ him, so that publisher and printer could always depend upon his manuscript being ready at the time appointed, written in a neat and legible hand, without errors or erasures.

In the year 1839 Mr. Thomson published his *British Naval Biography*, a work which soon became so deservedly popular that it was immediately followed by its companion, the *British Military Biography*. These two volumes were highly commended by the most distinguished officers of both services, not only for the correctness of the information they contain, but for the concise and interesting manner in which it is conveyed. He was also engaged in writing biographical and critical notices not only for the *Book of the Poets*, but of numerous other authors

in various branches of literature, prefixed to new editions of their works, prepared by him for publication.

In the year 1840 Mr. Thomson renewed his connection with his native land, to which his reputation as an antiquary had now extended. He was commissioned by the Wodrow Society to edit Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, a work which occupied him nearly five years, having to be copied *literatim* from the original MS. in the British Museum, written in a small and antiquated hand, in some places dim with age, though generally well preserved. But before the completion of this work, events occurred which changed the position of Mr. Thomson as well as that of many of his early friends. Though the movement which resulted in the Disruption has been so well depicted by himself that further description is unnecessary, it may be mentioned that among the ministers deputed to advocate their views in London were some who had known him in former years, and were eager to secure his talents for their cause. Immediately after the organization of the Free Church, a society was formed for the publication of the works of the early reformers and divines, and Mr. Thomson was invited to become the editor. He therefore left London in July, 1844, and removed with his family to Edinburgh, where he resided for the remainder of his life. The first work published by this society was the *Select Writings of Knox*, some of which were printed for the first time, and were preceded by a biographical notice. The works of Rutherford, Traill, Henderson, Guthrie, Veitch, Hog, and Fleming quickly followed, and others were in preparation when the society was dissolved, and Mr. Thomson was again thrown upon his own resources. He severely felt the failure of this scheme, which had promised him a permanent appointment for life, the prospect of which had induced him to remove from London, abandoning the literary connections he had succeeded in forming; but again applying himself to periodical literature, he contributed several articles to *Lowe's Magazine*, and wrote a tale called "Hermann" in *Chambers's Miscellany*. He also for some time wrote the leading articles in the *Inverness Advertiser*, the *Scottish Guardian*, and other journals. It was at this period that he wrote his "*History of Scotland, for the Use of Schools*," a work which though originally intended for general readers, became favourably known and extensively used in the principal educational establishments in Scotland.

It was towards the close of the year 1851 that Mr. Thomson first became connected with Messrs. Blackie & Son of Glasgow; a connection which was destined to continue to the close of his life with feelings of mutual satisfaction and esteem. He then undertook to write a continuation to Aikman's *History of Scotland* up to that time, which was followed by a supplemental volume to the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*. His next undertaking was the *Comprehensive History of England*, adapted in a great measure from the *Pictorial History*, in which he had been engaged more than twenty years previously. Besides carefully revising the "Civil and Military" sections, Mr. Thomson supplied the "Social and Domestic History" of each period, and continued it up to the present time, thus forming the most complete history of the country which has ever been published.

He then undertook to revise and edit the *Works of the Ettrick Shepherd*, prefixing a biography and critical notices of all his writings, which was published in 1863. The edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, published in 1851,

being now exhausted, and many other distinguished men having since deceased, a new edition was prepared by Mr. Thomson, in which not only the lives in the previous Supplement were included in alphabetical order, but many other men of eminence in every department who had been accidentally omitted in the former edition, as well as those who had died during the interval, were introduced in regular order; thus forming the most complete record of illustrious men of which any country can boast.

Still as the work progressed, another and another of his distinguished countrymen dropped away; and it was with a melancholy pride, in his declining years, that he continued to record the achievements of his contemporaries, with many of whom he had been on terms of intimacy, while with the others who had attained a wider reputation he could sympathize, as he always did with everything that was virtuous and noble. It was this sympathy with excellence of every kind that so peculiarly fitted Mr. Thomson for the task of a biographer. Strict in his own conduct and firm in his own principles, he was ever indulgent in estimating those of others, and he has therefore been sometimes accused of having represented his characters as too perfect. But if occasionally some envious or censorious voice would point out some defects in the subjects of his biographies, he was ever ready to find some excuse or palliation, either in the deficiencies of their early training or in the circumstances surrounding them in their maturer years, and often he would express his conviction that they had afterwards repented of their faults or follies, to perpetuate the memory of which he regarded as neither edifying to the living nor charitable to the dead. And studying each life in this amiable and truly Christian spirit, sympathizing with his trials and sufferings, as well as with his virtues, and rejoicing in the success of his meritorious efforts, he came to regard every one in turn as a valued friend in whose reputation he felt a personal interest; and it was with perfect truth that he was enabled to say, at the close of his life, "I have never written a line that could give pain to any living being."

But this was not the only work that occupied Mr. Thomson during the latter years of his life. For a long time previous, even while he was residing in London, he had been desirous of writing a complete history of Scotland; and during every interval of leisure he had been collecting materials for that purpose, and revolving in his mind the conflicting evidences on every obscure or disputed point, so as to form a correct judgment upon the most intricate events of past times. And if sincerity, disinterestedness, and impartiality are the qualifications of a historian, no man was ever better fitted for the task. Though assured of the truth of his own religious convictions, he not only tolerated but respected those of others: connected with no political party either by family ties or by ambitious hopes, he was free from many prejudices; and thoroughly acquainted with the manners of each successive period, he entered into their habits of thought and modes of action, and was able to appreciate all that was great and heroic in each character and event, mixed though it might be with the errors of an imperfect civilization; while everything that was insincere, base, or treacherous, met with his unqualified disapproval. The *History of Scotland* published in 1848 was but a compendium of the materials he had already prepared, and it was not till the year 1859 that he commenced to write a work upon the plan that had proved so successful in the *Comprehensive History of England*. This work, upon which he always considered that his

literary reputation would mainly depend, he earnestly desired to see completed and published; and this desire was partially fulfilled, for shortly before his death the whole MS. was completed and placed in the hands of his publishers. But with the completion of this work and that of the last edition of the *Biography of Eminent Scotsmen*, his own work on earth was finished. Two years before, he had been attacked with pleurisy, accompanied by a severe recurrence of his early complaint bronchitis, from which he never perfectly recovered. In the hope of restoring his failing strength, he removed to the pleasant suburban village of Trinity, but though still vigorous in mind, his bodily health never returned. On the 3d December, 1868, he ruptured a blood-vessel, and was carried to his bed, from which he was never more to rise; for though the more alarming symptoms were soon abated, his constitution was too feeble to allow a complete recovery. His last illness was an epitome of his life—a life of purity, of universal benevolence, and of unostentatious piety. With the holy calmness of a Christian he awaited the approach of death, which removed him to a better world on the 1st February, 1869, having nearly completed his seventy-first year. Among all the eminent Scotsmen whose memory he has embalmed, many have been more distinguished: none have been more blameless or more beloved.

WALKER-ARNOTT, GEORGE A., LL.D. This earnest student and distinguished teacher of botanical science, was born in Edinburgh on the 6th of February, 1799. The early years of his life were chiefly spent at Edenshead, on the borders of Fifeshire and Kinross, until he entered as a pupil the high-school of Edinburgh; and there, while he studied the classics, he formed those schoolboy friendships which, unlike such transitory attachments, he continued to hold to the end of his days. From the high-school of Edinburgh he passed, in 1813, to the university, and won distinction as a student in the classical languages and mathematics, in the latter of which departments his progress attracted the favourable notice of Sir John Leslie. While still a student, also, he wrote two papers on mathematical subjects, which were published in Tilloch's *Philosophical Magazine* for 1817 and 1818, in the last of which years he also took his degree of Master of Arts.

As the law was selected for his future profession, Walker-Arnott, after the necessary legal studies, was admitted a member of the faculty of Advocates in 1821. But he found the study of the law both dry and irksome, and the practice of pleading a weary task, so that he never appeared in more than three cases; and he was content to let his title of advocate be an indication of his rank and position in society, rather than the means of professional distinction. Other pursuits than those of the bar had already preoccupied his regards, and determined his future career. While attending college, the lectures of Professor Jameson in natural science had turned his tastes towards its departments, and especially to mineralogy, but botany finally secured his preference, and became his predominant study. He attended the lectures of Mr. Stewart, an extra-academical lecturer in Edinburgh, and his awakened likings for botany were confirmed into a life-long and exclusive pursuit by visits which he made to France in 1822 and 1825, and by his intercourse with the great French botanists whose herbaria he studied, and in whose botanical excursions he took a part.

Being now wholly given up to botany, Mr. Walker-Arnott spared no pains either of travel or study to

advance his beloved science. One of his earliest botanical papers, "On some Mosses from Rio Janeiro," written in the French language, was published in a Paris journal in 1823. In 1825 he made a tour to the south of France and the Pyrenees, in company with Mr. Benthams (now the president of the Linnean society), and the result of this tour was a valuable narrative of its investigations published in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* in 1826-7. For a considerable time he resided at Montpellier, and in the notes of this visit he gave an interesting comparison between the botanical gardens of England and the Continent. He afterwards proceeded to Geneva, where he devoted much time to the study of the great herbarium of De Candolle. At a later period he visited Russia, and remained there until he had acquired a considerable knowledge of the Russian language. But in every transition, botanical research was the main occupation of his life; and during twenty years, from 1825 to 1845, the fruits of his investigations appeared in upwards of forty papers published among the *Transactions* of learned societies, besides innumerable epistolary communications to his scientific friends in England, on the Continent, and in America. Of his larger writings, we may mention the *Prodromus Floræ Indiæ Orientalis*, prepared in conjunction with Dr. Wight; his monograph of the *Indian Cyperaceæ*; his *Botany of Beechey's Voyage*; and his *Contributions to the Flora of South America and the Islands of the Pacific*, along with Sir William Hooker; his article "Botany," in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and the well-known *British Flora of Hooker and Arnott*, which has passed through nine editions. It will thus be seen that most of the larger publications of Dr. Arnott were written in partnership with some eminent man of science; but the advancement of the study to which he was so earnestly devoted was more to him than even the love of individual fame, and thus he was content to sink his own individuality if the study of botany could thereby be the better promoted. The same disinterestedness made him cordially co-operate with men of different nations, such as Sir William Hooker, Drs. Greville and Wight, Roper and Nees von Esenbeck. But besides this spirit of generous co-operation, Mr. Walker-Arnott was affectionately devoted to the progress of young

rising botanists, who soon learned to regard him as a father, and whose researches he aided both by counsel and encouragement. Often also after the studies of the day were ended, he was employed during the hours of night in elaborating the collections of foreign botanists purely from the love of science. Several years before he died, he especially devoted himself to the study of *marine diatoms*, for which his habits of minute investigation peculiarly fitted him, and his discoveries in this department were published in his communications to the *Microscopic Journal*.

In spite of his modest reticence, the worth of Walker-Arnott could not be hid; and in 1837 the degree of L.L.D. was conferred upon him by King's College, Aberdeen. In 1845 a still higher honour was awarded to him by the university of Glasgow, in which he was appointed professor of botany. It was an office for which he showed himself admirably qualified, and his young students who had any zeal for the science caught fresh inspiration from the instructions of such a teacher. And with all his enthusiasm for study he did not seclude himself from the outer world, of which one proof was his love of free-masonry, of which he was an earnest and genial member. In this way the useful and honoured life of Professor Walker-Arnott passed on, until a considerable period before his death, when he suffered under a painful and protracted illness; but as the summer of 1868 advanced, he endeavoured to rally and resume the labours of his summer session class, with a zeal that alarmed his friends and aggravated the disease. In this difficulty he was consoled by his old associate, Dr. Cleghorn, also an accomplished botanist, who undertook the charge of his class, and knowing that it could not be intrusted to better hands, Professor Arnott gladly assented. His work on earth was now ended: his malady gathered to a head, and he died on Wednesday morning, the 17th of June, 1868, in the seventieth year of his age.

As a botanist Dr. Walker-Arnott's careful habits of observation and minute accuracy of description wonderfully fitted him for his favourite science, and in this department his reputation is as well-known over the Continent as in Britain. It is only necessary to add, that he was Deputy-lieutenant of the county of Kinross, where his estate of Arley was situated.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

. The first date indicates the Birth, the latter the Death, of the individual.—When the dates are doubtful, they are put in parentheses.—The names followed by an italic (*s*) are in the Supplement.

A.D. (372)— (458) (600)— 651 (10—)— 1093 1124 (1090)— 1153 1143 — 1214 1198 — 1249 (12--)— 1332 (1214)— 1292 1241 — 1286 (1250) (1250) (1250) (1259)— 1314 (1264)— 1308 (1270)— 1305 (1270)— 1327 1274 — 1329 (1290)— 1347 (1293)— 1363 (13—)— 1388 (13—)— (1391) (1330)— 1395 (1350) (1350) (1370)— 1440 1385 1394 — 1438 (13—)— (13—) (1400)— 1454 (1405)— 1466 1431 — 1514 (1450) (1450) (1450) (1460)— (1540) (1460)— (1520) 1465, 6—1536 1469 — (1549) (1470)— 1539 1472 — 1513	Saint Patrick. Saint Aidan. Malcolm III., Canmore. Alexander I. David I. William the Lion. Alexander II. Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray. Michael Scott, philosopher. Alexander III. John Blair, patriot. Thomas Rymer, poet. John Holybush, mathematician. John Baliol, king of Scotland. John de Duns (Scotus). Sir William Wallace. Bernard, abbot of Aberbrothick. Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. John Bassol, theologian. Edward Baliol. James, earl Douglas. Sir William Douglas. John Barbour, poet. Sir James Douglas. John Fordun, chronicler. Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews. Walter Bower, historian. James I. of Scotland. William Douglas, knight of Liddesdale. William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews. Wm. Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen. Sir James Inglis or English. Henry, Blind Harry. Robert Henryson or Henderson, jurisconsult. Sir Andrew Wood, admiral. William Dunbar, poet. Hector Boece, chronicler. John Mair or Major, theologian. James Beaton, prelate and statesman. James IV.	A.D. (1474)— 1521, 2 (1476)— 1558 (1480)— (1528) 1490— 1552 (1490)— (1567) 1494 — 1546 1496 — 1586 (14—)— (15—) (14—)— 1550 1500 — 1565 (1500)— 1571 (1500)— 1558 1500 — 1547 (1500)— 1545, 6 (1503)— 1527 1505 — 1572 1506 — (1572) 1506 — 1582 (1508)— 1591 (1510)— 1574 (1510)— 1579 (1510)— 1568 (1510)— 1573 (1510)— (1580) 1510 — 1585 1512 — 1542 (1512)— 1600 1517 — 1603 (1520)— 1583 (1520)— 1568 (1520)— 1581 (1525)— 1596 (1525)— 1573 1526 — 1596 (1527)— 1606 (1530)— 1613, 4	Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, poet. Walter Mill, martyr. Walter Chepman, printer. Rev. Alexander Barclay. Sir David Lindsay, poet. Cardinal David Beaton. Sir Richard Maitland, poet. Andrew Barton, admiral. John Ballentyne or Belenden, poet. Alexander Ales or Alesse, theologian. John Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews. David Panther, secretary of state. Florence Wilson. George Wishart, martyr. Patrick Hamilton, martyr. John Knox, reformer. Henry Scrimger, Latin writer. George Buchanan, historian and Latin poet. John Erskine of Dun, reformer. Alexander Cunningham, fifth earl of Glencairn. Henry Balnaves, reformer. Peter Bissat or Bissart, writer on canon law. William Kirkaldy, reformer. Edward Henryson, LL.D. John Spotswood, superintendent. James V. John Craig, reformer. James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow. Sir James Balfour, legist, statesman. John Bassantin, astronomer, &c. James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton (regent). Thomas Jack or Jacheus, Latin writer. Sir William Maitland of Lethington. John Leslie, bishop of Ross. Robert Pont, churchman, &c. Henry Blackwood, physician.	A.D. 1533 — 1570 1535 — 1607 1536 — 1583 1538 — 1583 1538 — 1608 1539 — 1623 (1540)— (1578) (1540)— 1592 (1540)— (16—) 1541 — 1605 1542 — 1587, 8 1543 — (1600) (1543)— 1591 1545 — (1607) 1545 — 1622 (1550) (1550) (1550) (1550)— 1621 (1550)— 1623 1550 — 1617 (1550)— 1604 (1550)— (1610) (1550)— 1612 1554 — 1631 1555 — 1598 1556 — 1615 1560 — (1582) (1560)— 1609 (1560)— (1624) 1561 — 1613 1562 — 1601 1563 — 1624 1564 — 1635 1565 — 1639	James Stuart, earl of Murray (regent). Sir James Melville, courtier. Thos. Smeton, reformer. Rev. Alexander Arbuthnot. Thomas Craig, lawyer. Adam Blackwood, miscellaneous writer. James Hepburne, earl Bothwell. David Chambers, historical and legal writer. John Hamilton, secular priest. Wm. Barclay, civilian. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. James Gordon, Jesuit. Patrick Adamson, archbishop. George Bannatyne, collector of poetry. Andrew Melville, reformer. Robert Lindsay of Pittscottie. John Winram, superintendent. John Willock, reformer. Andrew Hart, printer. George Keith, fifth earl Marischal. John Napier of Merchiston. John Davidson, reformer. Alexander Montgomery, poet. John Johnston, Latin poet. Rev. Robert Bruce. Robert Rollock, teacher. Jas. Melville, reformer. James Crichton, the <i>Admirable Crichton</i> . Alexander Hume, poet. William Bellenden, Latin writer. Duncan Liddel, physician. Mark Boyd, writer, soldier, &c. George Heriot, goldsmith. Patrick Forbes, bishop of Aberdeen. John Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews.
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A.D. 1576 — 1625	James VI.	A.D. (1600) — 1663	Sir Archibald Johnston, forensic lord Warriston.	A.D. 1646 — 1722	Sir John Lauder, forensic lord Fountainhall.
(1566) — 1644	Sir Alexander Gibson, forensic lord Dune.	1600 — 1676	John Ogilvy, poet, &c.	1643 — 1690	Robert Barclay, theologian.
(1559) — 1671	John Leslie, bishop of Clogher.	1603 — 1672	John Livingston, revered in Scottish ecclesiastical history.	1649 — 1715	Principal William Carstairs.
1570 — 1637, 8	Sir Robert Ayton, poet.	1606 — 1643	James, first duke of Hamilton.	(1650) — 1730	Alexander Cunningham, critic.
(1570) — 1643	Mark Duncan, professor of philosophy.	1609 — 1671	George Wishart or Wiseheart, bishop of Edinburgh.	(1650)	John Craig, mathematician.
(1570) — 1622	Rev. John Welch.	(1610)	George Lesley, Capuchin friar.	(1650)	Rev. John Row.
(1570) — 1645	David Wedderburn, poet.	(1610)	Timothy Pont, geographer.	(1650)	Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty.
(1570) — 1646	Sir Thos. Hope, lawyer.	(1610) — 1673	Sir Robert Murray, statesman, &c.	(1650)	Patrick Hume.
(1570)	Robert Balfour, philosopher.	(1610) — 1673	James Wallace, colonel.	(1650)	Robert Johnston, historian.
1573 — 1620	James Bonaventura Hepburn, linguist, &c.	(1610) — 1679	Sir James Dundas of Arniston.	(1650)	Michael Geddes, Episcopal writer.
(1575)	Walter Donaldson, classical writer.	1610 — 1681	Donald Cargill, Covenant-ter.	(1650)	Sir Robert Sibbald, physician.
(1575) — 1639	Rev. Alexander Ross.	1610 — 1684	Robert Baillie of Jerviswood.	1650 — 1722	Charles Leslie, bishop of Clogher.
(1578) — (1651)	David Calderwood, ecclesiastical historian.	(1610) — 1689	Sir George Lockhart, lawyer.	1650 — 1678	Henry Scougal, theologian.
1578 — 1628	Gilbert Jack or Jachæus, metaphysician.	1611 — 1684	Robert Leighton, archbishop of Glasgow.	(1650) — 1689	John Graham of Claverhouse, viscount Dundee.
1578 — 1627	Robert Boyd of Trochrig.	1612 — 1650	James Graham, marquis of Montrose.	1650 — 1693	Henry Erskine, third lord Cardross.
(1579) — 1625	John Cameron, theologian.	1613 — 1646	Rev. George Gillespie.	1652 — 1711	Rev. John Sage.
(1580) — 1640	Wm. Alexander, statesman and poet.	1613 — 1679	James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews.	1652 — 1713	Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, physician.
1580 — 1661	Robert Gordon, geographer.	1615 — 1685	Rev. John Blackadder.	1652 — 1722	Alex. Pennecuik, M.D., poet, &c.
(1580) — 1625	Thomas Dempster, miscellaneous writer.	1619 — 1695	James Dalrymple, viscount Stair.	1653 — 1716	Andrew Fletcher of Salton, politician.
(1580) — 1645	Rev. Walter Balcanquell, D.D.	1620 — 1665	Rev. William Guthrie.	1655 — (1706)	William Paterson, financier.
1582 — 1621	John Barclay, miscellaneous writer.	1620 — 1680	Robert Morison, botanist.	1656 — (1716)	Patrick Abercromby, historian.
1583 — (1630)	Wm. Lithgow, traveller.	(1620) — 1696	George Sinclair, mathematician, &c.	1657 — 1713	James, fourth duke of Hamilton.
1583 — 1646	Alexander Henderson, ecclesiastical leader and reformer.	(1620)	William Gordon of Earlstoun.	(1660) — 1726	Sir Francis Grant, forensic lord Cullen.
1583 — 1663	David Dickson, minister at Irvine, afterwards professor of divinity.	1620 — 1682	David Leslie, lord Newark.	(1660) — 1735	John Arbuthnot, M.D.
1584 — 1654	Rev. John Strang, D.D.	(1620) — 1680	David Hackston of Rathillet.	(1660) — 1743	Rev. James Blair, president of Williamsburgh College.
1585 — 1649	William Drummond of Hawthornden.	(1620) — 1680	Richard Cameron, Covenant-ter.	1661 — 1689	William Cleland, colonel.
1586 — 1657	Rev. William Guild.	(1620) — 1685	Archibald Campbell, ninth earl of Argyle.	1661 — 1701	David Gregory, astronomer.
1587 — 1641	Dr. Arthur Johnston, poet and physician.	1621 — 1675	Sir William Lockhart of Lee.	1662 — 1728	James Anderson, antiquary.
(1587) — 1644	Geo. Jamesone, painter.	1622 — 1699	Lady Anne Halket, religious writer.	1662 — 1688	Rev. James Renwick.
(1588) — 1653, 4	Rev. Zachary Boyd.	1622 — 1653	Rev. James Durham.	1665 — 1726	David Crawford, historiographer.
(1590)	Alexander Anderson, mathematician.	(1626) — 1687	George Dalgarno.	1667 — 1747	Simon Fraser, twelfth lord Lovat.
(1590) — 1661	Alex. Leslie, general.	1627 — 1653	Hugh Binning, professor of philosophy.	(1670) — 1749	Alexander Robertson of Strowan.
1590 — 1654	Alexander Ross, miscellaneous writer.	1629 — 1719	Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.	(1670) — 1716	Robert Fleming, theologian.
1593 — 1666	Rev. Robert Blair.	(1630)	James Kirkwood, grammarian.	(1670) — (1723)	Rev. John Anderson.
(1593) — 1657	Sir James Balfour, annalist.	1630 — 1694	Sir Andrew Balfour, M.D.	1671 — 1743	George Cheyne, physician.
1593 — 1648	John Forbes, professor of divinity.	1630 — 1714	George Mackenzie, first earl of Cromarty.	1671 — 1721	John Keill, mathematician.
(1594) — 1657	Sir William Mure, poet.	1635 — 1699	General Patrick Gordon.	1671 — 1729	John Law, financier.
1596 — 1646	Sir Robert Spotswood, lawyer.	1636 — 1691	Sir George Mackenzie, lawyer.	1673 — 1731	George Lockhart, political writer.
1598 — 1661	Archd. Campbell, marquis of Argyll.	1638 — 1675	James Gregory, natural philosopher.	1673 — 1747	John Dalrymple, second earl of Stair.
1599 — 1685	Thomas Dalryell, general.	1640 — 1666	Rev. Hugh M'Kail, martyr.	1673 — 1719	James Keill, physician.
1599 — 1662	Rev. Robert Baillie.	1641 — 1724	Patrick Hume, first earl of Marchmont.	1674 — 1712	Rev. Thos. Halyburton.
(1599) — (1600)	Colonel Edmonds.	1642 — 1716	Rev. Robert Traill.	(1674) — 1754	James Gibbs, architect.
(1600)	Christopher Irvine, antiquary, &c.	1643 — 1715	Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury.	1674 — 1757	Thomas Ruddiman, philologist.
(1600)	Robert Douglas, state-preacher.	(1645) — 1700	William Dunlop, principal of Glasgow College.	1675 — 1742	James Douglas, M.D.
(1600) — 1639	Henry Adamson, poet.	(1646) — 1720	Count Anthony Hamilton, miscel. writer.	1675 — 1740	Alexander Hume, second earl of Marchmont.
1600 — 1649	Charles I.				
(1600) — 1661	James Guthrie, minister at Stirling.				
(1600) — 1664	Andrew Cant, a leader of the Covenanters.				
1600 — 1661	Rev. Samuel Rutherford.				

- A.D.
1676 — 1732 Thomas Boston, doctrinal writer.
1678 — 1762 Alexander Forbes, lord Pitsligo.
1678 — 1755 Rev. George Logan, controversialist.
1678 — 1743 John Campbell, second duke of Argyle.
1679 — 1734 Rev. Robert Wodrow, church historian.
(1680) — 1728 Patrick Blair, M.D., botanist.
1680 — 1756 Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, Secession church.
(1680) — 1727 Robert Dundas of Arniston, lawyer.
1681 — 1757 Robert Keith, bishop Keith.
1682 — 1731 William Aikman, painter.
1682 — 1744 Rev. James Craig, M.A.
1683 — 1760 Charles Alston, M.D., botanist.
(1684) — 1751 John Smibert, artist.
1685 — 1747 Duncan Forbes of Cul-loden.
1685 — 1752 Rev. Ralph Erskine, Secession church.
1685 — 1753 Robert Dundas of Arniston, F.R.S.E., lawyer.
1685 — 1732 John Horsley, antiquary, &c.
1686 — 1766 Archibald Bower, littérateur.
(1686) — 1750 Andrew Baxter, moral philosopher.
1686 — 1743 Andrew Michael Ramsay, miscellaneous writer.
1686 — 1757 Allan Ramsay, poet.
1687 — 1766 George Drummond, provost of Edinburgh.
1687 — 1771 Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, Bart., lieutenant-general.
1687 — 1768 Dr. Robert Simson, mathematician.
1688 — 1745 Colonel James Gardiner.
(1690) — 1750 Thomas Gordon, party-writer.
(1690) — 1712 Robert Hepburn, miscellaneous writer.
1691 — 1780 John Bell of Antermony, traveller.
(1692) — 1765 Adam Anderson, commercial historian.
1692 — 1766 Andrew Fletcher, forensic lord Milton.
(1693) — 1757 William Maitland, antiquary.
1695 — 1750 John Love, controversial critic.
1695 — 1773 Rev. John Glass, founder of the Glassites.
1695 — 1768 John Erskine of Carnock, lawyer.
1695 — 1779 John Rutherford, physician.
1696 — 1782 Henry Home, forensic lord Kames.
1696 — 1753 James Keith, marshal Keith.
1697 — 1771 Rev. Robert Wallace, D.D.
1697 — 1767 Dr. Monro, *primus*, physician.
1698 — 1746 Colin Maclaurin, mathematician.
1699 — (1746) Rev. Robert Blair, poet.
1699 — 1784 Alexander Ross, poet.
(16—) — (16—) Rev. John Dury, ecclesiastical writer.
(16—) — (17—) Alexander Cunningham, historian.
(1700) John Douglas, surgeon.
- A.D.
(1700) James Anderson, D.D., genealogist.
(1700) Thomas Innes, historian and antiquary.
(1700) — 1747 Alexander Blackwell, printer, &c.
(1700) Elizabeth Blackwell, engraver and colourer.
1700 — 1770 Alexander Cruden, author of *Concordance*.
(1700) — 1750 Alexander Gordon, antiquary.
1700 — 1748 James Thomson, poet.
(1700) — 1749 William Ged, inventor of stereotyping.
(1700) — 1765 David Mallet, poet, &c.
(1700) — 1753 John Cockburn, agriculturist.
(17—) — 1743 Donald Cameron of Lochiel.
1701 — 1757 Thomas Blackwell, professor of Greek.
1702 — 1749 John Lindsay, eighteenth earl of Crawford.
1703 — 1778 Patrick Murray, fifth lord Elibank.
1704 — 1793 William Murray, earl of Mansfield, lord chief-justice.
1704 — 1754 William Hamilton of Bangour, poet.
1706 — 1766 Walter Goodall, antiquary.
1707 — 1732 Sir John Pringle, physician.
1707 — 1776 Robert Foulis, printer.
(1707) — 1734 Rev. Alexander Webster, D.D., statish.
1708 — 1770 William Guthrie, political writer, &c.
1708 — 1774 Rev. Thomas Gillespie, Relief church.
1708 — 1794 Hugh Campbell Hume, third earl of Marchmont.
1708 — 1775 John Campbell, LL.D., miscellaneous writer.
1708 — 1771 Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B., politician.
1709 — 1788 James Brown, traveller.
(1709) — 1789 John Callander of Craighforth, antiquary.
(1709) — 1779 John Armstrong, M.D.
1710 — 1796 Dr. Thomas Reid, metaphysician.
(1710) — 1768 Dugald Buchanan, Highland poet.
(1710) — 1771 William Lauder, critic.
1710 — 1790 Rev. James Bayne or Baine, M.A.
(1710) — 1794 Mrs. Alice Cockburn, poetess.
1710 — 1790 William Cullen, M.D.
1710 — 1768 James Short, optician.
(1710) — 1789 Rear-admiral Sir Charles Douglas.
(1710) — 1779 James Moor, LL.D., Greek professor.
1710 — 1776 James Ferguson, experimental philosopher, &c.
(1710) — 1749 James Geddes, advocate.
(1710) Rev. John Anderson, M.A., controversialist.
1711 — 1792 William Tytler of Woodhouselee, antiquarian writer.
1711 — 1776 David Hume, metaphysician, historian, &c.
1711 — 1751 David Fordyce, professor of philosophy.
1712 — 1775 Andrew Foulis, printer.
1713 — 1787 Robert Dundas of Arniston, lawyer.
- A.D.
1713 — 1734 Allan Ramsay, portrait painter.
1713 — 1792 John Stuart, third earl of Bute, prime minister.
1713 — 1788 Rev. Adam Gib, Anti-burgher.
1713 — 1780 Sir James Steuart, political economist.
1713 — 1786 Rev. Alexander Bryce, geometrician.
1714 — 1799 James Burnet, forensic lord Monboddo.
1715 — 1735 William Strahan, printer.
1716 — 1789 George Cleghorn, physician.
1717 — 1760 William Duncan, M.A., translator.
1717 — 1791 Charles Bisset, physician, &c.
1717 — 1785 Dr. Matthew Stewart, geometrician.
1718 — 1783 William Hunter, physician.
1718 — 1800 Rev. Hugh Blair, D.D., author of *Sermons*.
1718 — 1790 General George Augustus Elliot, K.B., lord Heathfield.
1718 — 1790 Dr. Robert Henry, historian.
1719 — 1796 Rev. George Campbell, D.D., theologian.
1719 — 1800 David Doig, LL.D., philologist.
(1720) Edmund Stone, mathematician.
(1720) — (1775) Gavin Hamilton, painter.
(1720) — 1783 John Blair, LL.D., chronologist.
1720 — 1796 Rev. James Fordyce, D.D.
1721 — 1793 Rev. Dr. William Robertson, historian.
1721 — 1793 Francis Garden, forensic lord Gardenstone.
1721 — 1792 Sir Robert Strange, engraver.
1721 — 1803 Rev. John Erskine, D.D.
1721 — 1807 John Douglas, D.D., bishop of Salisbury.
1721 — 1807 Rev. John Skinner, poet, &c.
1721 — 1772 William Wilkie, D.D., the "Scottish Homer."
(1721) — 1805 Rev. Alexander Carlyle.
1721 — 1791 Thomas Blacklock, blind poet.
1721 — 1774 Tobias Smollett, novelist, &c.
1721 — 1800 Dr. James Macknight, commentator.
1722 — 1787 Rev. John Brown of Haddington.
1722 — 1808 John Home, dramatic poet.
1722 — 1794 Rev. John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D., theologian.
(1723) — 1767 James Grainger, physician and poet.
1723 — 1790 Adam Smith, LL.D., political economist.
1724 — 1773 Dr. John Gregory, physician.
1724 — 1812 Duncan Macintyre, Highland poet.
1724 — 1816 Rev. Adam Ferguson, LL.D., moral philosopher.
1724 — 1792 Sir William Fordyce, F.R.S., physician.
(1724) — 1768 Alexander, Russell, M.D., historian.

- A.D.
1726 — 1790 General William Roy, mathematician and surveyor.
- 1726 — 1797 Dr. James Hutton, geologist, &c.
- 1726 — 1796 John Anderson, F.R.S., professor of natural philosophy.
- 1726 — 1792 Sir David Dalrymple, forensic lord Hailes, antiquary.
- (1726) — 1806 John Abercromby, horticulturist.
- 1727 — 1807 Neil Gow, violinist and composer.
- 1728 — 1795 Rev. Alexander Gerard, D.D., miscel. writer.
- 1728 — 1793 John Hunter, F.R.S., anatomist.
- 1728 — 1792 Robert Adam, architect.
- 1728 — 1799 Joseph Black, M.D., chemist.
- 1729 — 1805 William Buchan, M.D., author of *Domestic Medicine*.
- 1730 — 1795 Sir Robt. Murray Keith, K.B., diplomatist.
- (1730) — 1800 Walter Anderson, D.D., of Chirsie.
- 1730 — 1802 John Moore, M.D., miscellaneous writer.
- 1730 — 1794 James Bruce of Kinnaird, traveller.
- (1730) — 1783 William Berry, seal-engraver.
- 1730 — 1802 James Johnstone, physician.
- 1730 — 1803 Sir William Hamilton, ambassador.
- 1730 — 1781 Robert Watson, LL.D., historian.
- (1730) — (1769) William Falconer, poet.
- 1731 — 1793 William Aiton, horticulturist.
- 1731 — 1822 Thomas Coutts, banker.
- 1731 — 1804 Lord Viscount Duncan, admiral.
- 1732 — 1810 David Herd, antiquarian collector.
- 1732 — 1781 Thomas Alex. Erskine, sixth earl of Kellie.
- 1733 — 1817 Dr. Monro, *secundus*, physician.
- 1733 — 1814 John Ogilvie, D.D., poet, &c.
- 1733 — 1805 Alex. Wedderburn, first earl of Rosslyn.
- 1734 — 1801 General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B.
- 1734 — 1811 Robert Mylne, architect.
- 1734 — 1798 Rev. John Barclay, A.M., founder of "Bereans."
- 1734 — 1788 William Julius Mickle, poet, &c.
- (1735) — 1799 James Tassie, sculptor.
- (1735) — 1783 John Brown, M.D., founder of Brunonian system.
- 1735 — 1818 George Dempster of Dunichen.
- 1735 — 1801 John Millar, professor of law.
- (1735) — 1820 General Sir David Dundas.
- 1735 — 1803 James Beattie, LL.D., poet, &c.
- 1735 — 1788 Admiral Sir Samuel Greig.
- 1736 — 1808 Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer.
- 1736 — 1785 Alexander Runciman, painter.
- 1736 — 1819 James Watt, F.R.S., engineer.
- A.D.
1736 — 1802 George Fordyce, physician.
- 1737 — 1801 John Donaldson, artist.
- 1737 — 1802 Alexander Geddes, poet and critic.
- 1737 — 1804 William Forsyth, arboriculturist.
- 1738 — 1791 Elspith Buchan, religious impostor.
- 1738 — 1796 James Macpherson, author of Celtic poetry, &c.
- 1739 — 1806 David Dale, philanthropist.
- 1739 — 1808 James Anderson, agriculturist.
- 1739 — 1805 Dr. John Robison, professor of natural philosophy.
- 1739 — 1806 Sir William Forbes, banker.
- 1740 — 1804 John Ker, third duke of Roxburghe, book-collector.
- 1740 — 1818 Rev. Robert Dalfour, D.D.
- 1740 — 1795 James Boswell of Auchinleck.
- 1740 — 1795 William Smellie, naturalist.
- 1740 — 1783 Rev. William Lothian, D.D., F.R.S.E., historian.
- 1741 — 1793 William Russell, historian and miscellaneous writer.
- 1741 — 1818 Patrick Brydone, F.R.S.
- 1741 — 1811 Henry Dundas, viscount Melville, statesman.
- 1741 — 1802 Rev. Henry Hunter, D.D., miscellaneous writer.
- 1741 — 1830 Rev. Thomas Somerville, D.D., historian.
- 1741 — 1809 Alexander Adam, grammarian.
- 1742 — 1829 David Stewart Erskine, earl of Buchan.
- 1742 — 1830 John Kay, miniature-painter and caricaturist.
- 1742 — 1818 Robert Beatson, LL.D., miscellaneous writer.
- 1742 — 1786 Gilbert Stuart, LL.D., historical essayist.
- 1742 — 1825 George Chalmers, antiquary, &c.
- 1742 — 1827 George Jardine, A.M., professor of logic.
- 1743 — 1814 William Richardson, professor of Latin.
- 1743 — 1829 Robert Hamilton, LL.D., mathematician, &c.
- 1744 — 1818 George Rose, politician.
- 1744 — 1828 Andrew Duncan, sen., M.D.
- 1744 — 1796 David Allan, painter.
- 1745 — 1818 Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder.
- 1745 — 1831 Henry Mackenzie, miscellaneous writer.
- 1745 — 1795 Hon. Alexander Abercromby, lawyer.
- 1745 — 1800 William Cruickshanks, F.R.S., surgeon.
- 1745 — 1815 William Creech, bookseller.
- 1745 — 1813 William Craig, forensic lord Craig.
- 1745 — 1820 Patrick Colquhoun, statistic.
- 1746 — 1818 Hector Macneil, poet.
- 1746 — 1795 Rev. George Low, naturalist.
- 1746 — 1817 (Hon.) Henry Erskine, lawyer.
- A.D.
1746 — 1767 Michael Bruce, poet.
- 1746 — 1817 Rev. William Thomson, LL.D., miscellaneous writer.
- 1746 — 1823 Admiral George Keith-Elphinstone, viscount Keith, K.B.
- 1747 — 1813 Alex. Fraser Tytler, forensic lord Woodhouselee.
- 1747 — 1836 John Gillies, LL.D., F.R.S., F.A.S., historian.
- 1747 — 1792 Paul Jones, naval commander.
- (1747) — 1803 James Sibbald, antiquary.
- 1748 — 1819 John Playfair natural philosopher.
- 1748 — 1788 Rev. Dr. John Logan, poet, &c.
- 1748 — 1831 Archibald Cochrane, ninth earl of Dundonald.
- 1749 — 1834 Sir Gilbert Blane, M.D.
- 1749 — 1786 Hugo Arnot, historical writer.
- 1749 — 1806 Benjamin Bell, surgical writer.
- 1750 — 1830 Robert Anderson, M.D., biographer.
- 1750 — 1825 Lady Anne Barnard, poetess.
- 1750 — 1843 Thomas Graham, lord Lynedoch, general.
- (1750) — 1812 John Clerk of Eldin.
- (1750) — 1829 General Sir David Baird.
- 1750 — 1823 Thomas Erskine, lord Erskine, lawyer.
- 1750 — 1793 Lord George Gordon, Protestant agitator.
- 1750 — 1774 Robert Fergusson, poet.
- 1750 — 1817 James Glennie, geome-
trician.
- 1750 — 1827 Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart., D.D.
- 1750 — 1798 John Lowe, poet.
- 1750 — 1825 Rev. David Bogue, D.D.
- 1750 — 1819 Rev. George Hill, D.D., professor of divinity.
- 1750 — 1806 Andrew Dalzell, A.M., F.R.S.
- (1750) — 1803 James Tytler, miscellaneous writer.
- 1751 — 1826 John Farquhar, Indian merchant.
- 1751 — 1808 Alexander Grey, surgeon.
- 1751 — 1814 Gilbert Murray Kynnmund Elliot, first earl of Minto.
- 1752 — 1787 John Brown, artist.
- 1752 — 1831 George Fulton, educationist.
- 1753 — 1828 Dugald Stewart, metaphysical writer.
- 1753 — 1832 Andrew Bell, D.D., educationist.
- 1753 — 1783 Lieutenant-colonel John Campbell.
- 1753 — 1821 James Gregory, M.D.
- 1754 — 1832 Sir William Grant, lawyer.
- 1754 — 1835 Sir John Sinclair of Ulster, Bart.
- 1754 — 1827 Rev. Alex. Waugh, D.D.
- 1755 — 1838 Mrs. Grant of Laggan.
- 1755 — 1788 Andrew Macdonald, dramatic and miscellaneous writer.
- 1755 — 1813 Robert Kerr, miscellaneous writer.

- A.D.
(17—) — 1798 Rev. David Ure, geologist, &c.
(17—) — 1800 Rev. Walter Anderson, D.D., of Chirnside.
(1755)—(1818) Sir Alex. Mackenzie, American explorer.
1755 — 1834 Thomas Telford, civil engineer.
1755 — 1830 Wm. Lawrence Brown, D.D., theological and miscellaneous writer.
1756 — 1832 Sir Everard Home, Bart., surgeon.
(1756)—1836 John Loudon Macadam, roads.
1756 — 1805 James Currie, M.D., biographer of Burns.
1756 — 1821 James Perry, journalist.
1756 — 1823 Sir Henry Raeburn, portrait-painter.
1757 — 1825 Rev. John Love, D.D., theologian.
1757 — 1839 Rev. Archibald Alison, M.A., writer on taste.
1758 — 1841 Rev. James Headrick, agriculturist, &c.
1758 — 1840 Alex. Nasmyth, landscape-painter.
1758 — 1832 Admiral Sir Alexander F. I. Cochrane, G.C.B.
1758 — 1790 Wm. Hamilton, surgeon and anatomist.
1758 — 1819 Robert Dundas of Arncliffe, lord chief-baron.
1758 — 1825 John Pinkerton, historian and critic.
1758 — 1825 James Taylor, projector of steam navigation.
1759 — 1841 John B. Gilchrist, oriental scholar.
1759 — 1836 John Mayne, poet.
(1759)—1853 Geo. Thomson, collector of Scottish songs.
1759 — 1834 Alex. Chalmers, M.A., F.S.A., littérateur.
1759 — 1838 Rev. John Jamieson, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., philologist.
1759 — 1796 Robert Burns, poet.
1759 — 1815 William Roxburgh, physician and botanist.
1759 — 1823 Wm. Playfair, mechanic and miscell. writer.
(1759)—1826 John Barclay, M.D., anatomist.
1759 — 1831 Lieut.-col. John Macdonald, F.R.S., F.A.S., military writer.
1760 — 1833 John Heriot, miscellaneous writer.
1760 — 1815 Rev. Gilbert Gerard, D.D., prof. of Greek.
(1760)—1832 Thomas Trotter, M.D., poet and miscel. writer.
1761 — 1808 Sir John Moore, K.B., lieutenant-general.
1761 — 1821 John Rennie, civil engineer.
1761 — 1823 Matthew Baillie, M.D., physician and anatomist.
1761 — 1827 Major-gen. Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., K.C.B.
1761 — 1832 Sir James Hall, Bart., writer on Gothic architecture.
1762 — 1851 Joanna Baillie, poetess.
1762 — 1836 Jas. Horsburgh, hydrographer.
1762 — 1818 Malcolm Laing, constitutional historian.
1762 — 1820 John Bell, writer on surgery.
- A.D.
1762 — 1829 Francis Buchanan, M.D.
1763 — 1816 Lieut.-gen. Sir James Leith, G.C.B.
1763, 4—1831 John Abernethy, surgeon.
1764 — 1842 Robert Haldane, evangelist.
(1764)—1812 Gen. Robert Crawford, Peninsular army.
1764 — 1832 William Laing, collector and classical publisher.
1764 — 1807 Robert Heron, miscellaneous writer.
1764 — 1824 Alex. Campbell, musician and poet.
1764 — 1833 Rev. John Dick, D.D., Secession church.
1765 — 1840 Rev. Stevenson Macgill, D.D., prof. of theology.
1765 — 1842 James Ivory, LL.D., mathematician.
1765 — 1844 Peter Nicholson, architect.
1765 — 1811 Rev. Jas. Grahame, poet.
1765 — 1832 Sir James Mackintosh, hist. and statesman.
1766 — 1845 Carolina baroness Nairn, poetess.
1766 — 1840 Rev. John Campbell, African missionary and traveller.
1766 — 1813 Alexander Wilson, ornithologist.
1766 — 1815 Claudius Buchanan, D.D., Indian missionary.
1766 — 1823 General Sir John Hope, latterly earl of Hoptoun.
1766 — 1831 Nathaniel Gow, violinist and composer.
1766 — 1832 Sir John Leslie, prof. of natural philosophy.
1767 — 1829 Alexander Balfour, novelist, &c.
1767 — 1830 Henry Bell, pioneer of steam navigation.
1768 — 1851 Rev. James Alexander Haldane, Independent church.
1768 — 1843 David Hamilton, architect.
1768 — 1838 Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, G.C.B.
1768 — 1855 James Thomson, D.D., miscellaneous writer.
1768 — 1832 Thomas Thomson, antiquarian writer.
1768 — 1843 William Wallace, LL.D., mathematician.
1769 — 1833 James Bell, geographer.
1769 — 1833 Major-general Sir John Malcolm, diplomatist.
1769 — 1848 James Watt (junr.), engineer.
(1770)—1828 Sir William Drummond, philosopher.
1771 — 1854 Jas. Montgomery, poet.
(1771)—1843 General Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart., G.C.B.
(1771)—1851 Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, antiquary.
1771 — 1858 Sir Jas. M'Grigor, Bart., K.C.B., military surgeon.
1771 — 1806 Mungo Park, African traveller.
1771 — 1832 Sir Walter Scott, poet and novelist.
1772 — 1854 Robert Jameson, prof. of natural history.
1772 — 1846 Gen. Sir George Murray.
1772 — 1835 Jas. Hogg (the "Ettrick Shepherd"), poet.
- A.D.
1772 — 1835 Rev. Thos. M'Crie, D.D., ecclesiastical historian.
1772 — 1850 Robert Stevenson, civil engineer.
1772 — 1829 Major-gen. David Stewart of Garth.
1773 — 1860 General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, Bart., G.C.B.
1773 — 1858 Robert Brown, D.C.L., botanist.
1773 — 1836 Jas. Mill, miscellaneous writer.
1773 — 1854 Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S., prof. of chemistry.
1773 — 1850 Francis Jeffrey, forensic lord Jeffrey.
1773 — 1832 Andrew Duncan, jun., M.D., writer on medical science.
1773 — 1832 William M'Gavin, controversial writer.
1773 — 1845 Rev. George Cook, D.D., eccles. historian.
1774 — 1810 Robert Tannahill, poet.
1774 — 1819 Robt. Watt, M.D., author of *Bibliotheca Britannica*.
1774 — 1842 Sir Charles Bell, prof. of surgery.
1774 — 1853 John Burns, M.D., medical writer.
1774 — 1846 Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., originator of savings-banks.
1774 — 1841 Robert Allan, poet.
1774 — 1831 Sir Murray Maxwell, C.B., naval officer.
1774 — 1857 Thomas Dick, LL.D., miscellaneous writer.
1775 — 1813 Alexander Murray, D.D., philologist.
1775 — 1811 Dr. John Leyden.
1775 — 1822 Sir Alexander Boswell, literary antiquary.
1775 — 1860 Admiral Lord Cochrane.
1775 — (1849) Henry Marshall, M.D., writer on military hygiene.
1776 — 1851 Sir Jas. Wellwood Moncreiff, Bart., forensic lord Moncreiff.
1776 — 1853 John Struthers, poet.
1776 — 1801 Richard Gall, poet and song-writer.
1776 — 1825 Rev. Wm. Gillespie, poet.
1776 — 1826 Archd. Constable, publisher.
1776 — 1834 William Blackwood, publisher.
1776 — 1834 Thos. M. Cunningham, poet.
(1776)—1834 Rev. David Scot, M.D., professor of Hebrew.
1776 — 1850 John Gibb, civ. engineer.
1777 — 1851 Sir John Graham Dalrymple, Bart., antiquary.
1777 — 1847 Macvey Napier, lawyer, editor *Ency. Brit.*
1777 — 1844 Thomas Campbell, poet.
1777 — 1859 William Richard Hamilton, F.R.S., author of *Ægyptiaca*.
1777 — 1855 Joseph Hume, political reformer.
1777 — 1804 Gregory Watt, chemist.
1777 — 1856 Sir John Ross, Arctic explorer.
1778 — 1817 Francis Horner, politician.
1778 — 1818 Mrs. Mary Burton, novelist.

- A.D.
1778 — 1820 Dr. Thos. Brown, moral philosopher.
1778 — 1840 Rev. John Thomson, landscape-painter.
1778 — 1868 Henry lord Brougham (s.).
1778 — 1854 Henry T. Cockburn, forensic lord Cockburn.
1778 — 1860 David Irving, LL.D., miscellaneous writer.
1778 — 1849 Anthony T. Thomson, M.D., professor of *medicæ*.
1778 — 1857 Andrew Ure, M.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., chemist.
1778 — 1848 Andrew Wilson, landscape-painter.
1779 — 1808 John Macdiarmid, miscellaneous writer.
1779 — 1822 James Boswell of Auchinleck.
1779 — 1831 Rev. Andrew Thomson, D.D., eccles. leader and controversialist.
1779 — 1839 John Galt, novelist.
1779 — 1853 Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.
1779 — 1861 Right Hon. John Campbell, lord-chancellor.
1779 — 1839 Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Indian statesman.
1779 — 1849 Rev. John Macdonald, LL.D., "Apostle of the North."
1780 — 1847 Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D.
1780 — 1850 Sir Archibald Galloway, K.C.B., Indian general, and writer on Indian affairs.
1780 — 1832 William Douglas, miniature-painter.
1780 — 1839 Rev. John Lee, D.D., LL.D., M.D., ecclesiastical antiquary.
1781 — 1813 Allan Burns, anatomist.
1781 — 1844 John Abercrombie, M.D., physician.
1781 — 1868 Sir David Brewster, natural philosopher (s.).
1781 — 1857 Mrs. Christina I. Johnstone, novelist.
(1781) — 1842 Robert Mudie, miscellaneous writer.
1781 — 1862 Jas. Walker, LL.D., F.R.S., civil engineer.
1782 — 1829 Patrick Gibson, landscape painter and writer on art.
1782 — 1852 Rev. Christopher Anderson, miscell. writer.
1782 — 1846 Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D., Secession church.
1782 — 1851 Vice-admiral Sir Charles Malcolm.
1782 — 1850 Sir William Allan, R.A., historical painter.
(1782) — (18—) Brigadier-general Colquhoun Grant, Peninsular army.
1782 — 1854 Susan E. Ferrier, novelist.
1782 — 1869 William Jerdan, miscellaneous writer (s.).
1782 — 1825 Grace Kennedy, religious story writer.
1782 — 1854 Rev. David Landsborough, D.D., naturalist.
1782 — 1867 James Smith of Jordanhill, F.R.S., F.R.G.S.
(1782) — 1835 Lieut.-col. James Tod, Indian historian.
1783 — 1832 Alex. Nimmo, F.R.S.E., civil engineer.
- A.D.
1783 — 1843 John Claudius Loudon, horticulturist.
1783 — 1855 John Black, journalist.
1783 — 1868 John Crawford, F.R.S., traveller, &c. (s.).
1784 — 1848 William Tennant, LL.D., poet, &c.
1784 — 1848 Sir Thos. Dick Lauder, Bart., miscell. writer.
1784 — 1860 Aberdeen, earl of (George Hamilton Gordon), statesman.
1784 — 1858 Rev. John Brown, D.D., theologian.
1784 — 1856 James Baillie Fraser, eastern traveller.
1785 — 1841 Sir David Wilkie, R.A., painter.
1785 — 1842 Allan Cunningham, poet.
1785 — 1854 John Wilson ("Christopher North"), professor of moral philosophy.
1785 — 1857 Rev. John Fleming, D.D., naturalist.
1785 — 1859 Major-general John Mitchell, miscell. writer.
(1785) — 1858 Thos. Hamilton, R.S.A., architect.
1786 — 1853 Rev. Robert Gordon, D.D.
1786 — 1831 Patrick Nasmyth, landscape-painter.
1786 — 1845 Robert Graham, botanist.
1786 — 1860 Admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B.
1787 — 1844 Rev. Robt. Balmer, D.D., Secession church.
1787 — 1851 General Sir Henry L. Bethune, Bart.
1787 — 1837 John D. Carrick, miscellaneous writer.
1787 — 1861 Sir John Forbes, M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.
1787 — 1857 Alex. Laing, poet (s.).
1787 — 1865 Sir John Richardson, M.D., naturalist.
1788 — 1827 Hugh Clapperton, African traveller.
1788 — 1828 Dr. George Cunningham Monteath, oculist.
1788 — 1833 Andrew Picken, miscellaneous writer.
1788 — 1844 Captain Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S.
1788 — 1856 Sir William Hamilton, professor of logic.
1788 — 1865 Major-general Sir James Shaw Kennedy, K.C.B.
1788 — 1858 George Combe, phrenologist.
1788 — 1816 James Burnet, landscape-painter.
1789 — 1834 Thos. Pringle, poet, &c.
1789 — 1835 Michael Scott, novelist.
1789 — 1825 William Knox, poet and miscellaneous writer.
1789 — 1850 James Smith, agriculturist.
1789 — 1865 John R. McCulloch, statistical writer.
(1790) — 1822 John Dougall, miscellaneous writer.
1790 — 1854 David Vedder, poet.
1790 — 1852 Robert Forrest, sculptor.
(1790) — 1865 Leitch Ritchie, miscellaneous writer.
1790 — 1864 Sir John Watson Gordon, R.A., portrait-painter.
1790 — 1852 John M'Diarmid, journalist, &c.
1791 — 1849 Patrick Fraser Tytler, historian.
- A.D.
1791 — 1836 Col. Daniel Mackinnon, defender of Hougoumont.
1791 — 1868 William M'Kenzie, M.D., oculist (s.).
1792 — 1834 Rev. Edwd. Irving, A.M.
1792 — 1863 General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., afterwards lord Clyde.
1792 — 1855 Sir Thomas L. Mitchell, F.R.S., Australian explorer.
1792 — 1865 James B. Neilson, inventor of the hot-blast.
1792 Hew Ainslie, poet.
(1792) — 1844 Rev. Thomas Gillespie, D.D., professor of humanity.
(1792) — 1860 John Lizars, professor of surgery.
(1792) — 1839 Alex. Gerard, Indian explorer.
1793 — 1826 Alexander Gordon Laing, African explorer.
1793 — 1828 Rev. Alexander Nicoll, D.C.L., orientalist.
(1793) — 1854 John Gibson Lockhart, miscellaneous writer.
1793 — 1845 Rev. David Welsh, D.D., ecclesiastical leader.
1793 — 1864 David Stow, educationist.
1794 — 1847 Robert Liston, F.R.S., professor of surgery.
1795 — 1835 Henry David Inglis, miscellaneous writer.
1795 — 1837 Walter Geikie, artist.
1795 — 1867 Rev. John Campbell, D.D., journalist, &c. (s.).
1795 — 1863 John Strang, LL.D., statistician and miscell. writer.
1796 — 1855 Professor J. F. W. Johnston, chemical writer.
1796 — 1864 David Roberts, R.A., landscape-painter.
1797 — 1835 Wm. Motherwell, poet.
1797 — 1840 Captain Thomas Drummond, lime-light.
1797 — 1847 Andrew Combe, M.D., physiologist.
1797 — 1867 John Ogilvie, LL.D., lexicographer.
1798 — 1851 David Macbeth Moir ("Delta"), physician.
1798 — 1834 David Douglas, botanical collector.
1798 — 1850 Robert Gilfillan, poet.
1798 — 1866 George L. Craik, prof of English literature and history.
1798 — 1839 Robert Fraser, poet, &c.
1798 — 1866 David R. Hay, house-painter.
1798 — 1844 Thomas Henderson, astronomer.
1798 — 1855 George Johnston, M.D., naturalist.
1798 — 1869 Rev. Thomas Thomson, historian (s.).
1799 — 1827 Robert Pollok, poet.
1799 — 1850 James Thom, sculptor.
1799 — 1844 George Meikle Kemp, architect.
1799 — 1839 David Nasmyth, philanthropist, originator of city-missions.
1799 — 1868 George Walker-Arnott, M.D., botanist (s.).
1799 — 1850 William Thom, poet.
1800 — 1840 David Don, botanist.
1800 — 1853 John Fulton, constructor of orrery.

A.D. 1800 — 1864	Catherine Sinclair, authoress and philanthropist.	A.D. 1806 — 1849	David Scott, R.S.A., historical painter.	A.D. 1813 — 1843	Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, of Dundee.
(18—) — 1852	Wm. Macgillivray, A.M., LL.D., naturalist.	1806 — 1860	Major Samuel C. Macpherson, C.B., Indian administrator.	1813 — 1865	William E. Aytoun, prof. of <i>belles-lettres</i> .
1801 — 1867	Thomas Clark, M.D., chemist (s.).	1807 — 1845	Thomas Duncan, R.S.A., A.R.A., painter.	1814 — 1837	Robert Nicoll, poet.
1802 — 1856	Hugh Miller, geologist and miscell. writer.	1807 — 1865	Alan Stevenson, F.R.S., civil engineer.	1814 — 1867	Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S.
1802 — 1837	Robert Macnish, LL.D., physician, poet, &c.	1808 — 1865	Hugh Falconer, M.D., naturalist.	1814 — 1832	Lieut.-col. Alex. Seton, wreck of the <i>Birkenhead</i> .
1804 — 1859	John P. Nichol, LL.D., prof. of astronomy.	1808 — 1864	James F. Ferrier, prof. of moral philosophy and political economy.	1815 — 1868	Rev. William C. Burns M.A., Chinese missionary (s.).
1804 — 1843	Alexander Bethune, miscellaneous writer.	1808 — 1852	James Fillans, sculptor.	1815 — 1866	J. M'Douall Stuart, Australian explorer.
1804 — 1858	Dr. William Gregory, prof. of chemistry.	1809 — 1849	John Reid, M.D., prof. of anatomy.	1816 — 1866	Alex. Bryson, naturalist.
1805 — 1841	Sir Alexander Burnes, Indian officer.	1810 — 1849	Geo. Gardner, botanist and traveller.	1817 — 1867	John Phillip, R.A., painter.
1805 — 1835	George Allan, poet.	1810 — 1857	Brigadier-general James G. Neill, C.B., Indian mutiny.	1818 — 1851	Colonel John Fordyce.
1805 — 1856	Rev. T. G. Torry Anderson, poet.	1810 — 1866	Joseph Robertson LL.D., antiquary.	1818 — 1859	George Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E., professor of technology.
1805 — 1866	William Anderson, poet.	1810 — 1839	John Bethune, poet and miscellaneous writer.	1820 — 1864	William B. Baillie, M.D., R.N., African explorer.
1805 — 1861	Rev. Wm. Cunningham, D.D., LL.D., theologian and controversialist.	(1810) — 1849	John Duncan, African traveller.	1825 — 1862	Charles F. Mackenzie, African bishop and missionary.
1805 — 1867	Wm. J. Hamilton, F.S.G., author of <i>Researches in Asia Minor</i> .	1811 — 1863	Elgin, earl of (James Bruce), statesman and diplomatist.	1826 — 1861	Major Charles Nasmyth, defender of Silistria.
1805 — 1867	Hor. M'Culloch, R.S.A., landscape-painter.	1811 — 1855	Patric Park, R.S.A., sculptor.	1830 — 1867	Alexander Smith, poet.
1805 — 1841	Dugald Moore, poet.	1812 — 1860	Dalhousie, marquis of (James Andw. Brown-Ramsay), governor-general of India.	1833 — 1863	Alexander H. Rhind, antiquary.
1805 — 1860	James Wilson, Indian financier.			1833 — 1865	Lieut.-colonel Patrick Stewart, C.B., R.E., Indian telegraphs.
1805 — 1869	Thomas Graham, D.C.L., F.R.S., chemist (s.).				

ALPHABETICAL INDEX:

WITH REFERENCES TO THE AUTHORITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN MAINLY FOLLOWED
IN COMPILING THE SEVERAL MEMOIRS.

VOL. I.

Page		Page		Page	
ABERCROMBY, Hon. Alexander,	1	ALEXANDER III.,	28	ARBUTHNOT, John, M.D.,	44
Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin.		Dalrymple's Annals.		Biog. Brit.; Retrospective Review, viii.	
ABERCROMBY, John,	1	ALISON, Rev. Archibald, M.A., LL.B.,	29	ARMSTRONG, John, M.D.,	47
Chalmers' General Biographical Dictionary.		Penny Cyclopaedia; An. Reg.; Gent. Mag.		Chalmers' Biog. Dict.; Anderson's British Poets; Gentleman's Magazine, 1792.	
ABERCROMBIE, John, M.D.,	1	ALLAN, David,	30	ARNOT, Hugo,	49
Edin. Quarterly Medical Jour.; Obituaries.		Brown's Scenery Edition of the Gentle Shepherd.		Family Information; Scots Magazine; Obituary.	
ABERCROMBY, Patrick,	3	ALLAN, George,	31	AYTON, Sir Robert,	50
Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman; Douglas's Peerage; Abercromby's Martial Achievements; Biographic Universelle.		Dr. Rogers' Modern Scottish Minstrel.		Bannatyne Miscellany; Pinkerton's Scottish Poems.	
ABERCROMBY, Sir Ralph,	3	ALLAN, Robert,	32	AYTOUN, Professor William Edmondstoune,	51
Public Characters; History of the Expedition to Egypt, &c.		Dr. Rogers' Modern Scottish Minstrel.		Blackwood's Magazine, Sept. 1863; Obituaries of the Journals.	
ABERDEEN, Earl of (George Hamilton Gordon),	8	ALLAN, Sir William,	32	BAIKIE, Wm. Balfour, M.D., R.N.,	52
Obituaries of the Journals.		Art.-Union Journ.; Family Information; Obituaries.		Gentleman's Magazine; Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ix.	
ABERNETHY, John,	11	ALSTON, Charles, M.D.,	35	BAILLIE, Joanna,	53
An. Obituary, 1832.		Pulteney's Sketches of the History of Botany; Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh.		Family Information.	
ADAM, Alexander,	12	ANDERSON, Adam,	35	BAILLIE, Matthew, M.D.,	54
Life by Alex. Henderson; Edin. Monthly Magazine, 1810.		Macpherson's Edition of Anderson's History of Commerce; Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict.		Edinburgh Annual Register; Annual Obituary, 1824.	
ADAM, Robert,	13	ANDERSON, Alexander,	35	BAILLIE, Robert,	56
Annual Register, xxxiv.; Scots Magazine, 1803.		Hutton's Mathematical Dict.		Biog. Brit.; Encyclopedia Brit. 7th edition; Baillie's Letters and Journals; Tytler's Life of Lord Kames.	
ADAMSON, Henry,	14	ANDERSON, Rev. Christopher,	36	BAILLIE, Robert, of Jerviswood,	58
Campbell's Introduction to the History of Scottish Poetry.		Life by his Nephew.		Burnet's History of his own Times; Kirkton's Church History; Wodrow; Rose's Observations on Fox's Historical Work; Russell's Life of Lord William Russell; Memoirs of Lady Grizel Baillie; Fountainhall's Notes; Wood's Peerage.	
ADAMSON, Patrick,	14	ANDERSON, James,	37	BAIRD, Sir David,	60
Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, Wodrow Edition; Autobiography and Diary of James Melvil; Biographia Britannica.		Chalmers' Ruddiman; Anderson's Diplomata.		Annual Obituary, 1830; Royal Military Calendar.	
AGNEW, Sir Andrew,	21	ANDERSON, James, D.D.,	38	BALCANQUEL, Walter, D.D.,	62
Playfair's Domestic Antiquities; Sir W. Scott's Tales of a Grandfather; Scots Magazine.		ANDERSON, James, LL.D.,	38	Life of George Heriot by A. Constable; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss; Boyd's Obituary in Bann. Miscel.; Hales' Golden Remains.	
AIDAN, Saint,	23	ANDERSON, John, M.A.,	39	BALFOUR, Alexander,	62
Bede's Eccles. History.		Prefaces to his Works; Wodrow's History; Tombstone.		Memoir by Dr. Moir.	
AIKMAN, William,	24	ANDERSON, Professor John,	40	BALFOUR, Sir Andrew, M.D.,	63
Scots Magazine, 1704; Cunningham's Lives of Painters, &c.		Gentleman's Magazine, 1796; Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine, 1825; Cleland's Annals of Glasgow.		Edin. Month. Mag. 1810; Scots Mag. 1803; Bower's Hist. Edin. Univ.	
AINSLIE, Hew,	25	ANDERSON, Robert, M.D.,	41	BALFOUR, Sir James, of Pittendreich,	65
Dr. Rogers' Modern Scottish Minstrel.		Annual Biography and Obituary; Encyclopedia Britannica, 7th edition.		Goodall's Preface to his Practicks.	
AITON, William,	25	ANDERSON, Rev. T. G. Torry,	42	BALFOUR, Sir James,	66
Obituaries of the Magazines.		Dr. Rogers' Modern Scottish Minstrel.		Memoria Balfouriana by Sir R. Sibbald; Scots Mag. 1803; Life prefixed to Haig's edition of his Historical Works; Collection of Letters in Advocates' Library.	
ALES (or ALESSE), Alexander,	26	ANDERSON, Walter, D.D.,	42		
Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers.		His Works; Edinburgh Review, 1755; Oral Information.			
ALEXANDER, William, Earl of Stirling,	26	ANDERSON, William,	43		
Biog. Brit.; Bannatyne Miscellany; Scot of Scotstarvet's Staggering State of Scots Statesmen; Johnson and Chalmers' British Poets.		Family Information; Personal Intercourse.			
ALEXANDER I.,	28	ARBUTHNOT, Alexander,	44		
Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland.		Biog. Brit.; Irving's Lives of Scottish Poets; M'Crie's Melville.			
ALEXANDER II.,	28				
Dalrymple's Annals.					

	Page		Page		Page
BALFOUR, Robert,	68	BELL, Henry,	117	BLAIR, Robert,	149
Dempster; Mackenzie's Scots Writers.		Oral Information.		Scots Worthies; Wodrow's Lives, MS.	
BALFOUR, Dr. Robert,	69	BELL, James,	119	BLAIR, Robert, Poet,	150
Family Information.		Private Information.		Anderson's Brit. Poets.	
BALIOL, John and Edward, Kings of Scots,	70, 72	BELL, John, of Antermony,	120	BLANE, Sir Gilbert, M.D.,	151
Biog. Brit.; Dalrymple's Annals; Tytler's History of Scotland; Henry's History of Britain.		M'Ure's Hist. of Glasgow, new edition; Quarterly Review, 1817.		Penny Cyclopædia.	
BALLETYNNE (or BELLENDEN), John, Maitland's Edition of Bellenden's Boece; Lord Treasurer's Books, Gen. Register House.	75	BELL, John,	121	BOECE, Hector,	153
BALMER, Rev. Robert, D.D.,	76	Family Information.		Maitland's Edition of Bellenden's Boece.	
Life prefixed to his Lectures and Discourses.		BELLENDEN, William,	122	BOGUE, David,	155
BALNAVES, Henry,	78	Parr's Preface to Bellenden; Remarks on new edition of Bellendenus, 1787; Edin. Mag. 1787; Bee, v.		Family Information.	
Mackenzie's Scots Writers; M'Crrie's Life of Knox; Irving's Scot. Poets.		BERNARD, Abbot,	124	BOSTON, Thomas,	156
BANNATYNE, George,	79	Bee, iv.		Memoirs by himself; Acts of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Pamphlets on the Marrow Controversy.	
Memoir, by Sir Walter Scott, in Bann. Miscel.		BERRY, William,	124	Boswell, James,	160
BARBOUR, John,	81	Bee, xiv.		Douglas' Baronage; Gentleman's and European Magazines; Aikin's General Biography; Croker's edition of Boswell's Johnson; Edin. Lit. Journal; Edin. Review; Private Information.	
Encyclopædia Brit. 7th edition; Jamieson's Edition of The Bruce.		BETHUNE, Alexander,	126	Boswell, Alexander and James,	165
BARCLAY, Alexander,	83	Life by Wm. M'Combie.		Periodical works, <i>passim</i> ; Oral Inform.; Obituaries of the Time.	
Biog. Brit.; Lives of Eminent Scotsmen; Encyc. Brit. 7th edition; Mackenzie.		BETHUNE, Sir Henry Lindsay,	127	BOWER, Archibald,	166
BARCLAY, John, A.M.,	84	Anderson's Scottish Nation; Annual Register.		Gent. Mag. <i>passim</i> ; Edin. Mag. 1785; Life of Bishop Douglas, prefixed to his Works; Chalmers' Biog. Dict.; Family Information.	
Oral Information; Scots Mag. <i>passim</i> .		BETHUNE, John,	128	BOWER, Walter,	169
BARCLAY, John, M.D.,	87	Life prefixed to his Poems, by Alex. Bethune.		Irving's Scot. Poets; Encyclop. Brit. 4th edition.	
Encyc. Brit. 7th edition; Oral Information.		BINNING, Hugh,	129	BOYD, Mark,	169
BARCLAY, Robert,	89	Christian Instructor, 1829; Memoir prefixed to his Evangelical Beauties, 1829; Scots Worthies.		Life, by Lord Hailes; Biog. Brit.; Granger.	
Life, 12mo, 1802; Biog. Brit.		BISSAT (or BISSART), Peter,	129	BOYD, Robert,	170
BARCLAY, William and John,	88, 93	Mackenzie's Scots Writers.		Bower; Scots Worthies; Life, by Andrew Rivet, prefixed to his Prelections on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, London, 1652; Wodrow's Lives, MS.	
Life of John Barclay by Lord Hailes; Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict.		BISSET, Charles,	129	Boyd, Zachary,	171
BARNARD, Lady Anne,	93	Gent. Mag. lxi.		Memoir prefixed to edition of the Last Battell, Glas. 1831; Christ. Instr. 1828; Baillie's Letters.	
Lives of the Lindsays, &c., by Lord Lindsay; Lockhart's Life of Sir W. Scott.		BLACK, John,	130	BREWSTER, Sir David (<i>Suppl.</i>),	564
BARTON, Andrew,	95	Illustrated London News, July, 1855.		Biographical Sketch in Scotsman Newspaper, Feb. 11, 1868; Addresses at the Meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Feb. 17, 1868.	
Buchanan's and Tytler's Hists. of Scotland.		BLACK, Joseph, M.D.,	133	BRISBANE, General Sir Thomas Macdougall, Bart., G.C.B.,	175
BASSANTIN (or BASSANTOUN), James, Biog. Brit.; Memoirs of Sir James Melville, Bannatyne Edition.	97	Transact. of Edin. Roy. Soc. v.; Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry; Scots Mag. 1803.		Annual Register.	
BASSOL, John,	98	BLACKADDER, John,	135	BROUGHAM, Lord (<i>Suppl.</i>),	568
Mackenzie's Scots Writers.		Life by Andrew Crichton.		Obituaries; Newspapers; Histories of the Period.	
BAXTER, Andrew,	99	BLACKLOCK, Thomas,	136	BROWN, James,	176
Biog. Brit.; Tytler's Kames.		Life, by Mackenzie, prefixed to Blacklock's Poems; Blackwood's Mag. ii. 496; European Mag. 1791; Scots Mag. 1754, 1791, 1793; Life in New Annual Reg. 1793; Forbes' Life of Beattie, ii. 370; Bee, iv. 136; ib. xv. 120; Life of Home, 131; Johnson and Chal. English Poets, edit. 1810.		Gent. Mag.	
BAYNE (or BAINE), James, A.M.,	99	BLACKWELL, Alexander and Elizabeth,	140	BROWN, John, of Haddington,	176
Oral Information; Scots Mag.		Tytler's Kames; Gentleman's Magazine; Nichols' Lit. Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century.		Memoir by the Rev. J. B. Patterson, prefixed to Brown's Self-Interpret. Bible.	
BEATON, Cardinal David,	100	BLACKWELL, Thomas,	141	BROWN, John, M.D.,	180
Histories of the Period; Dempster; Biog. Brit.		Biog. Brit.; Oral Information.		Life by his Son, prefixed to his Works; Scots Mag. 1799; Oral Information.	
BEATON, James,	107	BLACKWOOD, Adam,	142	BROWN, John, Artist,	181
Biog. Brit.; Pitcottie's History.		Eulogium prefixed to his Works, Mackenzie's Lives; Moren's Gen. Dict.; Nicéron; Nicholson's Scot. Hist. Lib.; Granger.		Bee, xv. 27; Campbell's Hist. Scot. Poet.; E. of Buchan's Works; Europ. Mag. 1799.	
BEATON, James, Archbishop of Glasgow,	108	BLACKWOOD, Henry,	143	BROWN, Rev. John, D.D.,	182
Biog. Brit.; Spottiswood's History.		Idem.		Life by Rev. John Cairns, D.D.	
BEATSON, Robert, LL.D.,	109	BLACKWOOD, William,	143	BROWN, Robert, D.C.L.,	185
Obituaries of the Magazines.		Blackwood's Magazine, 1834; Family Information.		Annual Register; Gentleman's Magazine.	
BEATTIE, James,	109	BLAIR, Hugh,	145	BROWN, Thomas, M.D.,	186
Forbes' Life of Beattie; Oral Information.		Life by Finlayson; Dr. Hill's Account of his Life and Writings; Scots Mag. 1801; Public Characters, 1800, 1801; Tytler's Kames; Boswell's Johnson.		Life by Welsh.	
BELL, Andrew, D.D.,	114	BLAIR, James,	148	BROWN, William Lawrence, D.D.,	189
An. Obit. 1833; Bell's Experiment in Education, 1797; Lancaster's Improvements in Education, 1803; Edinburgh Review, lix.; Wood's Acc. of Sess. Schools.		BLAIR, John,	148	Encyc. Brit. 7th edition.	
BELL, Benjamin,	115	Mackenzie's Scots Writers.			
Scots Mag. 1801; Oral Information.		BLAIR, John, LL.D.,	148		
BELL, Sir Charles,	116	Chalmers' Biog. Dict.			
Penny Cyclopædia.		BLAIR, Patrick, M.D.,	149		
		Pulteney's Sketches; Bower; Nichols' Lit. An.			

	Page		Page		Page
BRUCE, James,	190	CAMPBELL, Alexander,	276	CHEYNE, George, M.D.,	357
Life by Head; Family Library.		Obit. notice in Edin. Weekly		Biog. Brit.	
BRUCE, Michael,	197	Journal, 1824; Personal Know-		CLAPPERTON, Hugh,	358
Mirror, No. 36; Anderson's		ledge; Family Information.		An. Obit. 1829; M'Diarmid's	
British Poets.		CAMPBELL, Archibald, Marquis of	277	Sketches of Nature; Lander's	
BRUCE, Robert, King of Scots,	199	Argyle,		Records of Clapperton.	
Histories of the Period.		Wodrow's <i>Analecta</i> , MS.; Wod-		CLARK, Thomas, M.D. (<i>Supp.</i>),	588
BRUCE, Robert, Divine,	217	row, Guthrie, Burnet, Laing,		Biographical Sketch read before	
Scots Mag. 1803; Scots Wor-		Bailie, Fox, Biographia Brit. &c.		the Royal Chemical Society,	
thies.		CAMPBELL, Archibald, ninth Earl	283	30th March, 1868; Biograph.	
BRUNTON, Mrs. Mary,	221	of Argyle,		Notice in Aberdeen Herald.	
Life by Dr. Brunton, prefixed		Historical work of Mr. Fox,		CLEGHORN, George,	362
to Emmeline.		with Rose's Observations;		Wood's Parish of Crumond; Lett-	
BRUCE, Rev. Alexander,	222	Wodrow, Laing, Fountainhall,		son's Memoirs.	
Family Information.		Fox, Burnet, Hume's Narrative		CLELAND, William,	362
BRVDONE, Patrick,	225	published by the Hon. George		Blackwood's Edin. Mag. i. 608;	
Annual Obit. 1820; Oral Infor-		Rose, Biographia Brit. &c.		art., 'John Cleland,' in Chalm.	
mation.		CAMPBELL, Sir Archibald, G.C.B.,	286	Biograph. Dict.; Watt's Biblio.	
BRYSON, Alexander,	225	Annual Register.		Brit.; Border Minstrelsy.	
Scotsman, Edinburgh News-		CAMPBELL, Colin, Lord Clyde,	287	CLERK, John, of Eldin,	363
paper.		Biographical Sketches; Obitu-		Life, by Professor Playfair, in	
BUCHAN, Elspith,	226	aries; Histories of the Crimean		Transac. Edin. Roy. Soc. viii.;	
Scots Mag. 1784; Gent. Mag.		War and India Mutiny.		Quar. Rev. 1830.	
1791.		CAMPBELL, Dr. George,	292	COCHRANE, Sir Alexander Forres-	
BUCHAN, William, M.D.,	227	Life prefixed to his work on the		ter Inglis, G.C.B.,	366
Gent. Mag. 1805; Kerr's Life of		Gospels; Edin. Monthly Mag.		Marshall's Naval Biog.	
Smellie.		1810.		COCHRANE, Archibald, ninth Earl	
BUCHANAN, Dugald,	228	CAMPBELL, John, second Duke of	295	of Dundonald,	367
Reid's <i>Bibliotheca Scotico-Celtica</i> .		Argyle,		An. Obit. 1832; Wood's Peerage.	
BUCHANAN, Claudius, D.D.,	229	Histories of the Period.		COCHRANE, Hon. Thomas, Earl of	
Pearson's Life of C. Buchanan;		CAMPBELL, John, LL.D.,	301	Dundonald,	368
Oral Information.		Biog. Brit.; Bee, iii. 3; Edin.		Lord Cochrane's Autobiography	
BUCHANAN, Francis, M.D.,	230	Mag. 1790; Boswell's Johnson.		of a Seaman; Lord Cochrane's	
Family Information; Edin. Rev.;		CAMPBELL, Lieut.-col. John (?),	303	Narrative of Services in the	
Statist. Acc. of Scotland.		CAMPBELL, Rev. John, D.D. (<i>Supp.</i>),	581	Liberation of Chili, Peru, and	
BUCHANAN, George,	232	Life by Rev. Messrs. Ferguson		Brazil; Biographies of Lord	
Memoirs by Dr. Irving.		and Brown.		Cochrane; Annual Register	
BURNES, Sir Alexander,	241	CAMPBELL, Rev. John, Missionary,	304	and Gentlemen's Magazine.	
Burnes' Travels in Bokhara;		Dr. Gardener's Memoirs of Eminent		COCKBURN, Mrs. Alice,	378
Histories of India; Obituaries.		Missionaries.		Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter	
BURNET, Gilbert,	243	CAMPBELL, Right Hon John, Lord-	306	Scott; Notes to the Minstrelsy	
Life attached to his History.		chancellor,		of the Scottish Border; Notes	
BURNET, James, Lord Monboddo,	248	Annual Register for 1861; Times		to Johnson's Scottish Musical	
Scots Magazine, 1797; Tytler's		Newspaper for June 24, 1861.		Museum.	
Kames; Brewster's Encyc.;		CAMPBELL, Thomas,	308	COCKBURN, Henry Thomas, Lord,	
Oral Information.		Dr. Beattie's Life of Campbell.		Obituaries in Scottish Journals.	
BURNET, James,	250	CANT, Andrew,	315	COCKBURN, John, of Ormiston,	380
Cunningham's Lives of Eminent		Bower, i. 297; Balfour's <i>Hist.</i>		Farmer's Mag. 1804; Edin. Mag.	
Painters.		Works; Wodrow's <i>Analecta</i> ;		1795; Family Memoir, MS.	
BURNS, Allan,	251	MS.; Kennedy's <i>Annals</i> of		COLQUHOUN, Patrick,	381
Annual Register.		Aberdeen.		An. Obit. 1821; Ed. Mag. 1821.	
BURNS, John, M.D.,	252	CARGILL, Donald,	317	COMBE, Andrew, M.D.,	383
Family Information.		Wodrow's <i>Analecta</i> ; Scots Wor-		Life by George Combe, w.s.	
BURNS, Robert,	253	thies; Histories of the Period.		COMBE, George,	385
Life by Heron; Lives by Currie,		CARLYLE, Rev. Dr. Alexander,	318	Scotsman Newspaper; Cham-	
Lockhart, &c.; Oral Informa-		Scots Mag. 1757, 1805; Edin.		bers' Cyclopaedia.	
tion.		Mag. 1821, 1822; Mackenzie's		CONSTABLE, Archibald,	386
BURNS, Rev. William C. (<i>Supp.</i>),	579	Life of Home; Oral Informa-		Private Information; Personal	
Sunday at Home Journal.		tion.		Knowledge; Encyc. Brit. 7th	
CALDER, Sir Robert,	261	CARRICK, John Donald,	318	edition.	
James' Naval Hist.; Naval Hist.		Biographical Sketch prefixed to		COOK, Rev. George, D.D.,	388
and Biog. of Great Britain;		the Laird of Logan.		Fifeshire Journal.	
Alison's Hist. of Europe.		CARSTAIRS, William,	320	COUTTS, Thomas,	389
CALDERWOOD, David,	264	Histories of the Period; Life pre-		New An. Register, 1825.	
Histories of the Period.		fixed to his State Papers;		CRAIG, James, M.A.,	390
CALLENDER, John,	266	Christian Instr. 1827.		Chalmers' Biog. Dict.	
Percy's Letters to George Paton;		CHALMERS, Alexander, M.A., F.S.A.,	326	CRAIG, John, Divine,	390
Orme's <i>Bibliotheca Biblica</i> ;		Gent. Mag.		Scots Worthies; Wodrow's <i>Ana-</i>	
Blackwood's Edin. Mag.;		CHALMERS, George,	327	lecta; Histories of the Period.	
Scots Mag.; Transac. Scot.		Annual Obit. 1826; New Mon.		CRAIG, John, Mathematician,	391
Antiq. iii. 84.		Mag. 1826; Oral Information;		Watt's Biblio. Brit.	
CAMERON, Donald, of Lochiel,	267	Encyclopedia Britannica, 7th		CRAIG, Sir Thomas,	391
Smibert's Clans of the High-		edition.		Life by P. F. Tytler.	
lands of Scotland; Browne's		CHALMERS, Rev. Thomas, D.D.,	328	CRAIG, William,	392
Hist. of the Highlands; Memo-		Hanna's Life of Dr. Chalmers;		Scots Mag. 1813; Information	
irs of Sir Ewen Cameron,		Oral Communications; Personal		communicated by Sir William	
pub. by Abbotsford Club.		Recollections.		Macleod Banatynne.	
CAMERON, Sir Ewen,	269	CHAMBERS, David,	352	CRAIK, Professor George Lillie,	393
Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron		Mackenzie's Scots Writers; Tyt-		Gentleman's Magazine for Aug.	
of Lochiel, Chief of the Clan		ler's Life of Craig; Keith's		1866; Knight's English Cyclo-	
Cameron, &c. (Abbotsford		Histories of the Period.		paedia; Personal Intercourse.	
Club Publications).		CHARLES I.,	353	CRAWFORD, David,	395
CAMERON, John,	273	Histories of the Period.		Chalmers' Biog. Dict.; Ban-	
Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers.		CHEFMAN, Walter,	356	Club's Edit. of Historic of	
CAMERON, Richard,	275	Pitcairn's Criminal Trials; Black-		King James the Sixth.	
Scots Worthies; Histories of the		wood's Edin. Mag. i.; Traditions			
Period.		of Edinburgh.			

	Page		Page		Page
CRAWFURD, John, F.R.S. (<i>Supp.</i>) . . .	592	DAVIDSON, John,	439	DUNBAR, William,	491
Sir R. Murchison's Address to the Royal Geological Society, May 25th, 1868; Times Newspaper.		Scots Worthies; Calderwood's History; Wodrow's Lives, MS.		Pinkerton's Anc. Scott. Poems; Lord-treasurer's Books, Gen. Register House.	
CRAWFORD, General Robert, . . .	396	DEMPSTER, George,	441	DUNCAN, Adam, Viscount Duncan, MS. from a Correspondent.	493
Napier's History of the War in the Peninsula; An. Reg.; Obituaries; Anderson's Scottish Nation.		Edin. Annual Register, 1818; Croker's Boswell; Farmer's Mag.		DUNCAN, Andrew, M.D., Senior, . . .	497
CREECH, William,	398	DEMPSTER, Thomas,	442	Family Information; An. Obit. 1829.	
Life prefixed to his Fugitive Pieces; Oral Information.		M'Kenzie's Lives; M'Crie's Melville, &c.		DUNCAN, Andrew, M.D., Junior, . . .	499
CRICHTON, James,	398	DICK, Rev. John,	444	Family Information.	
Biog. Brit.; Life by P. F. Tytler.		Life prefixed to his Theological Lectures.		DUNCAN, Rev. Henry, D.D., . . .	502
CRUDEN, Alexander,	402	DICK, Thomas, LL.D.,	445	Life by Rev. George Duncan.	
Life prefixed to his Concordance; Biog. Brit.; Scots Mag. 1756, 1770.		Gentleman's Magazine; Memoir in Tait's Magazine.		DUNCAN, John,	506
CRUICKSHANKS, William,	404	DICKSON, David,	446	Annual Register.	
Chalmers' Biog. Dict.		Authorities given in notes.		DUNCAN, Mark,	506
CULLEN, William, M.D.,	404	DOIG, David, LL.D.,	449	Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary; Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers.	
Thomson's Life of Cullen; Authorities stated in notes to the article.		Tytler's Kames; Edin. Mag. 1801, 1802.		DUNCAN, Thomas, R.S.A., A.R.A., . . .	507
CUNNINGHAM, Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencarn,	412	DON, David,	450	Gent. Mag.; Art Union Journal.	
Keith's History; Pinkerton's Scott. Poems; M'Crie's Knox; Wood's Peerage; Saddler's State Papers.		Knight's English Cyclopædia.		DUNCAN, William,	508
CUNNINGHAM, Alexander, Critic, . . .	412	DONALDSON, John,	451	Biog. Brit.	
Dr. Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers.		Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1831; Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary.		DUNDASES of Arniston,	509
CUNNINGHAM, Alexander, Historian, Dr. Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers; Introduction to Cunningham's History of Great Britain.	413	DONALDSON, Walter,	452	Trans. of Edin. Roy. Soc. ii.; Scots Mag. 1787, 1801; Wood's Peerage.	
CUNNINGHAM, Allan,	414	DOUGALL, John,	452	DUNDAS, Sir David,	512
Hogg's Reminiscences; An. Obit.; Gent. Mag.; Frazer's Mag.		DOUGLAS, Sir Charles,	453	Public Characters, 1803, 1804; An. Obit. 1823.	
CUNNINGHAM, Thomas Mounsey, . . .	417	Gent. Mag.; Quarterly Review, xlii.		DUNDAS, Henry, Viscount Melville, Pub. Char. 1798, 1799; Boswell's Johnson; Tomline's Life of Pitt; History of Reign of George III.	513
Biographical Sketch, by Allan Cunningham, in Scottish Monthly Magazine, Aug. 1835.		DOUGLAS, David,	453	DUNLOP, William,	519
CUNNINGHAM, Rev. Wm., D.D., . . .	418	Taunton Courier; Penny Cyclopædia.		Christ. Inst. 1827; App. to Wodrow, 8vo edit.	
Family Information; Personal Recollections.		DOUGLAS, Gavin,	455	DUNS, John de, Scotus,	519
CURRIE, James, M.D.,	420	Biog. Brit.; Irving's Lives; Sibbald's Chronicle; Pinkerton's Anc. Scott. Poems; Henry's Hist. of Gr. Brit.		Life, in Scots Mag. 1817, by Pinkerton; Biog. Brit.	
Life by his Son, 2 vols. 8vo.		DOUGLAS, Sir James,	458	DURHAM, James,	521
DALE, David,	422	Barbour; Histories of the Period.		Scots Worthies; Wodrow's Ana. MS.; Baillie's Letters; Memoir prefixed to Durham on Scandal, Glas. 1740.	
Authority stated in note.		DOUGLAS, James, Earl of Douglas, Hume of Godscroft; Scottish Histories.	465	DURY, John,	522
DALGARNO, George,	425	DOUGLAS, James, Earl of Morton, Histories of the Period; Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary.	467	Chalmers' Biographical Dict.	
Napier's Sup. to Encyc. Brit.		DOUGLAS, James, M.D.,	475	EDMONDS, Colonel,	524
DALHOUSIE, Marquis of (James Andrew Brown-Ramsay), . . .	425	Authorities given in notes.		Sir Robert Sibbald's History and Description of Stirlingshire; Anderson's Scottish Nation.	
Obituaries.		DOUGLAS, John,	476	ELGIN, Earl of,	524
DALRYMPLE, Alexander,	427	Authorities given in notes.		Journals; Obituaries; Histories of our Wars in China and India.	
European Magazine, 1801; Knight's English Cyclopædia.		DOUGLAS, John, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury,	476	ELLIOT, George Augustus, Lord Heathfield,	527
DALRYMPLE, Sir David, Lord Hailes, Supp. to 4th ed. of Encyc. Brit.; Scots Mag. 1793; Edinburgh Mag. i. 167, 415; Gent. Mag. lxii.	429	Life prefixed to his Works, folio; Annual Reg. 1807; Boswell's Johnson.		Brydges' Ed. of Collins' Peerage; Drinkwater's Siege of Gibraltar; Chalmers' Biog. Dict.	
DALRYMPLE, James, Viscount Stair, Park's Ro. and Nob. Authors; Murray's Lit. His. of Galloway; Histories of the Period; Wood's Peerage.	433	DOUGLAS, Robert,	477	ELLIOT, Gilbert Murray Kynynmond, Earl of Minto,	528
DALRYMPLE, John, second Earl of Stair,	434	Wodrow's Ana. MS.; Histories of the Period.		Gent. Mag. 1814; Playfair's Peerage; MS. Notes by a Friend of the Earl.	
Wood's Peerage; Tales of a Grandfather; Histories of the Period.		DOUGLAS, William, Knight of Liddesdale,	478	ELPHINSTONE, Hon. Mountstuart, Sir Edward Colebrooke's Memoir; Gentleman's Magazine; Annual Register.	529
DALYELL, Sir John Graham, . . .	435	Hume of Godscroft; Tytler's Hist. of Scotland; Sir W. Scott's Historical Notices.		ELPHINSTON, William,	535
Gent. Mag.		DOUGLAS, Sir William,	481	Bee, iv.; Histories of the Period.	
DALYELL, Sir Thomas,	436	Forburn; Buchanan.		ERSKINE, David Stewart, Earl of Buchan,	537
Playfair's Family Antiquities; Family Information; Swift's Life of Crichton.		DOUGLAS, William,	482	New Scots Mag. ii.	
DALZELL, Andrew, M.A.,	437	Anderson's Scottish Nation.		ERSKINE, Ebenezer,	538
Scots Mag. 1807; Gent. Mag. lxxvii.		DRUMMOND, George,	483	Life by Frazer; Acts of General Assembly of the Church of Scot., of the Associate Presbytery, and of the Associate Synod; Pamphlets of the Period, &c. &c.	
DAVID I.,	438	Scots Mag. 1766, 1802; Gent. Mag. xxxvi.; Bower's Hist. Edin. Univ.		ERSKINE, Henry, Lord Cardross, . . .	546
Histories of the Period.		DRUMMOND, Captain Thomas, . . .	484	Wood's Peerage; Histories of the Period.	
		Life, and article on 'Drummond Light,' in Penny Cyclopædia.		ERSKINE, Hon. Henry,	547
		DRUMMOND, William, of Hawthornden,	485	Ed. An. Register, 1819; Edin. Lit. Journal; An. Obit. 1818.	
		His Works, edited by Ruddiman; Drayton's Poems; Ben Johnson's Works, by Gifford; Douglas' Baronage.			
		DRUMMOND, Sir William,	490		
		An. Obit. 1829; Edin. Review; Works, <i>passim</i> .			

	Page		Page		Page
ERSKINE, John, of Dun,	548	wood; Scots Mag. 1803; An. Obit. 1821; Guy Manner-ing.		the Associate Synod; Pamph-lets of the Period.	
Scott's Lives of Reformers; Wod-row's Ana. MS.; M'Crie's Knox and Melville.				ERSKINE, Thomas Alexander, Earl of Kellie,	556
ERSKINE, John, of Carnock,	549	ERSKINE, Ralph,	554	Wood's Peerage; Tradit. In-formation.	
Wood's Peerage; Erskine's In-stitutes.		Life introductory to the folio edition of his Works; Acts of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, of the Associate Presbytery, and of		ERSKINE, Thomas, Lord Erskine, An. Obit. 1823; Ed. An. Reg. 1823; Histories of the Period.	556
ERSKINE, Dr. John,	550				
Life by Sir H. Moncreiff Well-					

VOL. II.

	Page		Page		Page
FALCONER, Dr. Hugh,	1	FORDYCE, James, D.D.,	56	GERARD, Captain Alexander,	93
Gentleman's Magazine of March, 1865.		Funeral Sermon by Dr. J. Lind-say; An. Reg. 1796; Scots Mag. 1796, 1797.		Lloyd's Narrative of a Journey from Cawnpoor, &c.; Annual Register of 1839.	
FALCONER, William,	2	FORDYCE, Colonel John,	58	GERARD, Gilbert, D.D.,	99
Anderson's British Poets; Clarke's edit. of the Shipwreck; Life by Irving; Europ. Mag. 1830.		Family Information; Personal Recollections.		Biographie Universelle; Family Information.	
FARQUHAR, John,	3	FORDYCE, Sir William, M.D., F.R.S.,	61	GIB, Adam,	100
Gentleman's Magazine; Family Information.		FORREST, Robert,	61	Art. 'Seceders' in Encyc. Brit; Starke's Biog. Scot.; Scots Mag. 1765.	
FERGUSON, Dr. Adam,	5	Annual Register of 1852.		GIBB, John,	101
Scots Mag. 1797, 1816; An. Obit. 1817; Public Characters, 1799, 1800.		FORSYTH, William,	61	Anderson's Scottish Nation.	
FERGUSON, James,	8	Rees' Cyclopaedia; Gent. Mag. 1804, 1805.		GIBBS, James,	102
His Autobiography prefixed to his Select Mechanical Exercises; Nichols' Lit. Anec.; Hutton's Mathematical Dict.		FOULIS, Robert and Andrew,	62	Europ. Mag. 1789; Walpole's Anec.; Maitland's Hist. of London; Hist. of Oxford; Hist. of Cambridge; Plans of Ratchliffe Library, by Gibbs; Cunningham's Lives of British Painters, &c.	
FERGUSON, Robert,	14	Notices and Documents illustra-tive of the Literary History of Glasgow, presented to the Maitland Club, by Richard Duncan, Esq.		GIBSON, Sir Alexander,	104
Life by Sommers; Life by Irving; Life by Peterkin; Camp-bell's Hist. Scot. Poetry; Life by Mr. James Inverarity, in Supp. to Encyc. Brit. 3d edit.; Edu. Lit. Journal; Family Information.		FRASER, James Baillie,	63	Douglas' Baronage; Forbes' Journal of the Session; La-mont's Diary; his own Deci-sions.	
FERRIER, Professor James Frederick, Obituaries.	22	Annual Register of 1856.		GIBSON, Patrick,	105
FERRIER, Susan Edmonston,	23	FRASER, Robert,	63	Family Information.	
Biographical Notices; Lockhart's Life of Sir W. Scott.		Vedder's Life.		GILCHRIST, Dr. John Borthwick,	106
FILLANS, James,	24	FRASER, Simon, Lord Lovat,	64	Gentleman's Magazine; Annual Register; Personal Recollec-tions.	
Memoir by James Paterson, 4to, Paisley.		Histories of the Period; Life of Lovat, 1797.		GILFILLAN, Robert,	108
FLEMING, Rev. Professor John, D.D.,	26	FULTON, George,	74	Life, prefixed to his Poems, by W. Anderson.	
Life, by the Rev. John Duns, prefixed to Professor Fleming's Lithology of Edinburgh.		Private Information.		GILLESPIE, George,	109
FLEMING, Robert,	30	FULTON, John,	74	Scots Worthies; Wodrow's Ana. MS.	
Life prefixed to his Works.		Anderson's Scottish Nation.		GILLESPIE, Rev. Thomas,	110
FLETCHER, Andrew, of Salton,	31	GALL, Richard,	75	Scots Mag. <i>passim</i> ; Authorities quoted in notes; Private In-formation.	
Life by Earl of Buchan; His-tories of the Period.		Starke's Biographia Scotica, 1805.		GILLESPIE, Rev. Thomas, D.D.,	113
FLETCHER, Andrew, of Milton,	36	GALLOWAY, Sir Archibald, K.C.B.,	75	An. Reg.; Edin. Courant; Per-sonal Recollections.	
Bee, xl.; Home's History of Re-bellion of 1745.		Gent. Mag.		GILLESPIE, Rev. William,	113
FORBES, Alexander, Lord Pitsligo,	36	GALT, John,	76	Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway.	
Memoir prefixed to his Thoughts concerning Man, &c., ed. 1829.		Galt's Autobiog. and Reminis-cences.		GILLIES, John, LL.D., F.R.S., F.A.S.,	114
FORBES, Duncan, of Culloden,	38	GARDEN, Francis,	80	An. Obit.; Penny Cyclopaedia; An. Reg.	
Culloden Papers; Tytler's Kames; Histories of the Period; Edin. Review.		Life prefixed to his Travelling Memoranda; Family Informa-tion; Papers in the Douglas Cause.		GLASS, John,	115
FORBES, John,	46	GARDINER, James,	82	Life appended to his Collected Works; History of the Glass-ites; Writings of Mr. Sande-man, &c.	
Life by Garden, prefixed to his Works, 1703; Keith's Cata-logue.		Life by Doddridge; Wodrow's Ana. MS.		GLENNE, James,	116
FORBES, Sir John, M.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.,	47	GARDNER, George,	87	An. Obit. 1818.	
Annual Register, 1861; Knight's Cyclopaedia.		Family Information; Personal Recollections.		GOODAL, Walter,	117
FORBES, Patrick,	48	GED, William,	89	Chalmers' Ruddiman; Introduc-tion to Pinkerton's Inquiry; Minutes of Faculty of Advoca-tes.	
Biog. Brit.; Burnet's Life of Bedell.		Edin. Mag. 1792; Letters to George Paton; Private In-formation.		GORDON, Alexander,	118
FORBES, Sir William, of Pitsligo,	49	GEDDES, Dr. Alexander,	90	Nichols' Bowyer.	
Family Papers and Information.		Edin. Mag. xl.; Scots Mag. 1802; Life by J. Mason Good; Notices in his own Writings, &c.		GORDON, Lord George,	118
FORBUN (or DE FORDUN), John,	54	GEDDES, James,	94	Wood's Peerage; Histories of the Period; Magazines, <i>passim</i> .	
Tytler's Lives of Scottish Worthies.		Chalmers' Biog. Dict.		GORDON, James,	125
FORDYCE, David,	54	GEDDES, Michael,	94	Chalmers' Biog. Dict.	
Chalmers' Biog. Dict.		Birch's Life of Tillotson; Athenæ Oxon.		GORDON, Sir John Watson,	125
FORDYCE, George,	55	GEIKIE, Walter,	95	Art-Union Journal of 1864; Athenæum; Obituaries.	
Edin. Mag. xl.; Gent. Mag. 1802; Rees' Cyclopaedia.		Life, prefixed to his Sketches, by Sir Thos. Dick Lauder.			

	Page		Page		Page
GORDON, General Patrick, . . .	126	GUTHRIE, William, Miscellaneous	186	HART, Andrew,	235
Life and Diary of General Gordon, in Spalding Publications.		Writer,		Bann. Miscel.	
GORDON, Robert, of Straloch, . .	130	D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors; Boswell's Johnson.		HAY, David Ramsay,	235
Family Information.		HACKSTON, David, of Rathillet, .	188	Knigh's Cyclopædia; Obituaries.	
GORDON, Rev. Robert, D.D., . . .	131	Scots Worthies; Wodrow's Hist.; Crichton's Memoirs.		HEADRICK, Rev. James,	236
Free Church Mag.; Personal Recollections.		HALDANE, James Alexander, . . .	190	Biographical Notice in Gray's Life of the Rev. David Ure.	
GORDON, Thomas,	134	Memoirs of Robert and James Haldane, by Alexander Haldane, Esq.		HENDERSON, Alexander,	236
Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway; art. 'Trenchard' in Biog. Brit.; Chalmers' Biog. Dict.		HALDANE, Robert,	192	Scots Worthies; Retrospective Review, xiii. 219; Chambers' Hist. of Rebellions, 1638-1660; Cook's Hist. of Church of Scotland; Wodrow's Ana. MS.	
GORDON, William, of Earlston, . .	135	Ibid.		HENDERSON, Thomas,	242
Hist. of the Period; Wodrow's Ana. MS.		HALKET, Lady Anne,	198	Annual Report of the Astronomical Society for 1845; Knight's Cyclopædia.	
GOW, Nathaniel,	136	Ballard's Memoirs.		HENRY, the Minstrel,	243
Family Information.		HALL, Captain Basil,	198	Irving's Lives of Scot. Poets; Jamieson's edit. of Bruce and Wallace; Tytler's Scot. Worthies.	
GOW, Neil,	138	Penny Cyclopædia; Rose's Biog. Dict.; Captain Hall's Published Works.		HENRY, Dr. Robert,	244
Scots Mag. 1809; Family Information.		HALL, Sir James,	201	Life prefixed to his History; Scots Mag. 1796; Calamities of Authors; Edin. Rev. and Magazine, i.; Political Herald; Magazines of the Period, <i>passim</i> .	
GRAHAM, James, Marquis of Montrose,	141	Gent. Mag. 1832; Family Information; Transactions of Royal Society.		HENRYSON, Edward, LL.D.,	249
Wood's Peerage; Histories of the Period.		HALYBURTON, Thomas,	203	Authorities quoted in notes.	
GRAHAM, Rev. James,	157	Leland's Deistical Writers; Life written partly by himself.		HENRYSON or HENDERSON, Robert, .	249
Edin. An. Reg. 1812; Blackwood's Mag. i.		HAMILTON, Count Anthony, . . .	204	Abndrgd from Memoir by Dr. Irving, prefixed to Bann. Club edit. of Henryson's Fables.	
GRAHAM, John, Viscount Dundee, .	159	Morei's Gen. Dict.; Works of Count A. Hamilton; Evelyn's Diary.		HEPBURN, James Bonaventura, . .	250
Wood's Peerage; Histories of the Period.		HAMILTON, David,	205	Authorities quoted in notes.	
GRAHAM, Robert,	161	Knigh's Biographical Cyclopædia.		HEPBURNE, James, Earl of Bothwell,	251
Knigh's Cyclopædia.		HAMILTON, Gavin,	205	Calderwood's History, Wodrow edition; Tytler's Hist. of Scot.; Mignet's Hist. of Queen Mary; Scottish Histories.	
GRAHAM, Thomas, Lord Lynedoch, .	162	Bee, xvi.; Scots Mag. 1793; Biog. Univ.		HEPBURN, Robert,	255
Military Hist. and Biog. of Great Britain; Gent. Mag.; Alison's Hist. of Europe.		HAMILTON, James, first Duke of Hamilton,	206	Tytler's Kames.	
GRAHAM, Thomas (<i>Suppl.</i>)	594	Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton; Histories of the Period.		HERD, David,	256
Notice by Prof. Williamson, Nature, vol. i. pp. 20-22; Notice by Dr. Bryce, President of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow; Glasgow University Graduation Roll Book and Medical Register, M.S.		HAMILTON, James, fourth Duke of Hamilton,	210	Percy's Letters to Paton; Scots Mag. 1810; Private Information.	
GRAINGER, James,	165	Histories of the Period; Lives, English and Foreign, London, 1704		HERIOT, George,	256
Gent. Mag. lxi.; Chal. Biog. Dict.		HAMILTON, Rev. James, D.D., . .	214	Memoirs by A. Constable, 12mo, 1822; Authorities quoted in notes.	
GRANT, Brigadier-general Colquhoun, .	166	Obituaries; Personal Recollections.		HERIOT, John,	257
Sir J. M'Grigor's Autobiography; Napier's History of the Peninsular War.		HAMILTON, John,	216	Popular Encyclopædia; Gent. Mag.	
GRANT, Sir Francis,	169	Life by Lord Hailes.		HERON, Robert,	258
Haig and Bruntin's Lords of Session; Biog. Brit.; Wodrow's Ana. MS.; Political Pamphlets of the Period.		HAMILTON, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews,	218	Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway; D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.	
GRANT, Mrs., of Laggan,	171	Mackenzie's Lives; Histories of the Period; Crawford's Officers of State.		HEUGH, Rev. Hugh, D.D.,	261
Edin. Courant.		HAMILTON, Patrick,	220	Life by the Rev. H. M. Macgill.	
GRANT, Sir William,	173	Lawson's Memoirs of Hamilton, &c.		HILL, Dr. George,	262
An. Obit.		HAMILTON, Robert, LL.D., . . .	221	Life by Dr. Cook; Acts of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Letters to Dr. Hill on the Constitution and Management of the Church of Scotland, &c.	
GREGORY, David,	174	An. Obit. 1830; Family and Local Information; Works, and Life prefixed to Progress of Society.		HOGG, James,	265
Encyclopædia Britannica; Aikin's General Biog. Dict.; Life and Writings of Dr. John Gregory; Hutton's Mathemat. Dict., &c.		HAMILTON, Thomas,	224	Hogg's Autobiographies; Obituaries; Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott.	
GREGORY, James,	176	Edinburgh Advertiser; Family Information.		HOLYBUSH, John,	272
Life by Tytler prefixed to his Works.		HAMILTON, William, of Bangour, .	224	Mackenzie's Lives, i.; Hist. Lit. Gentis Scot. MS. Adv. Lib.; Bulzei Historia Universitatis Parisiensis.	
GREGORY, James, M.D.,	177	Anderson's Brit. Poets; Tytler's Kames; The Lounger; Transactions of Scot. Antiq. iii.		HOME, Sir Everard,	273
Edin. Mag. 1821; Bell's Letters on Professional Character; Private Information.		HAMILTON, Sir William,	226	Annual Obituary of 1833.	
GREGORY, Dr. John,	178	Wood's Peerage; Biographie Contemporaine; Baldwin's Lit. Journal, 1804; Antiquités Etrusques, Greques et Romaines, par D'Hancerville.		HOME, Henry, Lord Kames,	274
Smellie's Lives.		HAMILTON, William, M.D., . . .	228	Life by Tytler; Magazines, <i>passim</i> ; Smellie's Lives; Works.	
GREGORY, Dr. William,	179	HAMILTON, William Richard, F.R.S., .	229	HOME, John,	278
Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, July to Oct. 1858.		Memoir supplied by Major-general Hamilton.		Life by Mackenzie; Boswell's Johnson; Stewart's Life of Robertson.	
GREIG, Sir Samuel,	181	HAMILTON, Sir William,	230		
Scots Mag. 1789.		Knigh's Cyclopædia; Chambers' Cyclopædia; Edinburgh University Essays.			
GREY, Alexander,	181	HAMILTON, William John,	233		
MS. contributed by Local Inquirer		Family Information; Gentleman's Magazine; Hamilton's Researches in Asia Minor.			
GUILD, William,	182				
Sheriff's Life of Guild, 1796.					
GUTHRIE, James,	183				
Scots Worthies; Wodrow, MS.					
GUTHRIE, William, Divine,	184				
Scots Worthies; Memoir prefixed to the Christian's Great Interest; Life by the Rev. William Muir.					

	Page		Page		Page
HOPE, John, Earl of Hopetoun, . . .	282	IVORY, James,	351	KEITH, Hon. James,	421
Edin. Annual Reg. 1823; Napier's		Marquis of Northampton's Ad-		MS. Memoir in possession of	
Penins. Campaigns; An. Obit.		dress to the Royal Society,		the Editor.	
1824.		Nov. 1842.		KEITH, Robert,	425
HOPE, Sir Thomas,	285	JACK (or JACHÆUS), Gilbert, . .	352	Preface to Russell's edition of his	
Wood's Parish of Cramond and		Funeral Oration; Freheri Theatrum		Catalogue.	
Peerae.		Virorum Eruditum;		KEITH, Sir Robert Murray, . . .	426
		Works.		Keith's Life and Correspondence.	
HORNER, Francis,	286	JACK (or JACHÆUS), Thomas, . .	353	KEITH-ELPHINSTONE, George, Vis-	
Annual Register; (Constable's)		McCrie's Life of Melville; Ono-		count Keith,	429
Edinburgh Magazine; Cob-		maston Poeticum.		Wood's Peerage; Edin. Annual	
bett's Register.				Reg. 1823; An. Obit. 1824.	
HORSBURGH, James,	288	JAMES I., King of Scots,	353	KEMP, George Meikle,	431
Asiatic Journal.		Histories of the Period; Tytler's		Chambers' Edinburgh Journal.	
		Lives of Scot. Worthies.		KEMP, Kenneth G.,	433
HORSLEY, John,	290	JAMES IV.,	360	Annual Register.	
Life by Rev. Mr. Hodgson,		Histories of the Period.		KENNEDY, Grace,	434
quoted in the article.		JAMES V.,	364	Life prefixed to 10th edition of	
HUME, Alexander,	291	Histories of the Period.		Father Clement.	
Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish		JAMES VI.,	370	KENNEDY, James,	435
Poetry; Leyden's Collection		Life of James I., Constable's		Mackenzie's Lives; Crawford's	
of Scottish Descriptive Poems;		Miscellany; Hist. of the		Officers of State; Histories of	
Dempster; Memoir prefixed		Period; Pitcairn's Criminal		the Period.	
to his Hymns and Sacred		Trials; Edin. Lit. Journal.		KENNEDY, Major-gen. Sir James S.,	436
Songs, Ban. Club.		JAMESONE, George,	380	His Autobiography.	
HUME, David, of Godscroft, . . .	293	Walpole's Anecdotes of Paint-		KER, John, Duke of Roxburgh, .	440
Sources of information mentioned		ing; Bee, xiv.; Council Rec-		Wood's Peerage; Quarterly Re-	
in the article.		ords of Aberdeen; Pennant's		view, xlv.; Dibdin's Bibli-	
HUME, David,	296	Tour in Scotland; Histories		ographical Decameron; Nichols'	
Life by Ritchie; Life by himself;		of Aberdeen; Survey of the		Preface to the Roxburghe	
Mackenzie's Life of Home;		City of Aberdeen by Philo-		Catalogue.	
Hardy's Mem. of Charlemont;		politeius; Cunningham's Lives			
Life by Smellie; Warburton's		of Painters.		KERR, Robert,	441
Letters to Herd; Collection		JAMESON, Professor Robert, . .	383	Private Information.	
of Fugitive Letters, in posses-		Biographical Notice in the Edin-		KIRKALDY, William,	442
sion of the Editor.		burgh New Philosophical Jour-		Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary;	
HUME, Joseph, M.P.,	305	nal, lvii.		Memoir by Mr. Graham Dal-	
Journals; Histories of the Period;		JAMESON, Rev. John, D.D., . .	386	yell.	
Obituaries; Miss Martineau's		Scotsman; Gent. Mag.		KIRKWOOD, James,	445
Thirty Years' Peace.		JARDINE, George, A.M.,	387	Watt's Bibliotheca; Sibbald's	
HUME, Patrick, Alexander, and		Family Information.		Eib. Scot. MS. Adv. Lib.;	
Hugh, Earls of Marchmont,		JEFFREY, Francis, Lord,	390	Chalmers' Ruddiman.	
Marchmont Papers; Wood's		Life by Lord Cockburn.		KNOX, John,	446
Peerage; Crawford's Officers		JERDAN, William (<i>Suppl.</i>), . . .	599	Life by McCrie.	
of State; Fox's Hist. Work;		Autobiography; Men I have		KNOX, William,	452
Observations on the same by		Known; Catalogue of Modern		Life prefixed to the last edit.	
Rose; Haig and Brunton's		Authors in Brit. Museum, 1869;		of his Poems; Lockhart's Life	
Historical Acc. of the Court		Leader, May and Dec. 1852.		of Sir Walter Scott.	
of Session; Oswald's Corre-		JOHNSTON, Sir Archibald, of War-		LAING, Alexander (<i>Suppl.</i>), . . .	600
spondence.		riston,	397	Prefaces to his Wayside Flowers;	
HUME, Patrick,	318	Authorities quoted in notes.		Obituaries.	
Tytler's Kames; Blackwood's		JOHNSTON, Dr. Arthur,	403	LAING, Alexander Gordon, . . .	453
Edinburgh Mag. iv.		Authorities quoted in notes.		Composed chiefly from Family	
HUNTER, Dr. Henry,	319	JOHNSTONE, Mrs. Christian Isobel,	405	Information by the late Rev.	
Memoirs, 1805; Gent. Mag. lxii;		Tait's Magazine, 1857; Ander-		William Craig, Dalkeith, brother-	
Rees' Cyclopaedia.		son's Scottish Nation.		in-law to Major Laing.	
HUNTER, William,	320	JOHNSTON, George, M.D., . . .	407	LAING, Malcolm,	457
Life by Symmons, 1783; Refer-		Knight's Cyclopaedia; Gentle-		Ed. An. Reg. 1818; Biographie	
ences throughout the article;		man's Magazine; Annual Re-		des Contemporains; Fox's Let-	
Monthly Review, li. lxxv.		gister.		ters.	
lxxvi. &c.		JOHNSTONE, James,	408	LAING, William,	459
HUNTER, John,	324	Gent. and Month. Magazines,		Caledonian Mercury.	
Life by Edward Home; Periodi-		1802; Doddridge's Letters, p.		LANDSBOROUGH, Rev. David, . .	460
cal Works, <i>passim</i> .		354.		Notice in Scottish Guardian.	
HUTTON, Dr. James,	332	JOHNSTONE, Professor James F.W.,	408	LAUDER, Sir John, Lord Fountain-	
Trans. of Ed. Roy. Soc. v.		Edinburgh Medical Journal,		hall,	460
INGLIS, Henry David,	336	vol. i.; Gentleman's Maga-		Authorities quoted in notes;	
Gent. Mag.; Literary Gazette.		zine; Knight's Cyclopaedia;		Family Information.	
INGLIS (or ENGLISH), Sir James, .	337	Personal Recollections.		LAUDER, Sir Thomas Dick, . . .	464
Leyden's edit. of Complaynt of		JOHNSTON, John,	409	Tait's Magazine; Oral Communi-	
Scotland; Irving's Lives of		Authorities quoted in notes.		cations.	
Scot. Poets; Sibbald's Chroni-		JOHNSTON, Robert,	410	LAUDER, William,	466
cle; Lives of Em. Scotsmen.		Authorities quoted in notes.		Authorities quoted in notes.	
INKES, Thomas,	337	JONES, Paul,	411	LAW, John,	469
His Works, <i>passim</i> ; Wodrow's		Life of Paul Jones; Private In-		Life by J. P. Wood.	
Ana. MS.; Pinkerton's In-		formation.		LEE, Rev. John, D.D., LL.D., M.D.,	477
quiry; Edin. Review, xii. 280.		KAY, John,	415	Obituaries.	
IRVINE, Christopher,	339	Family Information.		LEIGHTON, Robert,	478
Sibbald's Bibliotheca Scot. MS.		KEILL, James,	416	Life by Murray; Life by Pear-	
Adv. Lib.; Prefaces to his		Authorities quoted in notes.		son; Burnet's History of his	
Publications; Acts of Scottish		KEILL, John,	416	Own Times; Bower's Hist. of	
Parlia.; Family Information;		Authorities quoted in notes.		the Univ. of Edin.	
Catalogue of Scots Writers,		KEITH, George, fifth Earl-mar-	419	LEITH, Sir James,	484
edited by Mr. J. Maidment.		shal,		Histories of Peninsular War;	
IRVING, David, LL.D.,	341	Authorities quoted in notes, and		Family Information.	
Memoir by Dr. Laing prefixed		Historical Works connected		LESLIE, Alexander, Earl of Leven,*	489
to Irving's History of Scottish		with Aberdeen and the Uni-		Histories of the Period; Wood's	
Poetry.		versities of Scotland.		Peerage.	
IRVING, Rev. Edward,	344				
Jones' Life of Irving; Dr. Hanna's					
Life of Dr. Chalmers; Per-					
sonal Recollections.					

	Page		Page		Page
LESLIE, David, Lord Newark, . . .	493	LIDDEL, Dr. Duncan,	514	LOCKHART, John Gibson,	536
Histories of the Period; Wood's Peerage.		Authorities quoted in notes.		Edin. Courant; Lockhart's Life of Sir W. Scott.	
LESLEY, George,	495	LINDSAY, Sir David,	516	LOCKHART, Sir William, of Lee, .	538
Life by Lord Hailes; Scots Mag. 1802; other authorities quoted in notes.		Life by G. Chalmers prefixed to his Works; Irving's Lives of Scot. Poets.		Authorities quoted in notes.	
LESLIE, John, Bishop of Clogher, and his son Charles,	497	LINDSAY, John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay,	518	LOGAN, George,	540
Chalmers' Biog. Dict.; Memoir of Charles Leslie, prefixed to late Oxford edition of his Works.		His Life, 8vo; Wood's Peerage.		Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, and other authorities quoted in notes.	
LESLIE, John, Bishop of Ross, . . .	498	LINDSAY, Robert, of Pitscottie, .	521	LOGAN, John,	541
Mackenzie's Lives; Histories of the Period; Chalmers' Biog. Dict.; Bann. Club edition of his Histories.		Preface to his Chronicles.		Anderson's Brit. Poets; Private Information.	
LESLIE, Sir John,	500	LISTON, Robert,	521	LOTHIAN, Dr. William, F.R.S.E., .	543
Family Information; Report of the Case of Mr. Leslie; Obit. Notices in Caledonian Mercury and Edin. Courant.		Annual Register.		Trans. Ed. Roy. Soc. i.	
LEYDEN, John,	504	LITHGOW, William,	522	LOUDON, John Claudius,	543
Life, by Scott, in Edin. An. Reg. 1811; Life prefixed to his Poems.		His Travels; Traditionary Information.		Memoir by Mrs. Loudon; Gardener's Mag.	
		LIVINGSTON, John,	524	LOVE, John, Critic,	545
		Life published in 1754; Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway.		Chalmers' Ruddiman.	
		LIZARS, Professor John,	527	LOVE, Rev. Dr. John,	545
		Memoir in the Lancet.		Communication from a Friend; Personal Recollections.	
		LOCKHART, Sir George,	529	LOW, George,	547
		Authorities quoted in notes.		Preface to Fauna Orcadensis.	
		LOCKHART, George, of Carnwath, .	532	LOWE, John,	547
		Lockhart Papers; Stuart Papers; Histories of the Rebellion of 1715; Pamphlets of the Period, &c.		Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song.	

VOL. III.

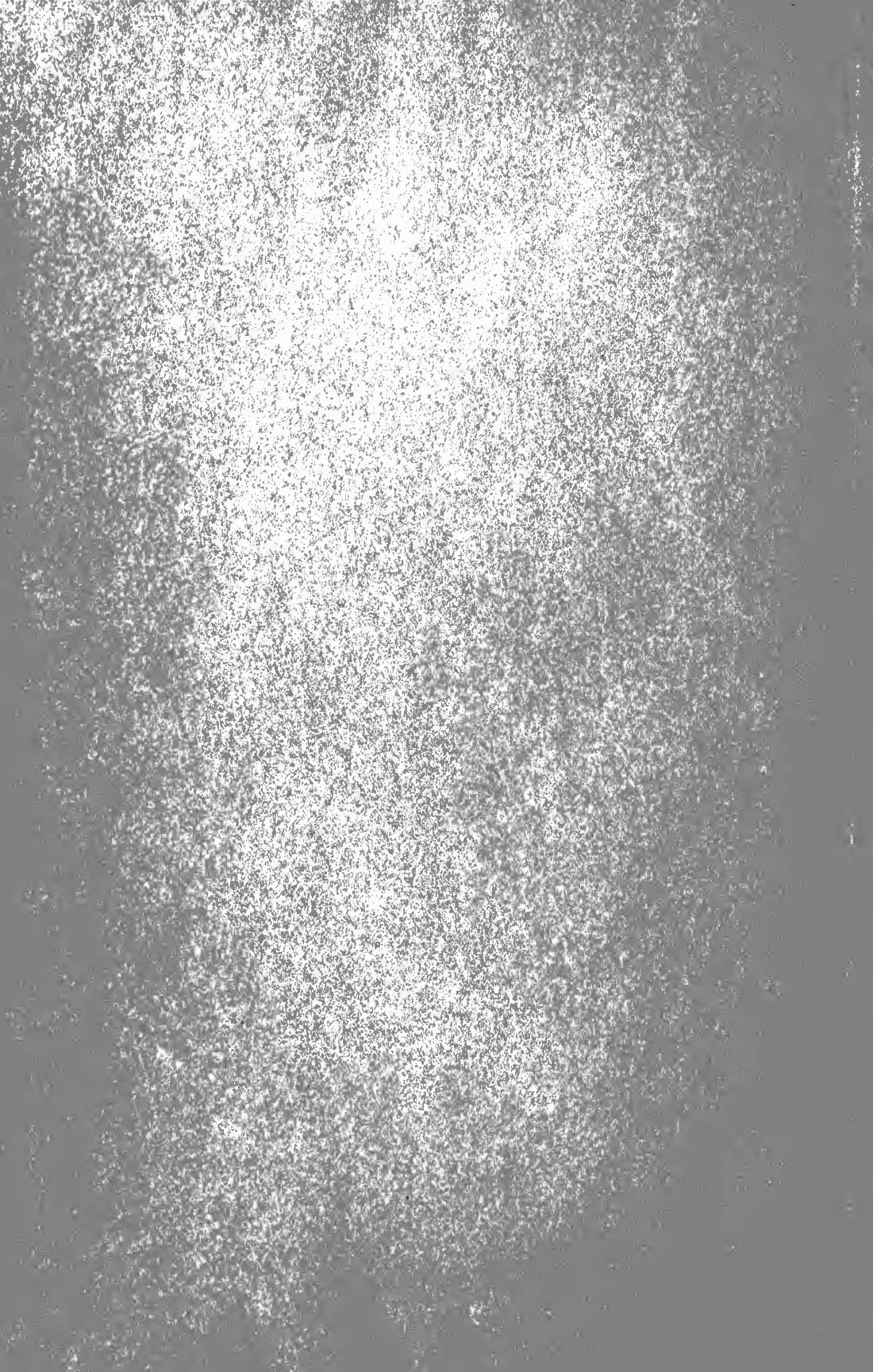
	Page		Page		Page
MACADAM, John Loudon,	1	MACKENZIE, Bishop Charles F., .	43	MAITLAND, William,	93
Ayrshire Journals.		Gentleman's Magazine of Dec. 1862.		Nichols' Bouyer.	
M'CHEYNE, Rev. Robert Murray, .	2	MACKENZIE, George, Earl of Cromarty,	49	MALCOLM III., Canmore,	99
Life by the Rev. A. Bonar.		Wood's Parish of Cramond.		Scottish Histories; Hailes; Scottish Antiquaries.	
M'CRIE, Rev. Thomas, D.D., . . .	4	MACKENZIE, Sir George,	50	MALCOLM, Sir Charles,	103
Life by the Rev. Thomas M'Crue, D.D., LL.D.		Ruddiman's edition of his Works; Authorities quoted in notes.		Annual Register.	
M'CULLOCH, Horatio, R.S.A., . . .	11	MACKENZIE, Henry,	54	MALCOLM, Sir John,	103
Biographical Notice in Scotsman Newspaper; Communications of his Friends.		British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits; Ballantyne's Novelist's Library; Private Information.		An. Obit. 1834; Carlisle Patriot.	
M'CULLOCH, John Ramsay,	13	M'KENZIE, William, M.D. (<i>Suppl.</i>), .	601	MALCOLM, Sir Pulteney,	105
Gentleman's Magazine; Knight's Cyclopædia.		Newspaper Obituaries.		Gent. Mag.; An. Reg.	
MACDIARMID, John,	14	MACKINNON, Colonel Daniel, . .	57	MALLET (or MALLOCH), David, .	107
Athenæum, iii.; D'Israeli's Calamities.		United Service Journal.		Anderson's British Poets; An. Reg. ix. xxiii.; Wilkes' Correspondence.	
M'DIARMID, John, Journalist, . .	14	MACKINTOSH, Sir James,	58	MARSHALL, Henry, M.D.,	110
Memoir by his Son; Obituaries.		An. Obit. 1834; Inverness Courier Newspaper.		Dr. J. Brown's Horæ Subsecivæ, series i.	
MACDONALD, Andrew,	16	MACKNIGHT, Dr. James,	62	MAXWELL, Sir Murray, Captain of the <i>Alceste</i> ,	113
D'Israeli's Calamities; Campbell's Hist. Scot. Poetry; Edin. Mag. 1819; Gent. Mag. lx.; Biographia Dramatica.		Life, by his Son, prefixed to his Work on the Epistles.		Annual Obituary.	
MACDONALD, Lieut.-colonel John, .	17	MACLAURIN, Colin,	64	MAYNE, John,	117
Gent. Mag.		Biog. Brit.; Culloden Papers.		Gent. Mag.; Notes to Johnson's Musical Museum; Introduction to the last edition of the Siller Gun.	
MACDONALD, Rev. Dr. John, . . .	18	MACNEIL, Hector,	69	MELVILLE, Andrew,	118
Rev. J. Kennedy's Life of the Apostle of the North.		Edin. An. Reg. 1818; Ed. Lit. Journal, ii.		Life by M'Crue.	
M'GAVIN, William,	26	MACNISH, Dr. Robert,	70	MELVILLE, James,	122
Funeral Sermon by the Rev. Greville Ewing; Family Information.		Life by Delta (Dr. Moir).		His Diary; Authorities quoted in notes.	
MACGILL, Rev. Stevenson, D.D., .	27	MACPHERSON, James,	72	MELVILLE, Sir James,	130
Life by Dr. Burns; Personal Recollections.		Scots Mag. 1796; Brewster's Encyc.; all the Works connected with the Ossian Controversy alluded to in the article.		Memoirs by himself, Bann. Club Edition; Wood's Peerage.	
MACGILLIVRAY, Wm., A.M., LL.D.,	30	MACPHERSON, Major Samuel C., .	79	MICKLE, William Julius,	133
Athenæum of 1852; Knight's Cyclopædia; Obituaries.		From Memorials of Service in India. From the Correspondence of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, C.B., &c. Edited by his Brother.		Scots Mag. 1789; Johnson and Chalmers' British Poets; Oral Information.	
M'GRIGOR, Sir James,	32	M'KINNON, John,	84	MILL, James,	134
Autobiography of Sir James M'Grigor.		Life by Delta (Dr. Moir).		Morning Chronicle; Obituaries.	
MACINTOSH, Charles, F.R.S., . . .	42	M'KINNON, John,	84	MILL, Walter,	136
Memoir by his Son.		Authorities quoted in notes.		Knox's, Calderwood's, and Spotswood's Histories.	
MACINTYRE, Duncan,	43	MAITLAND, Sir Richard,	85	MILLAR, John,	138
Reid's Bibliotheca Scotto-Celtica; Private Information.		Authorities quoted in notes.		Life by Craig; Edin. Rev. iii.	
M'KAIL, Rev. Hugh,	44	MAITLAND, Sir William, of Lethington,	88	MILLER, Hugh,	140
Scots Worthies; Wodrow's History; Naphtali.		Calderwood's History (Wodrow edition); Buchanan's History of Scotland; Bannatyne's Memorials (Bannatyne Club Edition).		Life and Times of Hugh Miller, by Thomas N. Brown; Gentleman's Magazine of 1856; Annual Register; Personal Recollections.	
MACKENZIE, Sir Alexander, . . .	47				
Mackenzie's Voyages.					

	Page		Page		Page
MITCHELL, Sir Andrew,	145	NAPIER, Admiral Sir Charles,	192	PLAYFAIR, William,	252
Memoirs and Papers of Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B., &c., by Andrew Bissett.		Life by Major-general Elers Napier; Annual Register of 1860.		An. Obit. 1824.	
MITCHELL, Major-general John,	147	NAPIER, John,	199	POLLOK, Robert,	252
Life by Leonhard Schmitz, LL.D.		Life by Earl of Buchan; Wood's Peerage; Hutton's Dictionary; Library of Entertaining Knowledge.		Authority quoted in note.	
MITCHELL, Sir Thomas Livingstone, His published Works mentioned in the Narrative; Knight's Cyclopædia; Annual Register.	149	NAPIER, Macvey,	202	POST, Robert,	254
MOIR, David Macbeth, M.D.,	151	Annual Register.		Authorities quoted in notes.	
Life, by Thomas Aird, prefixed to Moir's Poetical Works.		NASMYTH, Alexander,	202	POST, Timothy,	255
MONCREIFF, Sir James Wellwood, Lord,	154	Edin. Courant.		Authorities quoted in text and notes.	
Edin. Courant; Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk; Cockburn's Life of Lord Jeffrey; Family Communications.		NASMYTH, Major Charles,	203	PRINGLE, Sir John,	255
MONRO, Alexander, M.D., <i>Secundus</i> (including Memoir of Dr. Monro, <i>Primus</i>),	156	Annual Register.		Life by Dr. Kippis; Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood's Life of Dr. Erskine.	
Life, by Dr. Duncan, Edin. An. Reg. 1817; An. Obit. 1818; An. Reg. 1780; Life prefixed to Works of Dr. Monro, <i>Primus</i> .		NASMYTH, David,	204	PRINGLE, Thomas,	257
MONTATH, George Cunningham, Family Information.	160	Life by Rev. John Campbell, D.D.		Life, by Leitch Ritchie, prefixed to Pringle's Poems.	
MONTGOMERY, Alexander,	160	NASMYTH, Patrick,	210	RÆBURN, Sir Henry,	260
Life prefixed to Irving's edition of his Works.		Lit. Gazette.		An. Obit. 1824; Cunningham's Lives of Painters; Family Information.	
MONTGOMERY, James,	161	NEILL, General James George,	211	RAMSAY, Allan, Poet,	262
Life by Holland and Everett; Personal Recollections.		From Lives of Indian Officers, by John William Kaye.		Life, by Chalmers, prefixed to an edition of his Works, London, 1800; Life by W. Tennant, author of Anster Fair; Notices in the Scots Mag., Pamphlets, &c.	
MOOR, James, LL.D.,	164	NEILSON, James Beaumont,	215	RAMSAY, Allan, Painter,	266
Appendix to Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow, presented by Richard Duncan, Esq., to the Maitland Club.		Memoir supplied by his son, Walter Montgomerie Neilson.		Cunningham's Lives of Painters; Edward's Walpole; Tytler's Kames; Ed. An. Reg. 1813; Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict.; Private Information.	
MOORE, Dugald,	164	NICHOL, Professor John Pringle,	216	RAMSAY, Andrew Michael,	266
Dr. Rogers' Modern Scottish Minstrel.		Annual Register; Personal Recollections.		Biog. Brit.; Memoir by Himself; Swift's Works; Private Information.	
MOORE, Dr. John,	165	NICHOLSON, Peter,	217	RANDOLPH, Thomas, Earl of Moray, Barbour's Bruce; Wynton's Chronicle; Buchanan's History of Scotland; Hailes' Annals of Scotland.	268
Anderson's edition of his Works; Scots Mag. 1790; Edin. Encyc.		Builder's Journal.		REID, John, M.D.,	271
MOORE, Sir John,	166	NICOLL, Alexander, D.C.L.,	218	Life by George Wilson, M.D.	
Rees' Cyc.; An. Reg.; Public Characters; Scots Mag. 1809; Dr. Cleland's Enumeration; Narrative of the Campaign in Spain, by Dr. James Moore, &c.		Family Information.		REID, Dr. Thomas,	274
MORISON, Robert,	173	NICOLL, Robert,	219	Authorities quoted in text and notes.	
Pulteney's Sketches; Rees' Cyc.; Ath. Oxon. ii.		Life prefixed to his Works; Memoir of Nicoll in Tait's Mag., by Ebenezer Elliot.		RENNIE, John,	278
MOTHERWELL, William,	173	NIMMO, Alexander,	221	Edinburgh Encyclopedia; Edin. Mag. 1821.	
Life, by James M'Conchey, prefixed to Motherwell's Poems.		Gent. Mag.		RENNICK, James,	279
MUDIE, Robert,	174	Ogilvie, John, D.D., Poet, &c.,	222	Life by A. Shields; Wodrow's History; Scots Worthies, &c.	
Gentleman's Magazine of 1842; Hanna's Life of Dr. Chalmers, vol. i., and Account of R. Mudie in the Appendix.		Lives of Scottish Poets, ii.; Scots Mag. 1814.		RHIND, Alexander Henry,	282
MUNRO, Sir Thomas,	175	Ogilvie, John, LL.D., Lexicographer,	222	Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, vol. v.	
Life and Correspondence, 3 vols.		Aberdeen Herald, Nov. 23d, 1867; Information from his Publishers, the Messrs. Blackie.		RICHARDSON, Sir John, M.D.,	284
MURE, Sir William,	179	Ogilvy, John,	224	His published Narratives; Annual Register; Knight's Cyclopædia.	
Lyle's Ballads and Songs.		Aikin's Gen. Biog.; Starke's Biog. Scot.		RICHARDSON, William,	287
MURRAY, Alexander, D.D.,	179	PANTHER, David,	225	Scots Mag. 1814; The Student (a small periodical work published at Glasgow), quoted in Edin. Mag. 1820.	
Life by Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood; Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway.		Lit. Hist. of Galloway.		RITCHIE, Leitch,	287
MURRAY, Sir George,	182	PARK, Mungo,	225	Men of the Time; Personal Acquaintance.	
United Service Journal.		Scots Mag. 1815; Edin. Mag. 1819; His Travels; Lives of Travellers, in the National Library; Lander's Travels; Private Information.		ROBERTS, David, R.A.,	288
MURRAY, Patrick, Lord Elibank,	184	PARK, Patric,	231	Life by James Ballantine.	
Park's Walpole; Wood's Peerage; Boswell's Johnson.		Anderson's Scottish Nation; Family Information.		ROBERTSON, Alexander,	290
MURRAY, Sir Robert,	184	PATERSON, William,	231	Family Papers.	
Authorities quoted in notes.		Statistical Account of the Parish of Tinwald; History of the Settlement of Darien; History of the Bank of England; M'Crie's Lives of Bryson and Veitch, &c.		ROBERTSON, Joseph, LL.D.,	291
MURRAY, William, Earl of Mansfield, Authorities quoted in notes.	186	PATRICK, Saint,	237	Edinburgh Newspapers; Obituaries.	
MYLNE, Robert,	189	Trans. of Antiq. Soc. of Scotland, ii.		ROBERTSON, William,	293
Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict.		PENNECUIK, Alexander, M.D.,	237	Life by Stewart; Life of Home.	
NAIRN, Carolina, Baroness,	190	Scots Mag. 1805, 1806.		ROBISON, Dr. John,	296
Dr. Rogers' Modern Scottish Minstrel.		PERRY, James,	238	Life by Professor Playfair.	
		An. Obit. 1823; Edin. Mag. 1822.		ROLLOCK, Robert,	299
		PHILLIP, John, R.A.,	239	Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland; Aikin's General Biography; M'Crie's Melville, &c.	
		Scotsman Newspaper, March 1, 1867; Aberdeen Herald, March 2, 1867; Communications of Friends.		ROSE, George,	301
		PICKEN, Andrew,	244	Ed. An. Register, 1818.	
		Athenæum.			
		PINKERTON, John,	245		
		Authorities quoted in notes.			
		PITCAIRNE, Dr. Archibald,	248		
		Life by Webster, 1781; Chalmers' Ruddiman; Tytler's Kames.			
		PLAYFAIR, John,	249		
		Authorities quoted in notes.			

	Page		Page		Page
ROSS, Alexander, Miscellaneous		SINCLAIR, Catherine,	352	STRUTHERS, John,	415
Writer,	302	Annual Register,		Autobiography prefixed to his	
Granger's Biograph. Hist. iii.;		SINCLAIR, George,	352	Poetical Works,	
Hudibras; Censura Literaria,		Records of Univ. of Glasgow;		STUART, Dr. Gilbert,	417
iv.; Sir R. Sibbald's MS.		Edin. Rev. xx.; Wodrow's		Authorities quoted,	
ROSS, Alexander, Divine,	303	Life of D. Dickson,		STUART, James, Earl of Murray, .	420
Contributed by a Local Inquirer.		SINCLAIR, Sir John,	353	Histories of the Period,	
ROSS, Alexander, Poet,	303	Life by Rev. John Sinclair; Me-		STUART, John, Earl of Bute, . . .	422
Life by Alex. Thomson, and		moir by Catherine Sinclair;		Wood's Peerage; Nichols' Anec-	
other authorities quoted in		Quarterly Agricultural Journ.		dotes; Brydges' Peerage,	
text and notes,		SKINNER, John,	362	STUART, John M'Donnell,	423
ROSS, Rear-admiral Sir John, . .	306	Ecclesiastical Magazine, 1833, .		Family Inform.; Notices in Daily	
Tait's Magazine; Knight's Cyclo-		SMELLIE, William,	363	Telegraph and Daily News, . . .	
pædia,		Life by Robert Kerr,		STUART, Mary, Queen of Scots, .	424
Row, John,	309	SMETON, Thomas,	365	Histories of the Period; Bell's	
Memorials of the Family of Ure;		Authorities quoted in notes, . .		Life of Mary Queen of Scots, . .	
Council Records of Aberdeen;		SMIBERT, John,	367	TANNAHILL, Robert,	430
Polemical Pamphlets of the		Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting;		Family Information,	
Period,		Bryant's Lives of Painters, . .		TASSIE, James,	432
ROXBURGH, William,	310	SMITH, Adam,	368	Knight's Cyclopædia,	
ROY, Major-general William, . .	311	Life by Dugald Stewart,		TAYLOR, James,	433
Wat's Bibliotheca; Annual Re-		SMITH, Alexander,	376	Family Papers,	
gister, xxxii. 523; An. Obit.		Edinburgh Newspapers; Obitua-		TELFORD, Thomas,	435
1817,		ries,		Obituary Notices, &c,	
RUDDIMAN, Thomas,	311	SMITH, James, of Jordanhill, . .	378	TENNANT, William,	435
Life by George Chalmers,		Memoir written by his Son, . .		Hogg's Weekly Instructor; Me-	
RUNCIMAN, Alexander,	314	SMITH, James, Agriculturist, . .	379	moir prefixed to Chambers'	
Cunningham's Lives of Painters;		Knight's Cyclopædia; Annual		edition of Anster Fair,	
Scots Mag. 1802,		Register,		THOM, James,	438
RUSSELL, Alexander,	315	SMOLLETT, Tobias,	380	Annual Register,	
Scots Mag. 1771,		Life by Anderson; Private In-		THOM, William,	439
RUSSELL, William,	315	formation,		Preface to his Rhymes and Re-	
Life by Dr. Irving, in Black-		SOMERVILLE, Dr. Thomas, . . .	385	collections; Knight's Cyclo-	
wood's Mag. iii.; Chalmers' Gen.		Annual Obituary, 1824; Private		pædia,	
Biog. Dict.		Information; Historical Works, .		THOMSON, Dr. Andrew,	440
RUTHERFORD, John,	316	SPOTSWOOD, John, Superintendent,	386	Life prefixed to Posthumous	
Gleig's Supp. to Encyc. Brit.		Wodrow's Biograph. Collections,		Volume of Sermons,	
RUTHERFORD, Samuel,	316	SPOTSWOOD, John, Archbishop, .	388	THOMSON, Dr. Anthony Todd, . .	442
History of the Church of Scot-		Life prefixed to his History;		Knight's Cyclopædia,	
land; Livingston's Characteris-		Stevenson's History of the		THOMSON, George,	443
tics; Scots Worthies; Life		Church and State of Scotland;		Wilson's Land of Burns; Com-	
by the Rev. Thomas Murray,		Historical and Critical Dictio-		munications of a Friend,	
Edin. &c,		nary, &c,		THOMSON, James, Poet,	445
RYMER, Thomas,	319	SPOTSWOOD, Sir Robert,	389	Authorities and Sources of In-	
Sir Walter Scott's edition of Sir		Life prefixed to his Practicks;		formation quoted,	
Tristram; Irving's Lives of		History of the Rebellions from		THOMSON, Rev. Jas. D.D., . . .	448
Scottish Poets,		1638 to 1660, in Constable's		Memoir by R. D. Thomson, . .	
SAGE, John,	320	Miscellany,		THOMSON, Rev. John,	450
Life by Gillan; Gleig's Supp. to		STEUART, Sir James,	390	Memoir in Hogg's Instructor, .	
Encyc. Brit.; Chalmers' Rud-		Life prefixed to his Works; Orig.		THOMSON, Thomas, Professor of	452
diman,		Letters from Lady M.W. Mon-		Chemistry,	
SCOT, David, M.D.,	322	tague to Sir James Steuart, . .		Family Information,	
Edinburgh Advertiser,		STEVENSON, Alan, M.A., F.R.S., .	392	THOMSON, Thomas, Antiquarian, .	455
SCOTT, David, Painter,	323	Scotsman Newspaper; A. Steven-		Life by David Laing, in Ban-	
Life by W. B. Scott; North		son's Account of the Skerriore		natyne Club Papers; An. Reg, .	
British Review for May, 1849, .		Lighthouse,		THOMSON, Rev. Thomas (Supp.) .	602
SCOTT, Michael, Philosopher, . .	326	STEVENSON, Robert,	393	Family Information,	
Edin. Mag. 1820,		Memoir, by A. Stevenson, in		THOMSON, Dr. William,	458
SCOTT, Michael, Novelist,	327	New Philosophical Journal;		An. Obit. 1818,	
Notice prefixed to Tom Cringle's		Personal Recollections,		TOD, Lieutenant-colonel James, .	458
Log in Blackwood's Standard		STEWART, Major-general David, .	397	Tod's Annals of Rajast'han;	
Novels,		An. Obit. 1831,		Tod's Personal Narrative;	
SCOTT, Sir Walter,	328	STEWART, Dugald,	398	Asiatic Journal,	
Life, forming Supplement to		An. Obit. 1829; Edinburgh En-		TRAILL, Rev. Robert,	401
Chambers' Edinburgh Journ-		cyclopædia,		Historical Notices of the Period;	
nal; Private Information,		STEWART, Dr. Matthew,	402	MSS. of Robert Traill; Family	
SCOUGAL, Henry,	335	Life by Playfair in Trans. Roy.		Memorials,	
Contributed by a Local Inquirer,		Soc. Ed. i,		TROTTER, Thomas, M.D.,	462
SCRINGER, Henry,	335	STEWART, Lieut.-colonel Patrick,	403	Notices in Trotter's Essay on	
Mackenzie's Lives; M'Crie's		Annual Register,		Scurvy; Newcastle Journal;	
Melville, &c,		STONE, Edmund,	403	An. Reg,	
SETON, Lieut.-colonel Alexander, .	337	Hutton's Mathem. Dictionary, .		TURNBULL, William,	462
Family Information,		STOW, David,	404	M'Ure's History of Glasgow;	
SHARPE, Charles Kirkpatrick, M.A.,	340	Life by Rev. Wm. Frazer,		Keith's Scottish Bishops, &c, .	
SHARP, James,	341	STRAHAN, William,	409	TYTLER, Alexander Fraser, . . .	464
Wodrow's History; Life of Arch-		Authorities quoted,		Trans. of Roy. Soc. Ed. viii, .	
bishop Sharp,		STRANG, Rev. Dr. John,	410	TYTLER, James,	466
SHORT, James,	347	Authorities quoted,		Life, published anonymously;	
Trans. of Ant. Soc. of Scotland,		STRANG, John, LL.D.,	413	Private Information,	
SIBBALD, James,	347	Memoir prefixed to 3d edition		TYTLER, Patrick Fraser,	468
Family Information,		of Clubs of Glasgow; Bio-		Communications of Family and	
SIBBALD, Sir Robert,	349	graphical Notice in Glasgow		Friends,	
Pulteney's Sketches; Edin. Mag.		Herald,		TYTLER, William,	471
xl.; Boswell's Johnson,		STRANGE, Sir Robert,	414	Trans. of Roy. Soc. Ed. iv.: .	
SIMON, Dr. Robert,	350	Scots Mag. 1761, 1762; Gent.		Life of Beattie,	
Life by Dr. Traill, Encyc. Brit.		Mag. lxi.; Chalmers' Gen.		URF, Dr. Andrew,	473
		Biog. Dict.		Gentleman's Magazine of 1857, .	

	Page		Page		Page
URE, Rev. David,	474	WATT, James, Senior,	495	WILSON, Alexander,	531
Gray's Life of Ure, prefixed to		Edin. Encyc. articles 'Watt,'		Life prefixed to his Ornithology	
Ure's History of Rutherglen		'Bleaching,' and 'Inland Navi-		in Constable's Miscellany;	
and Kilbride.		gation;' Edin. Rev. vol. xiii.		Life in Sparkes' Library of	
UROUHART, Sir Thomas,	475	Cleland's Progress of the Com-		American Biography.	
Retrospective Rev. vi.		merce and Manufactures of		WILSON, Andrew,	536
VEDDER, David,	476	Glasgow; Tredgold on the		Family Information and Cat.	
U. Presbyterian Mag.; Glasgow		Steam Engine; Galloway on		of Royal Scottish Academy's	
Citizen; Scotsman; Stirling		the Steam Engine; Gregory's		Exhibition.	
Advertiser.		Mechanic, vol. ii.; Private		WILSON, Florence,	537
WALKER-ARNOTT, Professor George		Information.		Dempster; Mackenzie's Scots	
A., LL.D. (<i>Suppl.</i>),	605	WATT, James, Junior,	501	Writers; Buchanan's Works.	
Glasgow Herald.		Knight's Cyclopaedia.		WILSON, Professor George,	537
WALKER, James, LL.D.,	477	WATT, Robert, M.D.,	502	Life by his Sister; Review of	
Annual Register.		Family Information.		his Life and Writings in North	
WALLACE, James,	477	WAUGH, Alexander, D.D.,	504	British Review.	
Scots Worthies; M'Crie's Lives		Life of Dr. Waugh, 8vo.		WILSON, Right Hon. James, . . .	542
of Veitch and Bryson, &c.		WEBSTER, Alexander, D.D., . . .	506	Annual Register.	
WALLACE, Robert, D.D.,	479	Scots Mag. 1802; Chambers'		WILSON, Professor John,	546
Scots Mag. 1771, 1809; Retro-		Scottish Songs; Traditional		Notices by a Student; Journals;	
spective Rev. ii.; Ritchie's Life		Information.		Obituaries.	
of Hume; Family Information.		WEDDERBURN, Alexander, Earl of		WINRAM, John,	550
WALLACE, William,	481	Rosslyn,	508	Wodrow's Biog. Collections, MS.	
Fordun; Rymers Fæderæ; And-		Brydges' Peerage; History of		WISHART, George, Martyr, . . .	551
erson's Numismata; Barbour;		the Reign of George III.;		Knox's History; Spotswood;	
Henry the Minstrel; English		Family Memoirs, MS.		M'Crie's Knox; Tytler's His-	
Chronicles; Statistical Account		WEDDERBURN, David,	509	tory of Scotland.	
of Scot.; Dalrymple's Annals;		Authorities quoted in notes.		WISHART (or WISEHEART), George,	
Tytler's History of Scotland;		WEDDERBURN, James,	511	Bishop,	553
Henry's Britain.		Family Memoirs, M.S.; Sibbald's		Keith's Catalogue; Balfour's	
WALLACE, William, LL.D., . . .	489	Chronicle of Scottish Poetry.		Annals; Wodrow's History;	
Monthly Notices of Royal As-		WELCH, John,	511	Constable's Miscellany, xxxii.	
tronomical Society, vol. vi.		Scots Worthies; M'Crie's Life		WITHERSPOON, John, D.D., LL.D.,	
WARDLAW, Henry,	490	of Knox.		Christ. Instruc. 1829; Funeral	
Spotwood's History of the Church		WELLWOOD, Sir H. Moncreiff, D.D.,	513	Sermon by Rodgers.	
of Scotland; Keith's Scottish		Christian Instructor, 1828.		WODROW, Robert,	556
Bishops; History of St. An-		WELSH, Rev. David, D.D., . . .	515	Life prefixed to his History,	
drews, &c.		Memoir by A. Dunlop.		Glasgow, 1828.	
WARDLAW, Rev. Ralph, D.D., . .	491	WILKIE, Sir David,	519	WOOD, Sir Andrew,	558
Scottish Congregational Mag.		Life by Allan Cunningham.		Pitscottie; Buchanan; Life of	
for 1850 and 1853; Funeral		WILKIE, William, D.D.,	527	Wood in Tait's Mag.; Notes	
Discourses and Services; Glas-		Anderson's British Poets.		on Sibbald's History of Fife.	
gow Examiner.		WILLIAM the Lion,	528	WYNTOWN, Andrew,	561
WATSON, Robert, LL.D.,	493	Dalrymple's Annals.		Irving's Lives of Scottish Poets;	
Ency. Brit.; Bee, vii. viii.; Scots		WILLOCK, John,	529	Ellis' Specimens.	
Mag. 1781; Croker's Boswell;		Authorities quoted in notes.		YOUNG, Patrick,	563
Prefaces to Works.		WILLISON, John,	530	Aikin's Gen. Biog. Dict.	
WATT, Gregory,	494	Life prefixed to his Works, 4to.			
Knight's Cyclopaedia.					





111

